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THE PORT FOLIO.

A MONTHLY JOURNAL.

CONDUCTED BY

OLIVER OLDSCHOOL, ESQ.

VOL. VI.

JULY—DECEMBER, 1818.

PHILADELPHIA:
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THE PORT FOLIO,

FOR

JULY, 1818.

Embellished with a coloured engraving of the Calmia Latifolia.

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TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

The following errata occurred in our last; the reader will please to correct them.

P. 462, *l.* 33, *for* no *read* not.
463, 35, — principle — principal.
468, 26 & 27 — potentially — potentiality.

Since we undertook to give a condensed view of the *Debates in Congress*, Mess. *Gales & Seaton*, of Washington, have promised to publish a *History of Congress*, commencing with the last session; and also another series to commence at an earlier period.

As our abridgment was made from the reports of these gentlemen, it seems but fair that we should desist from using what they now wish to convert, in a more permanent and profitable form, to their own use.—Their project deserves the most ample encouragement; and so far from interfering with it, we shall take an early opportunity of explaining the plan, and recommending the work more particularly to our patrons.

*** *Notice to Binders.* With the numbers comprising our vol. 5, you will find 40 pp., entitled *Proceedings of Congress*, which are to be laid aside to be bound separately at the end of the year with the continuation; or they may be placed at the end of each vol.; or at the end of vol. 6, as you may receive directions.

We are sorry that the communication from our valuable correspondent R. H. L. was too late for this number.

Gen. DEARBORN has published a variety of depositions in support of his charge. Something similar, no doubt, will appear on the other side; and if we should not be disappointed in this expectation, we shall *sum up the evidence* in an account of the life of GEN. PUTNAM, which shall be prepared for the Port-Folio, as soon as we are presented with a view of the whole ground.

"*An admirer of the Navy*" has selected a glorious theme, but his patriotism is more fervid than his poetry. He lauds our noble champions with all the enthusiasm of a birth-day Laureat,

Like Neptune, Cæsar guards Virginian fleets,
Fraught with Tobacco's balmy sweets,
Old Ocean trembles at *Columbia's* power,
And Boreas is afraid to roar.

"*A Swain*" may talk of his flowery meads and his silver rivulets, but his mistress will continue to play the "reckless Sylvia." She is one of those whom

——— smoke, and dust, and noise, and crowds delight—
And to be press'd to death transports her quite.

What are the charms of placid streams, green fields and waving shades compared with the exhilarating scenes in *Chesnut* Street, where we

——— drive, bow, *pun*, with love of pleasure smit,
Talk, laugh, shoot-flying, and pronounce on wit.

Simple "Swain"! put money in thy purse and hie thee to the busy mart.

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THE PORT FOLIO.

FOURTH SERIES.

CONDUCTED BY OLIVER OLDSCHOOL, ESQ.

Various; that the mind
Of desultory man, studious of change
And pleased with novelty, may be indulged.—COWPER.

VOL. VI. JULY, 1818. No. I.

FOR THE PORT FOLIO.

A letter to Major General Dearborn, repelling his unprovoked attack on the character of the late Major General Putnam; and containing some anecdotes relating to the battle of Bunker-hill, not generally known. By Daniel Putnam, Esq.*

[THE animadversions on the character of general Putnam, in the account of the battle of Bunker's Hill, which we lately published, excited in us not less pain than surprise. We had no hesitation in publishing the article, because the charge was made openly, and we thought that it should not be confined to the circle in which gen. Dearborn may "fight his battles o'er again." This gentleman has held honourable appointments under the three administrations which have followed that of Mr. Adams, and although such a fact is not, in our estimation, the most unquestionable evidence of merit, yet there are among us many, with whom, a name thus honoured, will carry great weight. To the representation of gen. Dearborn we shall now oppose the severe, though just, remonstrance of colonel Putnam, a son of the deceased general. It will be said that the former is a direct affirmation of circumstances alleged to be within the personal knowledge of the witness, and that the latter is only negative testimony. Be it so: but "the negation hath no taste of madness". The reputation of this brave soldier is so fenced and walled in the hearts of his countrymen, that they will not suffer the memory of an individual to balance the opinions of the rest of the world:—opinions which have been so long undisturbed. In his knowledge of human nature no one surpassed gen. Washington, and from what we should surmise of the character of the accuser on the present occasion, we do not think he would have quietly permitted Gen.

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Putnam to enjoy the good opinion of the illustrious commander. Why was gen. Dearborn silent when all others spoke so goldenly of the courage—emphatically of the *courage* of Putnam? How did that veteran wade through the many perilous conjunctures of those days, and bequeath to his posterity a reputation, which, for nearly half a century, has been the pride of his country? And now, after fame has canonized his bones, will it be endured that the solitary and tardy testimony of general Dearborn should

> Beggar the estimation which we prized
> Richer than sea and land?]

Sir,—It was not until the 29th of April, that I saw a publication, entitled, "An Account of the Battle of Bunker-hill; written for the Port Folio, at the request of the Editor, by H. Dearborn, Major General U. S. Army."

This production, as unworthy of the rank you bear, as it is void of truth in some of its most prominent parts, I have read with mingled emotions of indignation and contempt.

What, Sir, could tempt you at this distant period to disturb the ashes of the dead, and thus, in the face of truth, to impose on the public such a miserable libel on the fair fame of a man who "exhausted his bodily strength, and expended the vigour of a youthful constitution in the service of his country?" What, above all things, could induce you to assail the character of *General Putnam*, in a point most of all others, perhaps, unassailable; and to impeach with cowardice, a man always foremost in danger? a man, of whom it was proverbially said, as well by British as Provincial officers, that in a service of great peril and hardship, from 1755 to 1763, "*He dared to lead where any dared to follow?*"

It was from a full conviction of this *truth* in the public mind, and from a confidence in his experience, patriotism, and fidelity to his country, that "*General Putnam entered our army at the "commencement of the revolutionary war with such an universal "popularity as can scarcely* now *be conceived, even by those who* "then *felt the whole force of it.*" But, however "*universal,*" however "*extraordinary,*" however "*unaccountable*" may have been this "*popularity*" to a mind jaundiced by envy, and smarting under the sting of popular odium, even while *loaded* with Executive favor, it was not quite so "*ephemeral,*" nor did it so soon "*fade away,*" as you would now fain make the public believe. On the

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contrary, it was his lot, while in service, generally to have the post of danger and importance assigned him.

When the British army left Boston, in the spring of 1776, he was ordered to New-York, for the defence of that city; Major General Lee, who had been sent there the January preceding, having gone on to South-Carolina. I am unwilling to swell this letter by introducing any thing not directly in point; but, since it can hardly be supposed that the "*extraordinary popularity*" of General Putnam should have so entirely imposed on the discriminating mind of WASHINGTON, after a daily and most familiar intercourse from July to March, as to have led him to commit the defence of that important post to the Coward of Bunker-Hill, I take the liberty of inserting the following

"*Orders and Instructions for Major-General Putnam.*

"As there are the best reasons to believe that the enemy's fleet and army, which left Nantasket road last Wednesday evening, are bound to New-York, to endeavour to possess that important post, and, if possible, to secure the communication by Hudson's river to Canada; it must be our care to prevent them from accomplishing their design. To that end, I have detached Brigadier-General Heath, with the whole body of riflemen, and five battalions of the Continental army, by way of Norwich in Connecticut, to New York. These, by an express arrived yesterday from general Heath, I have reason to believe are in New York. Six more battalions, under general Sullivan, march this morning by the same route, and will, *I hope*, arrive there in eight or ten days at the farthest. The rest of the army will immediately follow in divisions, leaving only a convenient space between each division, to prevent confusion and want of accommodation upon their march.

"You will, no doubt, make the best despatch in getting to New York. Upon your arrival there, you will assume the command, and immediately proceed in continuing to execute the *plan*, proposed by major-general Lee, for fortifying that city, and securing the passes of the East and North rivers. If, upon consultation with the brigadier-generals and engineers, any alteration in that *plan* is thought necessary, you are at liberty to make it, cautiously avoiding to break in too much upon his main design, unless where it may be apparently necessary so to do, and that, by the general voice and opinion of the gentlemen above mentioned.

"You will meet the quarter-master-general, colonel Mifflin, and commissary-general, [colonel Trumbull] at New York. As these are both men of excellent talents in their different departments, you will do well to give them all the authority and assistance they require: and should a

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council of war be necessary, it is my direction they assist at it.

"Your *long service and experience*, will, better than my particular directions at this distance, point out to you the works most proper to be first raised, and *your perseverance, activity, and zeal*, will lead you (without my recommending it,) to exert every *nerve* to disappoint the enemy's designs.

"Devoutly praying that the POWER which has hitherto sustained the American arms, may continue to bless them with the Divine protection, I bid you farewell.

"Given at head-quarters, in Cambridge, this 29th March, 1776.

"GEO. WASHINGTON."

The faithful execution of the duties here enjoined were acknowledged by the commander in chief after his arrival in New York, and his thanks were publicly expressed in general orders.

Two days before the battle of Flat Bush, in consequence of the sickness of that excellent officer, major-general Greene, who had commanded on Long Island, general Putnam was ordered to the command of that post, and assisted in the arduous and complicated difficulties of that masterly retreat.

In the memorable and distressing *flight* of the American army through New Jersey in 1776, general Putnam was always near—always the friend, the supporter, and confident of his beloved chief; and the moment after reaching the western bank of the Delaware with the rear of the army, he was ordered to Philadelphia, to fortify and defend that city, against a meditated attack; concerning which general Washington thus expresses himself in a letter to general Putnam, dated 23d December, 1776. "If I had not been well convinced before, of the enemy's intention to possess themselves of Philadelphia, as soon as the frost should form ice strong enough to support them and their artillery across the Delaware, I have now obtained an intercepted letter, which places the matter beyond a doubt."

On the evening preceding the surprise of the Hessians at Trenton and while the army was paraded for that object, the *writer* was dispatched by the commander in chief, with a confidential message to general Putnam, apprising him of the pending event, and requiring him to be in perfect readiness to move at a moment's warning wherever directed; and immediately after the action of *Princeton*, he was ordered to pass the Delaware with

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what force he had, to Croswix, and, soon after, to repair to Princeton, where he continued through the winter, within sixteen miles of the head-quarters of lord Cornwallis, and covering a large extent of country with but a handful of men; and those almost entirely composed of New Jersey militia, who had but a short time previous, in despair at the aspect of public affairs, received written *protections* from the enemy, which they were now required by proclamation of WASHINGTON to give up, and subscribe allegiance to the United States. It is a fact, that during one whole week of this time, general Putnam had no military force with him at Princeton, but a fine independent company from Baltimore, under captain Yates.

In the spring of 1777, the important post of the Highlands on the Hudson, was committed to the defence of general Putnam; and though the loss of fort Montgomery was among the disasters of that campaign, yet a court of enquiry, upon mature deliberation, and with a full knowledge of the facts, reported "*the loss to have been occasioned by want of men, and not by any fault in the commander.*" It evidently was not productive of any diminution of confidence in WASHINGTON; for the correspondence between him and general Putnam had been diffuse on the subject, in which it was expressly declared by the latter, "that he would not hold himself responsible for the post committed to his care, with the small number of men left for its defence;" and when he had determined to erect another fortification for the defence of the river, he left it wholly to the judgment of general Putnam to fix the spot, who decided in favour of *West Point;* and, as his biographer has remarked, "It is no vulgar phrase to say, that to him belongs the glory of having chosen this rock of our military salvation."

When the *three armies*, which had the preceding year acted separately, united at White Plains under WASHINGTON, general Putnam was called to the command of the right wing.

But why need instances be multiplied to show, that *he*, who now held the *second* rank in the American army, *retained* the confidence of *him* who in all points was deservedly acknowledged the *first?* I forbear to draw a comparison between *his* standing in the estimation of the American chief, and that of *your's* in the War department, through a succession of secretaries, who direct-

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ed the military operations of the late war. If a retrospect of facts and events, bring not a blush to your cheek, it must be that you are *below* shame.

It has been reserved for you, sir, after a lapse of *forty-three* years, and when you probably supposed the grave had closed on all who would contradict your bold assertions, that you have thus, like an assassin in the dark, cowardly meditated this insiduous blow, against a character as much above your level, as your base calumny is beneath a gentleman and an officer.

There yet lives one, who not only feels indignant at such unmerited abuse of his father's name, but who has, also, a personal knowledge of most of the military concerns of general Putnam through the revolutionary war, having been the greater part of that time attached to his family, and in possession of his confidence. Regardless of consequences, he will not shun to declare the truth, though it may bear hard on the licentious assertions of major-general Dearborn.

You commence your work by saying that "*On the 16th June, 1775, it was determined that a fortified post should be established at or near Bunker's Hill.*" This determination was made in a council of war at which general Putnam assisted; and (without asserting what cannot *now* be proved, that the proposition for occupying that post originated with him)—he it was, who went on with the first detachment, and commenced the work—he was the principal agent or "engineer," who traced the lines of the redoubt, and he continued most, if not all the night with the workmen: at any rate he was on the spot before sun-rise in the morning, and "taken his station," as *you* say, "on the top of Bunker's Hill, where the regiment of colonel Stark halted a few moments for the rear to come up." Here, you roundly assert, he "*remained* "*ed during the whole action, with nearly as many men as had been* "*engaged in the battle; notwithstanding which, no measures had* "*been taken for reinforcing us, nor was there a shot fired to cover* "*our retreat, nor any movement made to check the advance of the* "*enemy; but on the contrary, general Putnam rode off* WITH A "NUMBER OF SPADES AND PICK-AXES IN HIS "HANDS, AND THE TROOPS THAT HAD REMAINED "WITH HIM INACTIVE."

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When a man undertakes to deviate from *truth*, he should endeavour to veil *falsehood* with at least some *appearance* of probability. Was it, then, *cowardice*, or *treachery*, that kept general Putnam in this disgraceful situation during the battle? If the former, can it be conceived, that under the galling fire of a pursuing enemy, he would thus encumber himself with such a load? "A NUMBER *of spades and pick-axes*" would be no very convenient appendage for a flying coward, who had to pass the same "*galling cross fire of the enemy*," which caused the dauntless captain Dearborn, but a few hours before to urge colonel Stark "*to quicken his march.*" If treachery were the cause, is it not surprising, that he should have retained the confidence of his country and commander to the close of the war.

My object, sir, is to elicit *truth*, and to correct misrepresentation; and if in the course of this investigation it should be found, that general Putnam was not "*inactive* during the whole of the action" at Bunker Hill, but that he participated in the *danger* as well as the *glory* of that day—I hope it will detract nothing from your *courage*, whatever it may do from your *veracity*.

It would seem from your statement, that little was done in that action, but by the regiments of Stark and Reed;—that it was these *alone* which lined the "*rail-fence*," and repelled the repeated assaults of British veterans.

But where was the brave captain Knowlton, with a detachment under his command, who first took possession of the ground—who worked all night in raising the redoubt, and to whom as large a share of glory, as to any other force of equal number is justly due? The honourable judge Grosvenor, who was a wounded officer of that detachment—who entered the service one grade below you—who left it at the peace of 1783, your *senior* in rank—and whose character as a citizen or an officer will never suffer in comparison with your's shall be heard on this subject.

"*Pomfret, April 30th*, 1818.

"MY DEAR SIR,—IN conformity to your request, I now state what came under my observation at the battle of Bunker Hill, at the commencement of the revolutionary war, and with as much precision as possible, at the distance of time that has intervened.

"Being under the command of general Putnam, part of our regiment, and a much larger number of Massachusett's troops under colonel Pres-

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cott, were ordered to march on the evening of the 16th of June, 1775, to Breed's Hill, where, under the immediate superintendance of general Putnam, ground was broken and a redoubt formed. On the following day, the 17th, dispositions were made to deter the advance of the enemy, as there was reason to believe an immediate attack was intended. General Putnam during the period was extremely active, and directed principally the operations. All were animated, and their general inspired confidence by his example. The British army, having made dispositions for landing at Morton's Point, were covered by the fire of shot and shells from Copp's Hill in Boston, which it had opened on our redoubt early in the morning, and continued the greatest part of the day. At this moment a detachment of four lieutenants (of which I was one) and one hundred and twenty men, selected the preceding day from general Putnam's regiment * under *captain Knowlton*, were, by the general order to take post at a rail-fence on the left of the breast-work, that ran north from the redoubt to the bottom of Breed's Hill. This order was promptly executed, and our detachment in advancing to the post, took up one rail-fence and placed it against another, (as a partial cover) nearly parallel with the line of the breast-work, and extended our left nearly to Mystic river. Each man was furnished with *one pound of gun-powder* and *forty-eight balls*. This ammunition was received, howevever, prior to marching to Breed's Hill.

"In this position our detachment remained until a second division of British troops landed, when they commenced a fire of their *field-artillery* of several rounds, and particularly against the rail-fence; then formed in columns, advanced to the attack, displayed in line at about the distance of musket shot, and commenced firing. At this instant our whole line opened upon the enemy, and so precise and fatal was our fire, that in the course of a short time they gave way and retired in disorder out of musket shot, leaving before us many killed and wounded.

"There was but a short respite on the part of the British, as their lines were soon filled up, and led against us; when they were met as before, and forced back with great loss.

"On reinforcements joining the enemy, they made a direct advance on the redoubt, and being successful, which our brave Capt. Knowlton perceiving, ordered a retreat of his men, *in which he was sustained by two companies under the command of Captains Clark and Chester.*

"The loss in our detachment I presume was near1 equal. Of my own immediate command of *thirty men* and one subaltern, there were 11 *killed and wounded;* among the latter was myself, though not so severely as to prevent my retiring.

* The general officers from Connecticut, in the campaign of 1775, had each a regiment, with lieutenant-colonels under them.

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"*At the 'rail-fence' there* WAS NOT *posted any corps save our own under Knowlton, at the time the firing commenced; nor did I hear of any other being there till long after the action.* Other troops, it was said, were ordered to join us, but refused doing so.

"Of the officers on the ground, the most active within my observation were Gen. Putnam, Col. Prescott, and Capt. Knowlton; but no doubt there were many more equally brave and meritorious, who must naturally have escaped the eye of one attending to his own immediate command.

"Thus you have a brief statement of my knowledge of the action, without descending to minute particulars. To conclude, it is matter of surprize, even of astonishment to me, my dear sir, that I am called on to state my opinion of the character of your honored father, Gen. Putnam; who was ever the first in public life, at the post of honor, and danger; and who, in his private conduct was excelled by none. Look but at his services in the French and Indian wars from 1755 to 1763, and finally at those of the *revolution*, and you will need no proof to refute the calumny of common defamers.

"With respect, I am, yours, truly,

"THOS: GROSVENOR.

"Colonel Daniel Putnam."

This statement from a gentleman of truth and honor, differs *essentially* in many points from that made by you. It contradicts your assertion that there was no *field-artillery*, used by the British army. It contradicts the assertion, which to military men would hardly need contradiction, that the position at the "*rail-fence was taken by the direction of the committee of safety.*" It makes void the insinuation that Stark's and Reed's regiments were the only troops posted at the "rail-fence;" and it even makes it doubtful if they were there at all. That they *were not*, when the firing commenced, Col. Grosvenor states clearly, and those who know the modest unassuming deportment of this respectable man, and his cautious character, will be sure that he says nothing positively, but what he knows *fully* and recollects *distinctly*. It shows too, and that pretty clearly, that either Captain Dearborn with his "*full company*" (consisting at that time of ninety six) were very fortunate in escaping the British fire, or that they were less exposed to it than Knowlton's detachment, which had about one third of their number killed and wounded, while of Captain Dearborn's only *six* were hurt. It shows, if *you were* on the ground, and had the knowledge of facts which you claim to have

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that you have done injustice, not only to *Gen. Putnam*, but to the companies of *Clark* and *Chester*, both of whom were *known* to suffer loss in covering the retreat from the "rail-fence." It shows, that orders *were given*, and *dispositions for defence made*, by other officers than Col. Stark and Capt. Dearborn. It shows, in fine, that nearly your whole statement of the transactions of that memorable day must have resulted either from *ignorance* or *misrepresentation*.

Let nothing, which is here or elsewhere said be construed into a wish of the writer, to detract, in any way whatever, from the merits of the veteran Gen. Stark. He honours his name, his patriotism, and his important services to his country, in that war which gave it *Freedom* and *Independence;* and is thankful to that BEING who has given him a heart to rejoice in the honest fame of others, without *coveting* one jot or tittle of their merited applause. He hopes this aged and long devoted servant of the public may be permitted to descend to his grave in peace and honor; and that no ruthless hand may be found, after a rest of more than forty years, to drag before the tribunal of a succeeding generation, and to couple with infamy and dishonor, a NAME so long renowned for valour!

I beg pardon, sir, for this digression—it was an apostrophe not to be resisted, and I now proceed to lay before you further evidence on the subject—for I had scarce gone through the reading of your *ridiculous tale*, before a letter was put into my hand, by Charles H. Hall, Esq. from Col. John Trumbull, of New-York,—an officer of distinction in the revolutionary war, and now a celebrated historical painter, employed in his profession by the government of the United States.

As this letter affords some evidence of the "station" of Gen. Putnam, during the action; and does not *fully* coincide with your account of the death of the immortal WARREN, I shall by his permission, make use of it in this place.

"*New York, 30th March*, 1818.

"DEAR SIR,

"Mr. Hall has just shown me the Port-Folio of last month, containing an account of the battle of Bunker Hill, which appears to have been written for the mere purpose of introducing a most unjustifiable attack upon the memory of your excellent father.

"It is strange that men cannot be contented with their own honest share of fame, without attempting to detract from that of others:—but, after the

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attempts which have been made to diminish the immortal reputation of WASHINGTON, who shall be surprized or who repine at this enviable attendant on human greatness.

"In all cases like this, perhaps, the most unquestionable testimony is that which is given by an enemy.

"In the summer of 1786 I became acquainted in London, with Col. *John Small*, of the British army, who had served in America many years, and had known General Putnam intimately during the war of Canada from 1756 to 1763. From him, I had the two following anecdotes respecting the battle of Bunker Hill;—I shall nearly repeat his words:—Looking at the Picture which I had then almost completed, he said: '*I don't like the situation in which you have placed my old friend* PUTNAM; *you have not done him justice. I wish you would alter that part of your Picture, and introduce a circumstance which actually happened, and which I can never forget. When the British troops advanced the second time to the attack of the redoubt, I, with the other officers, was in front of the line to encourage the men: we had advanced very near the works undisturbed, when an irregular fire, like a feu-de-joie was poured in upon us; it was cruelly fatal. The troops fell back, and when I looked to the right and left, I saw not one officer standing;—I glanced my eye to the enemy, and saw several young men levelling their pieces at me; I knew their excellence as marksmen, and considered myself gone. At that moment my old friend* PUTNAM *rushed forward, and striking up the muzzles of their pieces with his sword, cried out,* "For God's sake, my lads, don't fire at that man—I love him as I do my brother." *We were so near each other, that I heard his words distinctly. He was obeyed; I bowed, thanked him, and walked away unmolested.*'

"The other anecdote relates to the death of General Warren.

"'At the moment when the troops succeeded in carrying the redoubt, and the Americans were in full retreat, Gen. Howe (who had been hurt by a spent ball which bruised his ancle,) was leaning on my arm. He called suddenly to me: "Do you see that elegant young man who has just fallen? Do you know him?" I looked to the spot towards which he pointed—"Good God, Sir, I believe it is my friend WARREN." "Leave ME then instantly—run—keep off the troops, save him if possible."—I flew to the spot, "My dear friend," I said to him, "I hope you are not badly hurt:"—he looked up, seemed to recollect me, smiled and died! A musket-ball had passed through the upper part of his head.'

"Col. Small had the character of an honorable upright man, and could have no conceivable motive for deviating from truth in relating these circumstances to me; I therefore believe them to be true.

"You remember, my dear Sir, the viper biting the file. The character of your father for courage, humanity, generosity, and integrity is too firmly

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established, by the testimony of those who *did know him*, to be tarnished by the breath of one who confesses that he *did not*.

"Accept, my dear Sir, this feeble tribute to your father's memory, from one who *knew* him, *respected* him, *loved* him—and who wishes health and prosperity to you and all the good man's posterity. JOHN TRUMBULL.

"*Daniel Putnam, Esq.*"

I shall make no comment on the first anecdote by Col. Small, except that the circumstances were related by General Putnam without any essential alteration, soon after the Battle; and that there was an interview of the parties on the lines between Prospect and Bunker-Hill, at the request of Col. Small, not long afterwards.

Respecting the death of WARREN, there is a *trifling* disagreement. In the one case, we are to understand, that, after having expended your ammunition—during the height of conflict, and while the redoubt was still possessed by the Americans, you left your post, and deliberately traversed the field of slaughter, to rifle the dying and the dead of such portion of their "*gill-cup*" of powder, as they had not been spared to use, when—you saw Warren *dead* by a small locust tree!

In the other case, it is asserted, (with something like the appearance of truth indeed,) that he fell at the *moment* the redoubt was gained by the British—that he was seen by Gen. Howe to fall, and was yet *alive* when spoken to by Col. Small, *after* the retreat of the Americans.

Both statements *cannot* be true. You, perhaps, better than I, *know* to which the truth belongs.

You have undertaken, sir, to inform *many* who never saw Gen. Putnam, and *some* probably, who never before heard his name, of the public estimation in which he was held at the "*commencement of the revolutionary war;*" and it is no trivial consolation to the writer, after the unworthy means you have used to defame his character, that he is able to show from an authentic source, in what light he was viewed at the *close of that war*, by HIM who had the best means of *knowing*, and, of all other men, the best talents for judging of the merits and services of officers under his command.

Let the "FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY" be heard—for though dead, he yet speaketh, and his testimony will be respected when

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the *name* and *character* of the subject of this address, shall be no longer remembered.

"*Head-Quarters, 2d June*, 1783.

"DEAR SIR,—Your favor of the 20th of May, I received with much pleasure. For I can assure you, that, among the many worthy and meritorious officers with whom I have had the happiness to be connected in service through the course of this war, and from whose cheerful assistance in the various and trying vicissitudes of a complicated contest, *the name of a* PUTNAM is not forgotten; nor will it be, but with that stroke of time which shall obliterate from my mind the remembrance of all those toils and fatigues through which we have struggled, for the preservation and establishment of the rights, liberties, and independence of our country.

"Your congratulations on the happy prospect of peace and independent security, with their attendant blessings to the United States, I receive with great satisfaction; and beg you will accept a return of my gratulations to you, on this auspicious event—an event, in which, great as it is in itself, and glorious as it will probably be in its consequences, you have a right to *participate largely, from the distinguished part you have contributed towards its attainment.*

"But, while I contemplate the greatness of the object for which we have contended, and felicitate you on the happy issue of our toils and labours, which have terminated with such general satisfaction; I lament that you should feel the ungrateful returns of a country* in whose service you have exhausted your bodily strength, and expended the vigor of a youthful constitution. I wish, however, that your expectations of returning liberality may be verified. I have a hope they may; but should they not, your case will not be a singular one. Ingratitude has been experienced in all ages, and *republics* in particular have ever been famed for the exercise of that unnatural and *sordid vice.*

"The secretary at war, who is now here, informs me that you have ever been considered as entitled to full pay since your absence from the field,† and that you will be considered in that light till the close of the war; at which period you will be equally entitled to the same emoluments of half pay or commutation as other officers of your rank. The same opinion is also given by the paymaster-general, who is now with the army, empowered by Mr. Morris for the settlement of all their accounts, and who will attend to your's whenever you shall think proper to send on for that purpose; which it will probably be best for you to do in a short time.

* Alluding to the public dissatisfaction in Connecticut, and the clamor about half pay and commutation.

† General Putnam had a paralytic stroke in the year 1760, (occasioned by long exposure to extreme cold weather,) which disabled him from service ever after.

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"I anticipate with pleasure the day, (and I trust not far off,) when I shall quit the busy scenes of military employment, and retire to the more tranquil walks of domestic life. In that, or whatever other situation Providence may dispose of my future days, THE REMEMBRANCE OF THE MANY FRIENDSHIPS AND CONNECTIONS I HAVE HAD THE HAPPINESS TO CONTRACT WITH THE GENTLEMEN OF THE ARMY, WILL BE ONE OF MY MOST GRATEFUL REFLECTIONS.

"Under this contemplation, and impressed with the sentiments of benevolence and regard, I commend you, my dear sir, my other friends, and, with them, the interests and happiness of our dear country, to the KEEPING AND PROTECTION OF ALMIGHTY GOD.

"I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

"GEORGE WASHINGTON.

"To the Hon. Major-General Putnam."

Here, sir, is unequivocal evidence, either that WASHINGTON was a man of *guile*, who said what he believed not, and commended whom he approved not; or that, penetrating as his mind was, it still remained fettered with "*the shackles of a delusive trance*," which "*the* PEOPLE *were released from, when General Putnam's ephemeral and unaccountable popularity subsided, or faded away*" ! !

But when did this happen? When were "*the minds of the People released from the shackles of this delusive trance*" ? When were "*the circumstances relating to Bunker-hill* VIEWED *and* TALKED *of in a very different light*" ? When was "*the unfortunate Colonel Gerrish*" considered "*as the scape-goat*" on whose head was laid the *cowardice* of General Putnam? His name has rested in peace and honour now thirty years, undisturbed by the sacrilegious pen of calumny; and NOT, till your "*mysterious and inexplicable account of the Battle of Bunker-hill*" found its way into the *Port folio*, was the public sentiment changed concerning him. Why else, was this publication so imperiously called for, that it became a "DUTY YOU OWED TO POSTERITY AND THE CHARACTER OF THE BRAVE OFFICERS WHO BORE A SHARE IN THE HARDSHIPS OF THE REVOLUTION," to publish such a disgraceful libel, and that too, "*without any private feelings to gratify*" ?

Sir—this veil is too thin to hide the malignity of your heart, or the selfishness of your views. The *truth*, however you may strive to disguise it, is this:—As "Commander in Chief," your "*bed*"

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of military honor "*is shorter, than that a man can stretch himself on it*"—and the "*covering*" for disgrace, "*narrower than that you can wrap yourself in it.*"—Hence, resort has been had to a fictitious tale of the Battle of Bunker Hill, coupled with which, it is questionable if captain Dearborn's *name* was ever found, till you made *yourself* the *hero* of your own *romance*.

You might have sounded the trumpet of your own fame undisturbed by me, till you had wearied yourself with the blast.—But 'tis the command of GOD that we *honor our Father*, and "while I live, I'll speak," when any shall wantonly, and maliciously, endeavour to cast dishonor on his name.

That you have done so, is the sole cause of drawing this letter from one, who lives in retirement, without any immediate concern in public affairs, nor any wish regarding them, but that the country of his birth and best affections may long continue to enjoy the blessing of HEAVEN in such wise and virtuous councils, as will by a just dispensation of the benefits of a free government, ultimately unite all hearts in its support:—from one who has no personal knowledge of you; and who, though constantly with the army of the revolution from 1775 to '80, hardly recollects to have heard your name, till announced at the head of the war department. His impressions of your character from that time to the present, have been drawn from *public opinion*, and not from *party prejudice* or *private animosity*. It was not necessary in this letter, to state these impressions *fully;* nor has it in any case been done, but by comparison with the character you have unjustly assailed, and in seeking a motive for the cruel assault.

If, in doing this, any thing has escaped his pen bordering on severity, the *provocation* must be his excuse:—and where *that* is impartially weighed, the blame, if any, will rest, not on him, but on yourself.

There is yet one more passage to notice; and I have done. I allude to the declaration which you ascribe to Col. Prescott, as having been made "at the *table* of the late Governor Bowdoin."

It is not possible for me to *prove* that Colonel Prescott did not make such a declaration. But I *have proved*, that what you allege to have been said by him could not be true. It is well known that Col. Prescott sustained a high and honourable reputation; and that he

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was well acquainted with General Putnam, and must have known the opinions which the distinguished men of the revolution entertained of his individual and military character. It must, therefore, be left to the public to decide, whether it is most probable that Col. Prescott made the assertion which you have imputed to him; or whether, like many other representations you have made, it has no foundation in fact.

Many other mis-statements in your *book* might be noticed and refuted; but I am weary and disgusted with the pollution of its pages, and, as my sole object has been to vindicate a slandered character, I hasten to give you the name of

DANIEL PUTNAM.

Brooklyn, Connecticut, 4th May, 1818.

FLAG OF THE UNITED STATES.

By an act of Congress it has been provided, that, from and after the 4th day of July next, the flag of the United States shall be thirteen horizontal stripes, alternate red and white; and that the Union shall be 20 stars, white in a blue field. The same act also provides, that, on the admission of every new state into the Union, one star shall be added to the Union of the flag; which addition is to take effect on the 4th day of July then next preceding such addition. By this regulation the thirteen stripes will represent the number of states whose valour and resources originally effected American independence; and the additional stars (the idea of which has been borrowed from the science of astronomy) will mark the increase of the States since the adoption of the present constitution. This is the second alteration which has taken place in the flag of the United States, and we trust it will be the last.

The flag of the United States was first designated by congress, in a resolution which was passed on the 14th of June, 1777. According to that resolution the stripes were the same as prescribed by the act of the 4th instant; and the Union was thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation. By act of the 13th of January, 1794, the stripes and stars were both to be fifteen in number—to take effect from the first of May, 1795. This addition of two stars and two stripes to the flag was owing to the admission of the states of Vermont and Kentucky into the Union—the former on the 4th of March, 1791—the latter on the 1st of June, 1792. The flag as altered by the act of the 13th of January, 1794, is the *present* flag of the United States.

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THE SLIPPERS—A TURKISH TALE.

BAKARAK, though a miser, was one of the richest merchants in Bagdad. Camels laden with the most valuable productions of the east, constantly arrived at his warehouses, and the ocean wafted vessels to the harbour but to increase his wealth. Yet he had a treasure in his possession still more desirable than his ivory or his pearls; it was the enchanting Zelica, his only child, who, scarcely fifteen, and blooming like a Houri of the Paradise far outshone them all; but though so sweet a blossom, no one had yet proved sufficiently interesting to wind himself around her heart.

Going one morning to mosque, attended by her black slave only, an aged female, bending beneath the weight of years, murmured an intreaty for alms; while searching for a purse that was suspended at her girdle, she unintentionally let her veil drop aside, and as, with a benevolent smile beaming on her countenance, she was giving the supplicant a zechin, her eye caught a youth ardently gazing at her from a balcony above. An instant warned her of her negligence; hastily replacing her veil, and a deep blush suffusing her cheek, she proceeded, taking the heart of the handsome Karabeg with her, though not leaving him to bewail the loss, for, seizing his cloak, he swiftly followed, keeping, however, at a distance, on account of the attendant. He saw her enter the mosque, and pressed forward, but the number of persons were too great to permit him to procure a place near her; however, he fixed his eyes on her, and followed her every movement, hoping his trouble would be rewarded by a kind look, but being deeply engaged in her devotion, she did not appear to regard him. Before the conclusion of prayers, he arose, and stationing himself at the grand entrance, waited for her; many people passed, and he began to grow impatient—"Why," he muttered to himself, "should I be so foolish? I know her not, nay, perhaps, shall never see her again."—The idea made him involuntarily sigh—he was angry at it—"Psha! I'll not suffer myself to be made captive by the glance of every bright eye—I'll be gone."—He felt inclined to put his threat in execution—advanced a few steps—faltered—turned around—and all his resolution fled, for Zelica again appeared;—with a salute of the head, he made way to let her pass, but in passing, her hand touched his; the touch shot like fire through his veins—he trembled—she sighed—"Oh that sigh!" thought he, and she seemed to hesitate, but at that moment, the envious black was behind, and they proceeded.—Karabeg again followed—in turning a street, a troop of janizaries were galloping towards the seraglio; a courser curvetted, plunged, and had nearly thrown his rider. Karabeg darted forward, for Zelica ut-

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tered a faint shriek, and was running back—"Be not alarmed, lady," he exclaimed, "I will protect you with my life." He coloured for having expressed himself with such an emphasis—Zelica trembled too much either to answer or to thank him—the black frowned—"My good fellow," continued Karabeg, perceiving it, "I surely know your face, Mesroud!"—"Ah, master," cried Mesroud, "'tis you then—I thought so, and am quite happy!"—"You know Mesroud, sir?" faintly articulated Zelica—"He once belonged to my father, did you not?"—Yes, sir, yes, *he* beat me—but you—oh how good, how kind *you* were!"—The little tumult the horse had occasioned was now over, and the troop passed on; but as the black had become a friend, there was no opposition to Karabeg's accompanying Zelica further—they soon became intimate, and when they parted, each felt the pleasure of the other's company too much not to regret it. Already Zelica knew Karabeg's history; his father was the cadi, and he—*her lover*. They had arrived at a portico; Karabeg was entering—"Hold, master," cried Mesroud, "Lady, you forget *your father!*" It was enough—again Zelica sighed, and removing her veil, *intentionally now*, her eyes beamed hope on Karabeg's passion, while her lips thanked him for his gallantry!—They had both vanished, yet he remained some time on the spot, expecting, though Zelica might not re-appear, to see Mesroud,—but in vain!

The house in which Bakarak resided, was situated on the banks of the river. This Karabeg soon discovered; he rowed beneath the windows, and breathing in his flute, played a Turkish serenade. For once, however, his art was thrown away—all was silent—the air had once pleased him, but as it had failed to produce the intended effect, he now thought it dull, and throwing aside the instrument, he took part of the muslin which composed his turban, and rolling it into a body, cast it against a casement on the second story, trusting to chance for arousing the right person. He blest his lucky stars, for Zelica soon appeared, but, alas! his pleasure lasted not long, as she motioned him to begone. "Oh, sweet Zelica, I cannot live in your absence."—"You can't, hey!" cried a voice, "then you must die in her presence, for if you stay disturbing people with your nonsense, you will certainly be killed." 'Twas Bakarak at a lower casement who said this, and Karabeg now comprehended why his mistress warned him away. "Oh Sir," said he, "if you knew me better."—"By Mohammed! but it strikes me, I know you pretty well already! Are not you the son of old Mustapha the Cadi, who had me punished for throwing a slipper at him?" [Now the truth was, Bakarak had one night been breaking the laws of the prophet, by indulging in a little wine, which caused such a revolution in his head (not the strongest at any time) that seeing Mustapha pass, in his way home, he must needs quarrel with him, and giving him a *gentle* salutation on the cheek with his slipper, wounded him so deeply, that he was un-

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der the necessity of giving Mustapha a sum of money to compromise the affair, as, had a trial ensued, and Bakarak's frailty been made public, no power could have protected him from the consequence of such a heinous crime.] "You may tell him," continued Bakarak, "he cheated me out of my money, for his head is too thick for my slipper to have had the *effect* he represented, and at the same time take this to console yourself—When your father complained against me, he no doubt hoped *my slipper* would prove *my ruin*; now when his hopes are *really* fulfilled, you shall have my daughter, and not before, by all the hairs that grace our prophet's beard! —So set off directly, or dread a slipper at *your* head too."—"Were you not the parent of so sweet a maid," answered Karabeg, "you should repent your threats."—"By Alla! that reminds me; I had forgotten she was still in the balcony.—Girl, go to your chamber instantly:—a pretty thing for you to encourage this impudent fellow. Have you no shame on your father's account?—To make assignations by moon-light:—do you not dread its beams—To talk openly with a man too!—Are you not afraid of the prophet's vengeance?"—"Indeed, father," said Zelica, beseechingly, "the young man is so kind, so respectful, it was but this morning he preserved my life, nor, on my honour, have I spoken to him since."—"But I dare say, if you've not spoken, you have made signs.—Oh you jade, I warrant you've not been wicked for want of means!—Women have a thousand tricks at their fingers' ends. I dare say you could contrive, on an emergency, to give this dog a signal of your love, by your veil or your handkerchief." Bakarak little knew how apt a pupil he had; still less did he suspect his precepts would have been so readily put in execution. The hint was certainly not a bad one, and true love soon caught at it. Taking the muslin Karabeg had thrown, which had caught in the iron work that enclosed the window, she put it to her lips, and folding it over her bosom, formed it into a knot over her left breast. Hearing her father, who being below, had not perceived the action (though Karabeg's eyes were not so unwatchful) again repeat his command for her to retire, she left the balcony, motioning her lover away, who kissing his hand, bowed in token of assent. Happily assured that Zelica did not hate him, he thought little of her father's enmity, but feeling perfectly pleased with the events of the evening, he seated himself in his bark, and soon lost sight of the mansion of Bakarak, though the whole scene again passed before him in his dreams, and in imagination he a second time beheld his Zelica assure him of her affection.

When a night's repose had cooled Karabeg's ideas, he began to consider that Zelica's love could not conduct him to the temple of happiness, while those cursed slippers crossed the path. At sunrise he paid his duty to his father, who, far from appearing enraged when he frankly avowed his at-

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tachment, promised that if his son should surmount Bakarak's dislike, he would not prove an obstacle to his felicity.

As Karabeg was returning home, the preceding evening, a man had dropped lifeless in the streets, and not being known, was carried to the Cadi's house. A thought struck Karabeg, and going where the deceased lay, he took his slippers and placed them in his girdle.

The beams of the morning sun had scarce gilded the spires and minarets of the city, when Karabeg again sought the place that contained all his hopes and wishes. Though he waited long in the street, as it was early he did not fear being discovered. At length the door of Bakarak's house opened; he skipped behind the pillar of a large portico opposite, and anxiously fixed his eyes on it. Bakarak came out, and took the way to the public baths; Karabeg softly followed, and when Bakarak entered, he also went in, though concealing himself from observation. The old man, as was the custom, left his slippers at the entrance; *these* Karabeg quickly seized, and replacing them with those he had brought, soon regained his father's house.

When Bakarak left the bath, he in vain sought his slippers; but seeing a pair so much handsomer in their place, (for, owing to his miserly disposition, the weight of his own had been increased by some few patches,) went home contented with the exchange. In the course of the morning he was not a little surprised by a troop of guards, who surrounded his doors, and demanded to conduct him instantly to the Hall of Justice. In vain he inquired their orders, expostulated, prayed, demanded; they forced him along, and he soon found himself in the presence of old Mustapha, the cadi, and the judges of the city. Doubting whether he was well awake, he stared in astonishment, but his dread was increased, when accused of having murdered a man in the public streets; his teeth chattered, and he could not answer. At last, however, he gained breath to deny the charge, though in no very coherent manner. As a proof of guilt, his *slippers*, which had been found on the dead man's person, were produced. Bakarak cursed in his soul both the slippers and those who held them. He could not deny the knowledge of them; many declared having seen them in the court before, and the cadi still remembered the weight of one of them on his cheek.

Those Bakarak had on were next examined; he was asked how he came by them? he explained his adventure at the baths that morning, and was laughed at. He was half mad with rage. The deceased had since been owned, and his brother came forward and declared, that the slippers Bakarak then wore were those of the *murdered* man. He now really trembled for his life. "How," said the cadi, "could a man who was found dead in the streets last night, go to the public baths this morning, and change a

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pair of slippers? The case was clear; Bakarak had equivocated and was guilty: all appeared lost, when a young man stepped forward and begged to be heard. Bakarak could not believe his eyes,—it was Karabeg! He swore that at the time the man was found *murdered*, Bakarak had been in his own house. The old man breathed again. Karabeg therefore declared Bakarak was not the *murderer*. Bakarak seized his hand: he said more, that the murdered man was not murdered. Bakarak took him eagerly in his arms and hugged him. An examination ensued; no wounds appeared, and it was discovered by the surgeons that th man had dropped down in a fit. Bakarak was acquitted on paying all the charges, and of course was happy to get off so well; for on the first appearance of the affair, a coincidence of events seemed to forbode his destruction. The unfortunate slippers were delivered to him, and he returned home. All the way he went he thought of what had passed; had it not been for Karabeg he probably would have lost his life; he felt almost inclined to bestow his daughter on the young man. But, when seated in his library, the affair assumed a different appearance; he examined every circumstance coolly, and began to suspect the truth. This irritated him more than ever against Karabeg, and cursing him and the slippers, he vented his rage in execrations. "I see it all," he exclaimed: "I foolishly said that when these confounded slippers proved my ruin, he should have Zelica, and 'tis thus the wicked dog wants to cheat me out of her, but by Mahommed he shall be baffled." The library overhung the river; the casement was thrown up to admit the breeze; the slippers lay before him: Bakarak felt determined; he seized them in a frenzy, and cast them into the waters. "Thank heaven," ejaculated he, "I am now safe." The action had rather cooled him, and by night he was calm enough to give pretty loud symptoms that the events of the day had not disturbed his repose.

When Bakarak arose in the morning, he went as usual into his library; but who can conceive his astonishment, when he beheld the *slippers* lay before him? "Surely," he cried, gasping for breath, "some evil spirit possesses them. Am I awake? I am certain yesterday's sun beamed on them in the river; 'tis incredible? but what is this smell?" He turned round, for the slippers had done more mischief than he at first imagined. The truth was, some fishermen came early that morning under Bakarak's windows, to draw their nets, and finding them heavy, conceived they had a good draught; but in searching, all they discovered were the *slippers;* in a rage they jerked them away, and Bakarak's casement unfortunately happened to be the only one open; in they went, and striking a jar of odour of roses, for which the merchant had paid a large sum the day before, the force of the slippers broke it, and half the liquid had scented the floor. Bakarak, when he beheld the accident, fell on his knees. "Oh Mahommed, deliver me of these slippers, or I shall indeed be ruined." He called his slaves, to save

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what they could of the perfume, and rushing out, felt determined to get rid of his *curse*. He came to the sewer, which carried off the filth of the town; "no fishermen shall drag ye out again now," said he, as he threw the slippers in.

Karabeg, who had been watching that morning, saw Bakarak go, and waiting till out of sight, boldly knocked at the door; Mesroud opened it, "ah master," cried he, "my lady will be so glad to see you again." "Will your lady be glad, Mesroud? you enchant me; conduct me to her instantly." "But then if old Bakarak should return." "Never mind old Bakarak;" and Karabeg had nearly pushed him down, so anxious was he to make use of the opportunity. They were soon together, and the minutes flew away too fast. Zelica informed him of her father's rage being increased, and his suspicions, which he could not help uttering in her presence. Karabeg cursed his penetration. Mesroud, who had retired to watch for his master, in a short time warned them of his approach; but how Karabeg could escape without being perceived was a doubt. While they were debating, Bakarak arrived in the street, and no longer could they hesitate. The lover soon decorated himself in one of Mesroud's vests, and disguising his face as much as the time would permit, he passed off as a brother of Mesroud's, who was dumb. Bakarak asked many questions, which the pretended brother undertook to answer, and eyed Karabeg so closely he almost thought the old man suspected.

Though all went on pretty well, Zelica and Mesroud felt confused, while Karabeg often wished himself out of the house. Bakarak had not broken his fast that morning, and the agitation of his spirits had almost thrown him into a fever; he unfortunately felt his appetite craving its usual allowance. "Mesroud," said he, "I wish you would go and order some fruit and ices to eat with my breakfast; they will be cooling." "*I'll* go, brother," quickly answered Karabeg, thinking 'twould be an opportunity to escape. "What," cried Bakarak," "the dumb opens his mouth at the mention of eating! this is a miracle I do not understand." The trio were now in a pretty situation, through the imprudence of the lover; however, as he found that a discovery must ensue, he put the best face he could on the affair, and rubbed off the cork. But nothing could pacify Bakarak, who threatened, if he did not directly leave the house, the bastinado should force him. As for poor Mesroud he would have been happy to escape on the same terms, but was actually regaled with the punishment promised; he consoled himself, however, with the hopes of revenge at some future period.

Two days had passed, and Karabeg had not dared to make another attempt at seeing his mistress, when the whole city were alarmed by a stoppage of the water that supplied their houses; in vain the reason was en-

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quired into, no one could solve the wonder, and at last it was deemed most advisable to examine the grand reservoir. After some labour and much expense, they broke open the works, and the cause of the stoppage was found to be—Bakarak's *slippers*. When he heard of it, his rage almost threw him into convulsions; "Some Genie or some Devil possesses them to work my wo," he exclaimed. He soon received a summons to appear, and was demanded how he dare attempt such a treason to the state as closing the pipes. Bursting with vexation, he repeated what he had done to *make away* with the slippers, (though they had proved so diabolical, he almost feared *that* might cause a charge of murder to be brought against him) the breaking the perfume jar, and the putting them in the sewer, from whence they had been carried into the public reservoir. The judges felt inclined to laugh at his misfortunes; however as the damage was unintentional, he was allowed to go, on repaying the treasury what it had cost them in pulling down and rebuilding. He scarcely found his way home, so stung was he by resentment, and so mortified by the loss of his money. He muttered as he went along, "Karabeg shall not have my daughter, though the prophet seems to predict it." His mishaps had made him more obstinate than ever, and when he arrived, Zelica was so much frightened at his appearance, that she retired in dismay to her chamber. He ordered a large fire to be prepared instantly, and throwing the slippers in, "At last," said he, 'I'm determined to see you no more; when I cast you in the river, ye were fished out again; when I put you in the sewer, ye made the whole town suffer, but I'll defy any one to relieve ye now!" The *slippers* seemed as obstinate as Bakarak in giving him the lie, for the leather had imbibed the moisture to such a degree, that they would not burn. Bakarak found his anger useless, and that he must give up the idea of consuming them till dry: a lead extended over the portico of the house, and placing them there, he ejaculated, 'I see I must be plagued with ye some time longer, but I shall bless the hour when the sun has sufficiently hardened ye, that I may commit ye to the flames again; and by Allah! when ye are destroyed I will give a public rejoicing."

The vexations Bakarak had endured, had prevented his visiting the mass—he now determined to go, and throwing on his cloak, went out, but as Fortune, or rather Fate would have it, as he passed the threshold, the *slippers*, by some means, fell from the leads, and came tumbling on his head. Though the blow had confused his ideas a little, he managed to look up, hoping to find out who had done it, and saw a cat running along,—he took the slippers from the ground, and sent them, one after another, at the animal's head; however, he missed his aim, and they went in at one of the windows. He was beginning to curse, and re-entered the house to stop the blood which issued from his nose, when a loud shriek pierced his

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ears; not knowing the reason, he ran quickly up to his daughter's chamber, and beheld her on the floor, with the *slippers* by her. She had fainted, and while Bakarak called her slaves, he attempted to revive her, but finding it in vain, began to tremble. "Oh, merciful Allah," cried he, "protect your faithful Mussulman, and let not my daughter's blood sink on this head." The attendants had now come, but their endeavours were also vain to bring Zelica to life; though no wound appeared, the cursed slippers had certainly struck her somewhere on the head; and Mesroud *consoled* his master by repeated exclamations that she was *murdered*. "You cruel man!" said he, "it serves you properly; had you but united my poor, dear, beautiful *dead* mistress to the man she loved, all would have been well: to be sure you did swear that when those slippers ruined you, their marriage should take place, and though that has happened, (*for ruined he certainly is who kills his own daughter*) yet alas, 'tis of no avail!"—Drops of perspiration stood on Bakarak's brow, his joints trembled, and he fell on his knees. "Oh, Mohammed, restore my Zelica, and I vow by all my hopes of Paradise, since 'tis clearly your wish, that I will no longer oppose her union with Karabeg, the cadi's son." He arose. "Oh those cursed, cursed slippers, they have indeed proved my ruin, and I find 'tis impious to war against Fate." Zelica *now* began to recover, though slowly; thinking it unnecessary to feign longer, she in a short time was perfectly revived, to Bakarak's great joy, who did not suspect the trick practised on him; for though when Zelica saw the slippers enter her window, she was not touched by them, an idea struck her, that answered her purpose equally well. Bakarak's vow had been heard by Mesroud and the rest of the slaves, so that an attempt to deny would have been fruitless; he therefore sent for old Mustapha, who was too good a man to object to a reconciliation, and had his son's happiness too much at heart, to find obstacles to the proposed union. He soon prepared the necessary papers, nor had he reason to complain of his friend Bakarak, whose miserly disposition the late events had completely turned; and who, having promised to give a public rejoicing whenever he got rid of his *slippers*, performed his promise on the day that saw the lovers united.

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LIFE OF JOHN RADCLIFFE.

Dr. Johnson has observed in his life of Akenside,* that "by an acute observer, who had looked on the transactions of the medical world for half a century, a very curious book might be written on the fortune of physicians." The remark is a good one, but the character of the extraordinary person of whom we are about to give some particulars, will show that the inquirer ought to go farther back than the period above-mentioned.

John Radcliffe was a native of Wakefield, in Yorkshire. At the age of fifteen he was entered of University College, Oxford, where he became a senior scholar, and took his first degree. Afterwards he obtained a fellowship of Lincoln College, where he recommended himself to the favour of his friends, more by his ready wit and vivacity, than any distinguished acquirements in learning. He had no turn for a contemplative life: his sociable talents made him the delight of his companions; and the most eminent scholars in the university were fond of his conversation. Though he ran through the usual course of studies connected with medical science, his library was so scanty, that when Dr. Ralph Bathurst, head of Trinity College, asked him one day in a surprise, "Where was his study?"—Radcliffe, pointing to a few phials, a skeleton, and an herbal, answered, "Sir, this is Radcliffe's library."

On taking his bachelor's degree in physic, he began to practise, and that in quite a new method, paying little or no regard to the rules then universally followed, which he even then ventered to censure with such acrimony, as made all the old physicians his enemies. One of the principal of these was Dr. Gibbons, who observed, by way of ridiculing Radcliffe, "that it was a pity his friends had not made a scholar of him." This sarcasm was not lost upon Radcliffe, who repaid it, by fixing upon its author the nick-name of *Nurse Gibbons*, which unfortunate appellation stuck to him to his dying day.

* Dr. Mark Akenside was the son of a butcher at New Castle, and one day as he was standing at his father's stall, he let fall a cleaver upon his foot, by which he acquired a lameness, that lasted through life. Yet he was weak enough to be ashamed of his origin, and could never endure to hear his father's profession mentioned, though his limping gait always furnished a striking remembrance of it.

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Notwithstanding the opposition he met with, Radcliffe worked himself into a most extensive practice, owing to the boldness and the success of his prescriptions.

He adopted the cool regimen in the small-pox with great effect; and by some surprising cures in families of the first rank, his reputation and his wealth increased daily. In 1677 he resigned his fellowship; and in 1682 he took his doctor's degree, though he still contnued to reside at Oxford.

On removing to London, Radcliffe found that his reputation had flown thither before him, so that before he had been twelve months in town, he gained more than twenty guineas a day, as Dandridge, his apothecary, who himself acquired a fortune of 50,000*l* by his means, often asserted.

His conversation was so pleasant, that he was indebted, in a great measure, to it for the prodigious practice which he obtained, particularly among the higher circles; and it is said, that he was often sent for by persons of quality, and presented with fees, only for the gratification of hearing him talk. But sometimes Radcliffe was not in the humour to be thus played with, and would resent the application made to him in a very rough manner.

He was in such high esteem at court, that James the Second endeavoured to bring him over to the Romish communion, and directed two of his own chaplains to use their efforts with Radcliffe, who refuted them by his wit. His old acquaintance, Obadiah Walker, master of University College, and a recent convert to that faith, was then employed for this purpose, but neither his reasonings nor persuasions could prevail upon the doctor to leave the church of England, to which he remained a fast friend to the day of his death.*

* Radcliffe's answer to a long letter of Walker's, is so characteristic of the writer, and excellent in itself, that we shall be forgiven for inserting it in this place.

"Sir,

"I should be in as unhappy a condition in this life, as you fear I shall be in the next, were I to be treated as a turncoat; and must tell you that I can be serious no longer, while you endeavour to make me believe, what I am apt to think, you give no credit to yourself. Fathers and councils,

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Surprising instances of his professional skill and sagacity are recorded. He cured several persons of high rank, after they had been given over by various other physicians; and, among others, he relieved King William from a very troublesome and dangerous asthma, which had baffled the efforts of Dr. Bidloo, and other men of great eminence.

and antique authorities, may have their influence in their proper places, but should any of them all, though covered with dust 1400 years ago, tell me, that the bottle I am now drinking with some of your acquaintance is a wheel-barrow, and the glass in my hand a salamander, I should ask leave to dissent from them.

"You mistake my temper, in being of an opinion that I am otherwise biassed, than the generality of mankind are. I had one of your new convert's poems in my hand just now, you will know them to be Mr. Dryden's, and on what account they are written at first sight. Four of the best lines, and most *à propos*, run thus:—

"Many by education are misled,
So they believe, because they were so bred;
The priest continues what the nurse began,
And thus the child imposes on the man."

"You may be given to understand from thence, that having been bred up a protestant at Wakefield, and sent from thence in that persuasion to Oxford; where, during my continuance, I had no relish for absurdities; I intend not to change principles, and turn papist in London.

"The advantages you propose to me, may be very great, for all that I know: God Almighty can do very much, and so can the King; but you will pardon me if I cease to speak like a physician for once, and, with an air of gravity, am very apprehensive, that I may anger the one, in being too complaisant to the other. You cannot call this pinning my faith on any man's sleeve: those who know me, are too well apprized of a quite contrary tendency. As I never flattered a man myself, so it is my firm resolution, never to be wheedled out of my real sentiments, which are that since it has been my good fortune to be educated, according to the usage of the church of England, established by law; I shall never make myself so unhappy as to shame my teachers and instructors, by departing from what I have imbibed from them.

"Yet, though I shall never be brought over to confide in your doctrines, no one breathing, can have a greater esteem for your conversation, by letter or word of mouth, than,

"Sir, &c."

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When Queen Mary was seized with the small-pox, which the court physicians were not able to raise, Radcliffe was sent for by the council; and upon his perusing the recipes, he told them plainly that her majesty was a dead woman; and he said, after her death, that this great and good princess died a sacrifice by unskilful hands, who out of one disease, had produced a complication, by improper remedies.

Some few months after this, the doctor, who till then had been a favourite with Princess Anne of Denmark, to whom he was physician in ordinary, lost her good opinion by his uncourtly behaviour and inordinate attachment to the bottle. Her Royal Highness being indisposed, gave orders that Radcliffe should be sent for; in answer to which he said he would come soon; but not appearing, another messenger was sent, saying, that she was very ill; at which the doctor swore by his Maker, that "her distemper was nothing but the vapours, and that she was in as good a state of health as any woman breathing, if she could but believe it." On his appearance at court not long after, he found, to his great mortification, that this freedom had been highly resented; for, on his offering to go into the presence, he was stopped by an officer in the anti-chamber, who told him, "that the princess had no further occasion for the services of a physician who would not obey her orders, and that she had made choice of Dr. Gibbons to succeed him in the care of her health."

Radcliffe, on his return to his companions, affected great unconcern at what had happened, and even went so far as to treat the princess with additional ridicule, as well as her physician, saying, that "Nurse Gibbons had got a new nursery, which he by no means envied him the possession of, since his capacity was only equal to the ailments of a patient, which had no other existence than in the imagination."

Another rival of Radcliffe's was Sir Edward Hannes, who on his arrival in London, set up a very elegant chariot; but finding his endeavours to fall short, he had recourse to a stratagem, and ordered his footman to stop most of the gentlemen's carriages, and inquire if they belonged to Dr. Hannes, as if he was wanted to a patient. Accordingly the fellow used to run from Whitehall to the Exchange, and, entering Garraway's, inquire if Dr. Han-

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nes was there. At last Radcliffe, who was usually at this coffee house about exchange time, cried out, "Dr. Hannes is not here," and desired to know who wanted him? The fellow answered, "such and such a lord;" but Radcliffe replied, "No, no, friend, you are mistaken, it is the doctor who wants those lords." However, Hannes got great business, and became a principal physician at court; on which occasion an old acquaintance of Radcliffe's in order to see how he would digest the promotion of so young a practitioner, brought him the news of it. "So much the better for him," says the doctor, "for now he has got a patent for killing." Upon this, the other, endeavouring to try, if possible, to ruffle his temper, said, "but what is more surprising, this same doctor has two pair of the finest horses that ever were seen;" to which Radcliffe coolly replied, "then they will sell for the more."

Such, however, was his fame, that he was sure to be applied to in all desperate cases; and the king in particular, when he found himself very much indisposed, had recourse to Radcliffe's advice. The doctor being admitted, found his majesty reading L'Estrange's new version of Æsop's Fables. William shutting the book, told him, that he had sent for him once more to try the effects of his great skill, although he had been told by his body-physicians that he would speedily recover, and live many years. Upon this Radcliffe having asked some questions, took up the book, and begged leave to read to him the following fable:—

"Pray, Sir, how do you find yourself? says the doctor to his "patient. Why, truly, says he, I have had a most violent sweat. "*Oh! the best sign in the world*, quoth the doctor. And then, in "a little while, he is at it again: Pray how do you find your body? "Alas! says the other, I have just now such a terrible fit of hor-"ror and shaking upon me!—*Why this is all as it should be*, says "the physician; *it shows a mighty strength of nature:* and then he "comes over him with the same question again. Why I am all "swelled, says the other, as if I had a dropsy. Best of all, quoth the "doctor, and goes his way. Soon after this comes one of the "sick man's friends to him with the same question, how he felt "himself? *Why truly, so well*, says he, *that I am even ready to "die, of I know not how many good signs and tokens.*"

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Having read this fable to the king, the doctor said may it please your Majesty, your's and the sick man's case in the fable is the very same; you are buoyed up with hopes that your malady will soon be driven away, by persons that are not apprised of the means to do it, and know not the true cause of your ailment. But I must be plain with you, and tell you, that in all probability, if your Majesty will adhere to my prescriptions, it may be in my power to lengthen out your life for three or four years, but beyond that time nothing in physic can protract it; for the juices of your stomach are all vitiated; your whole mass of blood is corrupted, and your nutriment, for the most part, turns to water. However, if your Majesty will forbear making long visits to the Earl of Bradford's (where the king was wont to drink very hard) I'll try what can be done to make you live easily, though I cannot venture to say I can make your life longer than I have told you." Accordingly he left a recipe, which was so happy in its effects, as to enable the king not only to make a progress into the western parts of the kingdom, but to go abroad, and amuse himself for some time in Holland.

During the king's absence the Duke of Gloucester was taken ill on his birth day, at Windsor, where he had overheated himself with dancing; but whatever was his real distemper, Dr. Hannes and Dr. Bidloo treated it as the small pox, without success. The whole court was alarmed, and the princess of Denmark, his mother, notwithstanding her resentment of his former conduct, was prevailed upon to send for Radcliffe, who upon the first sight of the royal youth, gave her to understand that there was no possibility of recovering him, since he would die by such an hour the next day, as in reality he did. However, with great difficulty, the doctor was persuaded to be present at the consultation, where he could not refrain from bitter invectives against the two physicians abovementioned, telling the one, that "it would have been happy for the nation had he been bred up a basket-maker, (which was his father's trade); and that the other had continued to make a havoc of nouns and pronouns in the quality of a country schoolmaster, rather than have ventured out of his reach in the practice of an art to which he was an utter stranger, and for which he ought to be whipped with one of his own rods."

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At the close of this year, the king, on his return from Holland, found himself very much out of order, and sent for Dr. Radcliffe the last time to Kensington. After the usual questions put by the physician to his royal patient; the king showed his swelled ancles, while the rest of his body was emaciated, said, "Doctor, what do you think of these?"—"Why truly," replied Radcliffe, bluntly, "I would not have your majesty's two legs for your three kingdoms."

This freedom gave so much offence to the king that he would never suffer Radcliffe to come into his presence afterwards, though he continued to follow his prescriptions till a few days before his death, which happened about the time the doctor had predicted.

On Queen Anne's accession to the throne, the Earl of Godolphin used all his endeavours to reinstate the doctor in his former station of her principal physician, but she would by no means consent to his coming to court again, though she was then laid up by the gout, alleging as a reason for her refusal, "that Radcliffe would send her word again, that her disorder was nothing but the vapours." However, in all cases of emergency he was consulted, and it was owing to his prescriptions that the gout was prevented from taking its residence in her majesty's head and stomach.

In 1703, the Marquis of Blandford, only son of the Duke of Marlborough, being taking ill of the small pox, at Cambridge, the doctor was applied to by the dutchess to attend him. But having the Marchioness of Worcester then under his care, he could only oblige her grace by a prescription, which not being followed by the Cambridge doctors, the small pox struck in; on which the dutchess again applied to Radcliffe, who, having heard the particulars of the symptoms and treatment as detailed in a letter from the tutor, said, "Madam, I should only put you to a great expense to no purpose, for you have nothing to do for his lordship now, but to send down an undertaker to take charge of the funeral; for I can assure your grace, that he is by this time dead of a distemper called *the doctor*, and would have recovered from the small pox, had not that unfortunate malady intervened."

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Nor was he out in his judgment, for the dutchess on her return home had the intelligence of her son's death.

Some time before this, the son of Mr. John Bancroft, an eminent surgeon, in Russel Street, Covent Garden, was taking ill of an empyema, of which Dr. Gibbons, who attended him, mistaking the case, the child grew worse: Dr. Radcliffe was then called in, who told the father that he could do nothing to preserve his son, for he was killed to all intents and purposes, but that if he had any thoughts of putting a stone over his grave, he would furnish him with an inscription. Accordingly, in Covent Garden churchyard a stone was erected, with a figure of a child, laying one hand on his side, and saying *hic dolor*, "here is my pain," and pointing with the other to a death's head, where are these words; *Ibi medicus*, "there is my physician."

The case of prince George of Denmark, was also very remarkable. His royal highness had been for some years troubled with an asthma and a dropsy; for the cure of which he was persuaded by the queen and his own physicians, to go to Bath, the year before he died. During his residence there, the gayeties of the place, wrought such an effect upon his temper, that her majesty and the whole court were filled with great admiration of the waters, and it was resolved to come thither again the next season to complete a cure which was considered as certain. The skill of the physicians who advised the journey was also highly applauded; but Radcliffe said, "The ensuing year would let them all know their mistake in following such preposterous and unadvisable counsels; since the very nature of a dropsy might have led those whose duty it was to have prescribed proper medicines for the cure of it, to other precautions for the safety of so illustrious a patient, than the choice of means that must unavoidably feed it." In confirmation of Radcliffe's opinion, his royal highness fell into a relapse, and was seized with such violent shiverings and convulsions, that his physicians themselves were of opinion that Dr. Radcliffe was the only person to be consulted. In pursuance of this advice, her majesty, who could set aside former resentment, for the preservation of so valuable a life, caused him to be sent for in one of her own coaches, and was pleased to tell him, that "no reward of favours should be wanting, could he but remove the convulsions she was troubled with,

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by easing those of her husband." But the doctor who was not used to flatter, gave the queen to understand, that nothing but death could release his royal highness from his pains, and said, that "though it might be a rule among surgeons to apply causticks to such as were burnt or scalded, it was very irregular among physicians, to drive and expel watery humours from the body by draughts of the same elements. However, he would leave something in writing, whereby such hydropics and anodynes should be prepared for him as would give him an easier passage out of the world; since he had been so tampered with that nothing in the art of physic could keep him alive more than six days." Accordingly he departed this life on the sixth day following.

Radcliffe was a great humourist, but he had withal a considerable share of good nature with it.

When he was fairly set in at the bottle, it was a difficult thing to get him away from it, even to attend the greatest patients. A person came to him one evening at the tavern, and requested the doctor to come speedily to his wife. Radcliffe promised to attend her as soon as the bottle was out, but no entreaties could prevail with him to go sooner. The husband, being a powerful athletic man, without any ceremony, took the doctor upon his back and carried him off, to the no small entertainment of the spectators. When he had set the doctor on his legs, at the same time making an apology for his rudeness, Radcliffe exclaimed, with an oath, "Now you dog, I'll be revenged of you by curing your wife," and he was as good as his word.

The lady of Lord Chief Justice Holt being very ill, Radcliffe paid her more attention than was customary with him. This was observed, and it was the more remarkable, as it was well known that the doctor mortally hated Holt; accordingly some of his bottle-companions asked him the reason, "Why," said Radcliffe, "I know that Holt wishes the woman dead, so I am determined to keep her alive to plague him."

Radcliffe was very intimate with Betterton the player, and at his desire advanced above five thousand pounds in a trading concern to the East Indies. There was every prospect of mutual advantage, and the ship, richly laden, arrived safe in Ireland, but in her

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voyage from thence was taken by the French. This loss had such an effect upon Betterton, that it threw him into a desponding way, out of which he never recovered. As for Radcliffe, he was at the Bull's-head tavern, in Clare Market, when the news arrived, and when some of the company began to condole with him, he smiled and said, "Come, come, let us push about the bottle, it is only trotting up some hundred pair of stairs more, and things will be with me as they were."

One Mr. Betton, a Turkey merchant, who lived at Bow, near Stratford, was very ill of a complication of disorders, and though he was attended by several physicians, his life was despaired of. At this crisis a friend advised that Dr. Radcliffe should be sent for. The doctor came, and after two visits, he brought him about, on which the sick man "desired him to omit no opportunity of coming to him, for that he should, in consideration of the great benefit he had received, be glad to give him five guineas every day till his recovery was completed." To this Radcliffe answered "Mr. Betton, the generosity of your temper is so engaging, that I must, in return, invite you to come and drink a cup of coffee with me, at Garraway's, this day fortnight; for, notwithstanding you have been very ill-dealt with, follow but the prescriptions I shall leave you, till that time, and you will be as sound a man as ever you was in your life, without one fee more."

Very different, however, was his treatment of one Tyson, an old usurer, at Hackney. This man had amassed wealth, to the amount of more than 300,000*l*; but, in the midst of his riches, he was miserably avaricious. Being afflicted with a slow disease, he dealt so long with quacks for cheapness sake, that he was at last reduced to the lowest ebb of life. In this state he was advised to consult with Dr. Radcliffe, but the great difficulty was, how to get the doctor's advice at the least possible expense. At last it was agreed that he and his wife should wait upon the doctor at his own house; accordingly they left their own coach at the Royal Exchange, and proceeded from thence in a hack, to Bloomsbury, where with two guineas in hand, and dressed very meanly, the old fellow stated his ailments, which Radcliffe attended to very carefully; after which he told him "to go home, and die, and be damned, without a speedy repentance; for that death and the devil

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were ready for one Tyson of Hackney, who had raised an immense estate, out of the spoils of the public, and the tears of orphans and widows; and that he would certainly be a dead man in ten days." Nor did the event falsify the prediction, for the old usurer returned to his house, quite confounded with the sentence that had been passed upon him; which, whatever might be his fate afterwards, was fulfilled as to his death, in eight days following.

Towards the close of life, Radcliffe wanted ease and retirement. He therefore bought a house at Carshalton, and recommended Dr. Mead into a great part of his practice, saying to him, "I have succeeded by bullying, you may do the same by wheedling mankind."

When Queen Anne lay on her death-bed, Lady Masham sent down for Radcliffe, who was himself confined by the gout in his stomach, and returned an answer by the messenger, "that his duty to her majesty would oblige him to attend her, had he proper orders for so doing; but he judged as matters at that time stood between him and the queen, who had taken an antipathy against him, that his presence would do more harm than good, and, that since her majesty's case was desperate, and her distemper incurable, he could not at all think it proper to give her any disturbance in her last moments, which were very near at hand; but rather an act of duty and compassion, to let her majesty die as easily as was possible."

When the Queen died, the doctor was censured most severely for his refusal to attend her, and so violent was party resentment against him on this account, that he was threatened with assassination. The menaces which he received from anonymous correspondents, filled him with such apprehensions, that he could not venture to remove from his country-seat; and this, with the want of his old companions produced a melancholy that hastened his end, about two months after the death of the queen, November 1, 1714.* His body was removed to Oxford, and there solemnly interred the third of December following, in St. Mary's church.

* The following letters show the ground and the extent of the doctor's apprehensions. The first affords a very affecting, and a most instructive

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He was a most liberal benefactor to that University; and left the greatest part of his fortune to it at his death. He never was mar-

lesson to those who have thoughtlessly contracted pernicious habits, and wasted their time in pleasure and intemperance.

" My very good Lord,

" This being the last time that, in all probability, I shall ever put pen to paper, I thought it my duty to employ it in writing to you; since I am now going to a place from whence I can administer no advice to you, and whither you, and all the rest who survive me, are obliged to come sooner or later.

" Your Lordship is too well acquainted with my temper, to imagine that I could bear the reproaches of my friends, and threats of my enemies, without laying them deeply at heart; especially since there are no grounds for the one, nor foundation for the other; and you will give me credit when I say that these considerations alone have shortened my days.

" I dare persuade myself that the reports which have been raised of me, relating to my non-attendance on the Queen, in her last moments, are received by you, as by others of my constant and assured friends, with an air of contempt, and disbelief; and could wish that they made as little an impression upon me. But I find them to be insupportable, and have experienced, that though there are repellent medicines for diseases of the body, those of the mind are too strong and impetuous for the feeble resistance of the most powerful artist.

" In a word, the decays of nature tell me that I cannot live long; and the menacing letter enclosed will tell you from what quarter my death comes. Give me leave, therefore, to be in earnest once for all with my very good Lord, and to use my endeavours to prolong your life, that cannot add a span's length to my own.

" Your Lordship knows how far an air of jollity has obtained amongst you and your acquaintance, and how many of them, in a few years, have died martyrs to excess; let me conjure you, therefore, for the good of your own soul, the preservation of your health, and the benefit of the public, to deny yourself the destructive liberties you have hitherto taken, and which, I must confess, with a heart full of sorrow, I have been too great a partaker of in your company.

" You are to consider, (Oh! that I myself had done so!) that men, especially those of your exalted rank are born to nobler purposes than those of eating and drinking; and that by how much the more eminent your station is, by so much the more accountable will you be for the discharge of it. Nor will your duty to God, your country, or yourself permit you to anger

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ried, owing to a remarkable disappointment which he experienced in 1693. He was upon the point of being united to a mer-

the *first* in robbing the *second* of a patriot and defender, by not taking a due care of the *third;* which will be accounted downright murder, in the eyes of that incensed Deity that will most assuredly avenge it.

"The pain that afflicts my nerves interrupts me from making any other request to you, than that your Lordship would give credit to the words of a dying man, who is fearful that he has been in a great measure an abettor and encourager of your intemperance; and would therefore, in these his last moments, when he is most to be credited, dehort you from the pursuit of it; and that in these, the days of your youth—for you have many years yet to live, if you do not hasten your own death—you would give ear to the voice of the Preacher, whom you and I, with the rest of your company, have, in the midst of our riotous debauches, made light of for saying, "Rejoice, Oh young man, in thy youth, and let thy heart cheer thee in the days of thy youth, and walk in the ways of thy heart, and in the sight of thine eyes: But, know thou, that for all these things God will bring thee to judgment." On which day, when the hearts of all men shall be laid open, may you and I, and all that sincerely repent of acting contrary to the revealed will in this life, reap the fruits of our sorrows for our misdeeds, in a blessed resurrection; which is the hearty prayer of,

"My very good Lord,
"Your Lordship's most obedient,
"and most obliged servant,
"JOHN RADCLIFFE."

The letter enclosed was as follows:

"DOCTOR,

"Though I am no friend of yours, but, on the contrary, one that could wish your destruction in a legal way, for not preventing the death of our most excellent Queen when you had it in your power to save her; yet I have such an aversion to the taking away men's lives unfairly, as to acquaint you that if you attempt to go to meet the gentlemen you have appointed to dine with at the Greyhound, in Croydon, on Thursday next, you will be most certainly murdered.

"I am one of the persons engaged in the conspiracy, with twelve more, who are resolved to sacrifice you to the ghost of her late majesty, that cries aloud for your blood; therefore, neither stir out of doors on that day, nor any other, nor think of exchanging your present place of abode for your house at Hammersmith, since there and every where else, we shall be in quest of you.

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chant's daughter in the city, when he discovered that the young lady was with child by her father's book-keeper, on which Radcliffe wrote the following letter to the old gentleman:

"Sir,

"The honour of being allied to so good and wealthy a person as Mr. S. has pushed me upon a discovery that may be fatal to your quiet and your daughter's reputation, if not timely prevented. Mrs. Mary is a very deserving gentlewoman, but you must pardon me if I think her by no means fit to be my wife, since she is another man's already, or ought to be. In a word she is no better, and no worse than actually quick with child; which makes it necessary that she be disposed of to him, that has the best claim to her affections. No doubt but you have power enough over her, to bring her to a confession, which is by no means the part of a physician. As for my part, I shall wish you much joy of a new son-in-law, when known; since I am by no means qualified to be so near of kin.

"Hanging and marrying, I find, go by destiny; and I might have been guilty of the first, had I not so narrowly escaped the last. My best services to your daughter whom I can be of little use to as a physician, and of much less in the quality of a suitor. Her best way is to advise with a midwife for her safe delivery, and the person who has conversed with her after the manner of women, for an humble servant. The daughter of so wealthy a gentleman as Mr. S. can never want a husband; therefore the sooner you bestow her the better, that the young *hans-en-kelder* may be born in lawful wedlock, and have the right of inheritance to so large a patrimony. You will excuse me for being so free with you; for though I cannot have the honour of being your son-in-law, I shall ever take a pride in being in the number of your friends.

"Who am, Sir,

"Your obedient Servant,

"JOHN RADCLIFFE."

The old gentleman took the doctor's advice, and had the young couple instantly married. He gave his book-keeper five thousand

"I am touched with remorse, and give you this notice: but take care of yourself lest I repent of it, and give proof of so doing, by having it in my power to destroy you, who am

"Your sworn enemy,

"N. G."

"For Dr. Radcliffe,
at his house in Carshalton, Surrey."

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pounds, and at his death left his whole fortune, amounting to one hundred thousand pounds, to him and his children. As to Radcliffe, the escape he had gave him almost an antipathy to all women, so that he used to say he wished "for an act of parliament whereby nurses only should be permitted to prescribe for them."

When Radcliffe lived in Bow-street, Covent garden, he had for his next door neighbour Sir Godfrey Kneller, the celebrated painter. Kneller's garden was richly furnished with exotic plants and flowers, of which Radcliffe was very fond, and to oblige him Sir Godfrey permitted him to break a door out in the wall which divided the two gardens. But the doctor's servants made such havoc among the hortulary curiosities, that Sir Godfrey found himself under the necessity of making a complaint to their master. Notwithstanding this the grievance still continued, so that the knight at last let the doctor know by one of his domestics that he should be obliged to brick up the door way; to this the doctor, who was often in a choleric mood, returned for answer, "that Sir Godfrey might do any thing he pleased to the door, except painting it."

When the footman returned, he hesitated for some time about delivering this uncourteous message, but Kneller insisted upon hearing every word, and then said, "Did my very good friend Dr. Radcliffe say so? Then go back, and after presenting my service to him, tell him, that I can take any thing from him but physic."

When Prince Eugene was in England he signified his intention of dining with Dr. Radcliffe, who, instead of the high dainties which his highness found at other tables, ordered his to be covered with barons of beef, quarters of mutton, and legs of pork for the principal course, to which was added strong beer of his own brewing, seven years old.

When the prince took his leave, he said "Doctor, I have been entertained at other tables like a courtier, but received at your's

It is more than probable that this letter was only intended to frighten the doctor, by some who owed him no good will. The intention however was sufficiently answered, for the menaces which he received, preyed upon his spirits and hurried him to his grave.

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like a soldier, for which I am highly obliged to you, since I must say that I am more ambitious of being called by the latter appellation than the former. Nor can I wonder at the bravery of the British nation, that has such food and such liquors of their own produce as you have this day given me a proof of."

One of Radcliffe's contemporaries was a noted quack named Dr. John Case, who united the two professions of a physician and an astrologer. He took the house wherein the famous William Milly had resided, and over his door he placed the following distich, by which he earned more money than Dryden did by all his works:

"Within this place
Lives Dr. Case."

Upon his pill-boxes he had these very curious lines:

Here's fourteen pills for thirteen pence,
Enough in any man's own con-sci-ence.

In Granger's Biographical History of England, is the following anecdote of this man and Radcliffe, communicated by Mr. Gosling, of Canterbury.

"Dr. Maundy, formerly of Canterbury, told me, that in his travels abroad, some eminent physicians, who had been in England, gave him a token to spend at his return with Dr. Radcliffe and Dr. Case. They fixed on an evening, and were very merry, when Dr. Radcliffe thus began a health: "Here, brother Case, to all the fools your patients."—"I thank you, good brother," replied Case, "let me have all the fools, and you are heartily welcome to the rest of the practice."*

The generosity of Radcliffe's temper appeared in many instan-

* A somewhat similar anecdote is told of the late Dr. Rock. Being one day in a coffee-house on Ludgate Hill, a gentleman expressed his surprise that a certain physician of great abililities, had but little practice, while such a man as Rock was making a fortune. "Why," says Rock, "that's true, but how many wise men, think you, pass up and down this street." —"About one in twenty," says the other. "Well then," replies Rock, "the nineteen come to me when they are unwell, and the doctor is welcome to the twentieth."

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ces. When Dr. Drake was imprisoned for a libel, Radcliffe sent him fifty guineas, privately, though he had received many injuries from him. He also exerted his influence to save him from punishment, and he succeeded in his application.

Much about the same time a fellow that had robbed Radcliffe's country house, one Jonathan Savile, lying under sentence of death for another crime, took a resolution of writing to the doctor, acknowledging his offence; this letter was brought to him when he was at the Mitre Tavern, in Fleet Street, in company with several persons of quality, to whom he read it, and who were surprised at what they called the impudence of the fellow. But Radcliffe, after ordering the messenger to call upon him in two days, took Lord Granville into another room, and said, "he had received such satisfaction from the letter, in clearing up the innocence of a man whom he had unjustly suspected of the robbery, that he must be a petitioner to his lordship, to use his interest with the queen for the criminal's pardon." This was granted, and in consequence the man was sent to Virginia, where, in a little time, by virtue of the doctor's bounty, he acquired considerable property. His gratitude was evinced by his reformation, and by his sending the doctor several presents.

THE DEATH OF SOCRATES.

The following account of the death of Socrates, is translated from the *Phædon* of Plato. We copy it from the pages of Dr. Bigelow's *American Medical Botany*, a valuable work now in the press.

'And Crito hearing this gave the sign to the boy, who stood near. And the boy departing after some time returned bringing with him the man who was to administer the poison, who brought it ready bruised in a cup. And Socrates beholding the man, said, "Good friend, come hither, you are experienced in these affairs,—What is to be done?" "Nothing," replied the man, "only when you have drank the poison, you are to walk about until a heaviness takes place in your legs. Then lie down. This is all

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you have to do." At the same time he presented him the cup. Socrates received it from him with great calmness, without fear or change of countenance, and regarding the man with his usual stern aspect, he asked, "What say you of this potion? Is it lawful to sprinkle any portion of it on the earth as a libation, or not?" "We only bruise," said the man, "as much as is barely sufficient for the purpose." "I understand you," said Socrates, "but it is certainly lawful and proper to pray the gods that my departure from hence may be prosperous and happy, which I indeed beseech them to grant." So saying, he carried the cup to his mouth, and drank it with great promptness and facility.

'Thus far most of us had been able to refrain from weeping. But when we saw that he was drinking, and had actually drunk the poison, we could no longer restrain our tears. And from me they broke forth with such violence, that I covered my face and deplored my wretchedness. I did not weep for his fate, so much, as for the loss of a friend and benefactor, which I was about to sustain. But Crito unable to restrain his tears was compelled to rise. And Apolodorus, who had been incessantly weeping, now broke forth into loud lamentations, which infected all who were present except Socrates. But he, observing us, exclaimed, "What is it you do, my excellent friends? I have sent away the women that they might not betray such weakness. I have heard that it is our duty to die cheerfully, and with expressions of joy and praise. Be silent, therefore, and let your fortitude be seen." At this address we blushed and suppressed our tears. But Socrates, after walking about, now told us that his legs were beginning to grow heavy, and immediately laid down, for so he had been ordered. At the same time the man who had given him the poison, examined his feet and legs, touching them at intervals. At length he pressed violently upon his foot, and asked if he felt it. To which Socrates replied, that he did not. The man then pressed his legs, and so on, showing us that he was becoming cold and stiff. And Socrates feeling of himself assured us, that when the effects had ascended to his heart he should then be gone. And now the middle of his body growing cold, he threw aside his clothes and spoke for the last time, "Crito, we owe the sacrifice of a cock to Æsculapius. Discharge this and ne-

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glect it not." "It shall be done," said Crito; "have you any thing else to say?" He made no reply, but a moment after moved, and his eyes became fixed. And Crito seeing this, closed his eye-lids and mouth.'

FOR THE PORT FOLIO.—INDIAN POLITENESS.

Mr. Oldschool,

Some years ago, I think in 1800, I had the pleasure of meeting in Italy with Mr. Ellis, formerly governor of Georgia, when under the British crown. He delighted in recollections of the colony; and, I remember, in speaking of the acute conceptions of the native Indians, his relation of the following circumstance.

After some difficulties that had occurred between the white settlers and the aborigines, in which several skirmishes had taken place, he succeeded in restoring peace; and, as was customary in such cases, the Indian chiefs were invited to the government house, to receive presents of arms, &c. The principal chief, however, did not appear on the day appointed. The delivery of the presents was postponed until all expectation of his arrival was abandoned. They were then divided among those who did attend. A few days afterwards the chief arrived. The governor expressed to him his regret that he had not come in time to receive a part of the presents; and, as he was very desirous of propitiating his good will, he told him he would send by a packet, just ready to sail, for certain arms, &c. of superior workmanship, which he named, and that as soon as the packet should return from England, he should be sent for to receive them. The Indian expressed his obligation, and returned to the forests.

On the arrival of the packet a messenger was sent to the chief, who was received by the governor in a room in which the various articles that had been named to him, were all arranged. They were splendid arms, and savage finery; but although articles best calculated to captivate his heart, his eyes glanced round the room with apparent unconcern, and he made no observations respecting them. The governor, apprehensive from his manner that

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he was not satisfied with the present, desired the interpreter to ask him if the articles did not equal his expectations. He replied, yes. Why then, proceeded the interpreter, do you not thank him for them?—The chief appeared to reflect for a moment, when fixing his eyes on the querist, he said—Six months ago I was here. The governor then promised me these things—when he promised them, then he gave them. I then thanked him for them. Were I to thank him for them now, would it not appear as if I had doubted the fulfilment of his promise?

VIATOR.

FOR THE PORT FOLIO.—CRITICISM.

AMERICAN MEDICAL BOTANY, being a collection of the native medicinal plants of the United States, containing their botanical history and chemical analysis and properties and uses in medicine, diet, and the arts; with coloured engravings. By Jacob Bigelow, M. D. member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, of the American Philosophical Society, &c. Rumford professor and lecturer on Materia Medica and Botany in Harvard University. Vol. I. Parts I. and II.—Boston, Cummings and Hilliard; Philadelphia, H. Hall, pp. 197 and 20 plates. 7 dolls.

Vol. I. Part. I. contains the Botanical character and history, &c. of the following plants:—

Datura Stramonium or *Thorn Apple.* Eupatorium perfoliatum or *Thorough wort.* Phytolacca decandra or *Poke.* Arum tryphyllum or *Dragon root.* Coptis trifolia or *Gold thread.* Arbutus uva ursi or *Bearberry.* Sanguinaria Canadensis or *Blood root.* Geranium maculatum or *Cranesbill.* Triosteum perfoliatum or *Fever root.* Rhus vernix or *Poison Sumach.*

In Part II. we find the following:—

Conium Maculatum or *Hemlock.* Cicuta Maculata or *American Hemlock.* Kalmia Latifolia or *Mountain Laurel.* (The engraving of this plant is inserted in the present number of the Port Folio.) Spigelia Marilandica or *Carolina Pink root.* Asarum Canadense or *Wild Ginger.* Iris Versicolor or *Blue Flag.* Hyoscyamus Niger or *Henbane.* Solarum Dulcamara or *Bitter Sweet.* Lobelia Inflata or *Indian tobacco.* Solidago odora or *Sweet scented Golden Rod.*

THIS is by far the most elegant and useful book on the science of Medical Botany, which has been published in the United States. We have waited for the completion of a volume, the first

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part of which was published some months since, before we ventured to form an opinion on its character and claims. The author, Dr. *Bigelow*, is advantageously known as a writer on this subject by a work on the plants of Boston and its environs, and his general merits are strongly attested by a recent appointment as professor at Harvard University, on the foundation established by our countryman, count Rumford. From the prospectus to this work, now before us, it appears that we are to expect two more volumes like the present, the whole to contain 600 pages, and sixty elegantly coloured engravings.

There are two ways in which a work on Medical Botany may be executed. The one consists in mere compilations from the flimsy theses of candidates for medical degrees; in bringing together, without examination, the trite accounts of Dispensatories, and in giving "a local habitation" to the garrulous reports of old market women. The other is to be accomplished by original examinations of the articles under consideration, by a cautious scrutiny of the previous opinions of others, by endeavouring to profit by correct details, rather than to dazzle by novelty and exaggeration; and in fine by establishing the character of each plant on the basis of its real properties, without crowding it with a multitude of strange names out of "all such readings as never were read." The former plan is easily accomplished, and may wear a very specious appearance; but in the end it is of little value, and must perish like all other gewgaws of the moment. The latter requires labour and time, but is sure to meet its reward in the confidence of the public. We do not hesitate to place the work of Dr. Bigelow under the latter class.

What confers a peculiar value on the labours of Dr. B. is, that his medical opinions are not taken up at random from any and every thing, which could be found in print or the nursery respecting the plants, but they have all been submitted to the order of the author's own examination, and the results, whether favourable or unfavorable to the character of the article, are impartially stated. Hence the statements of the author may be received as authentic, whether they tend to enhance the previous character of an article, or to refute the errors of the credulous respecting.

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In several instances we have new and important lights thrown upon the characters of vegetables. Thus in regard to the *Kalmia latifolia*, a beautiful flowering shrub well known in this state, and particularly on the whole range of the Alleghany mountains, we had been previously led to consider it as of a poisonous character; equally injurious to man and beast. The late Dr. Barton had informed us that the Indians make use of a decoction of this plant to destroy themselves, and that a few drops of the tincture poured on the body of a vigorous rattle snake, killed the reptile in a very short time. Dr. Thomas, in an Inaugural Dissertation, has confirmed the prevailing opinion that this shrub actually possesses strong narcotic properties. But from Dr. Bigelow we have a different statement.

"From my own experience," he says, "I am not disposed to think very highly of the narcotic power of the Kalmia. I have repeatedly chewed and swallowed a green leaf of the largest size, without perceiving the least effect in consequence. I have also seen the powder, freshly made from leaves recently dried, taken in doses of from ten to twenty grains, without any subsequent inconvenience or perceptible effect. The taste of these leaves is perfectly mild and mucilaginous, being less disagreeable than that of most of our common forest leaves.

"I am inclined to believe that the noxious effect of the Kalmia upon young grazing animals may be in some measure attributed to its indigestible quality, owing to the quantity of resin contained in the leaves."

In this work we find a refutation of the opinion that the *Asarum Canadense* is an emetic.

"It has been asserted, and the statement copied from one book to another, that the Asarum Canadense is a powerful emetic. I presume that subsequent writers have taken their opinion from Cornutus, who, in his plants of Canada, informs us, that two spoonfuls of the juice of the leaves of the Asarum, (meaning the European plant, rather than the American,) are found to evacuate the stomach powerfully. I can hardly doubt, if such an operation has really been produced from the Canadian species, that it must have taken place in irritable stomachs, to whom two spoonfuls of any crde vegetable juice would have proved emetic. Having

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seen the root of this plant used in the country in considerable quantities as a sudorific, I was long since induced to doubt its emetic power. Subsequent experience has satisfied me that the freshly powdered root given to the extent of half a drachm, and probably in still larger quantity, excites no vomiting nor even nausea."

The reader will find much new and valuable information in regard to the active properties of a number of the articles in this work, more particularly of Phytolacca decandra, Coptis trifolia, Sanguinaria Canadensis, Cicuta maculata, &c.

The chemical analyses of the plants are conducted with care, and in nearly every instance they appear to be original. Vegetable chemistry is yet in its infancy, so that we may consider contributions like the present, to be valuable acquisitions to our stock of knowledge. We observe that no plant treated of in this book is left without an investigation of its proximate principles and interesting ingredients. The accounts of *Arum triphyllum* and of *Rhus vernix* will, we think, particularly reward the attention of the curious chemist.

The coloured engravings of this work are highly finished and very beautiful. They are all made from original drawings, and of course are more to be depended on for correctness than those which are given us by other authors at second hand, without examination. The attitudes of the plants are graceful, the perspective peculiarly correct, and the botanical dissections finished with great minuteness and accuracy. The engravings of the second half volume in particular we think superior in elegance and exactness to any botanical engravings which have been executed in this country. As a specimen we have selected the portrait of the *Kalmia latifolia*, a plant so named from Kalm, the Swedish botanist. It comprises several species, all of which are remarkable for their beauty. They are known in various parts of the United States, by the name of *Lamb-kill*, *Sheep-poison*, *Calico-bush*, &c. The present species, also the narrow leaved and glaucous *Kalmia* are highly prized in Europe for their elegance, and are cultivated for ornamental purposes.

We cannot close this volume without congratulating our readers on the appearance of a work on Medical Botany, which may

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be cited without any apprehensions for our literary character. The present times are distinguished for improvements in all the sciences, and in none have the additions been so great as in that of botany. In accuracy, perspicuity and skill, it will be found that the American is not surpassed by any of his European cotemporaries. He seems to be aware that reputation is a plant which does not grow in the hot-house, under the influence of borrowed warmth. He sustains himself by an original and a natural heat. He never forgets that the main object of his undertaking is to make us acquainted with the *medicinal properties* of plants, and that the public does not purchase such expensive works in order to learn the important art of fabricating children's whistles or that of concocting morning drams.

FOR THE PORT FOLIO.—JUDGE YEATES' REPORTS.

Reports of cases adjudged in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, with some select cases at Nisi Prius and in the Circuit Courts. By the honourable Jasper Yeates, one of the judges of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, John Bioren, 1817—1818, three vols. 8vo.

THIS paper was originally intended for the 7th *Hall's Law Journal*, but the great augmentation of law books and the high prices which they bear, seem to require that every thing should be excluded from them which is not authoritative. Reviews of professional works have frequently appeared in this Miscellany; and those which relate to jurisprudence are particularly entitled to a place, because the law concerns every member of society, and there can be no liberal education which does not embrace some knowledge of so important a science.

The species of publication to which we invite the attention of our readers, is peculiar to those countries in which the common law prevails. In those parts of Europe, where the civil law is established, it has not been usual for its professors to employ themselves in attending as historiographers of the public tribunals, to delineate the arguments of counsel, and to present in their own words the decisions of the judges. Treatises and disserta-

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tions are particular branches of the law, or compendiums of the whole body of it have been preferred as the vehicles of information, into which the decisions of courts and judges have been occasionally introduced. But, however arduous the labors, however profound the speculations of these learned men, they want what is technically termed by the common lawyer, *authority*. They may assist and influence, but they cannot bind the judge. The want of this character has two obvious effects; it tends to increase the number of publications, and it prevents the law from acquiring that certainty and stability which are necessary for the public safety.

The principles which it is open to one man to enforce, it is equally open to another to impugn.

The love of fame; the prospect of profit; perhaps sometimes even the pleasure of contradiction increase the number of writers, while the student is embarrassed and the judge disgusted.

An evil of this sort scarcely exists in English or American jurisprudence. With the exception of some early treatises, such as *Bracton*, *Britton*, *Fleta*, and the *Mirror*, the common law knew little of these general compositions till *Littleton* and his immortal commentator appeared. From that day down to the time of the enlarged publication of *Fearne*, the English lawyers relapsed with few exceptions into the plain and faithful task of publishing the decisions of courts instead of their own lucubrations. Perhaps some exceptions may be admitted. *Hale* and *Hawkins* may be mentioned. It is, however, to be observed as a characteristic mark of their compositions, that little is advanced even by *Hale*, and perhaps nothing by *Hawkins*, for which a decision is not referred to. The general object seems to be, to methodise principles which have been settled by the courts, not to obtrude the opinions of the authors. This is fully exemplified in some of the excellent commercial treatises of modern date. *Abbott* and *Parke* are particularly scrupulous; *Marshall* has sometimes, but cautiously, gone further.

In the United States, juridical disquisitions have been of course still more rare. *Swift* has published a system of the laws of Connecticut, *Reeves* and *Livermore* have given to their brethren good treatises on certain civil relations. *Hall* has furnished the student

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with a guide in Admiralty Cases and a treatise on Maritime Loans. *Duponceau* has made *Bynkershoek* his own; and *Sergeant* has received the approbation of the Pennsylvania bar for his work on Foreign Attachments.

But the safer and more useful vehicle of Reports has excited more labor and has rendered more service.

Since the revolution, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Kentucky and Tennessee, have all had their reporters. Something has been done in Louisiana, where we should look for much curious law-learning, from the mixture of so many codes or systems as are in force in this youthful member of our confederacy.

Of these reporters *Johnson* is entitled to the high praise not only of excellent composition, but of systematic perseverance. In the latter quality he is unrivalled except by East. In Pennsylvania we have had *Dallas*, *Binney*, *Addison* and *Browne*, to which may be added the decisions of one session of the Circuit Court of the United States, by *Wallace*, leaving us only to regret, that he who has shown how well he can report, has not yet gratified the public expectation in respect to the same court since judge Washington presided in it. But it is not our intention at present to discuss the merits of these antecedent reporters. Our further remarks are confined to the recent publication of the three volumes of judge Yeates.

Those who knew the patient and laborious character of this magistrate, and who expected to find, in these volumes, a statement of facts minutely accurate, a careful and scrupulous condensation of the arguments of counsel, and a faithful transcript of the decisions of the bench, have not been disappointed. The work commences with April term, 1791, when the learned judge took his seat on the bench of the supreme court. The first volume includes the cases which occurred from that period to the term of October 1795; the second continues the series down to March 1800; the third terminates with the *Nisi Prius*, held at Bedford in November 1803.

A great proportion of these cases has not been before reported. *Mr. Dallas'* second volume, however, contains a number which are found in those of judge *Yeates*. One general observation may

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be made in respect to those which are given by both reporters: the former are, in most cases, less full and circumstantial than those now under consideration. This remark is not intended to derogate from the merits of *Dallas*. The credit of his reports is deservedly high, and the deceased author is entitled to the praise of having first broken the ground, and of having laid the foundation of a species of publication in this country, which is essential to a proper acquaintance with our peculiar jurisprudence. The local variations of common law, the expedients adopted to escape or surmount the want of a court of chancery, the exposition of our own statutes can only be known through this admirable medium. In the want of it what must be the resource but the uncertain or obscure traditionary information, which is too slowly and too imperfectly acquired, to afford satisfaction to the student, or be useful to the young practitioner?

It cannot form a weighty objection to a book of reports, that the same case has been already reported by another hand, unless there is an exact correspondence, not only in the facts of the case, but in the manner in which the principles under discussion is exhibited to the reader. In England there were, for some time, many cotemporary reporters, and an useful feature of a case could occasionally be found in one which was omitted by another.

But there is much original matter in judge *Yeates's* reports which *Mr. Dallas* scarcely had the means of collecting. The *country cases*, as they are termed by the Philadelphia bar, involve points of the highest importance in respect to titles under warrant and survey, settlements, &c. They embrace, likewise, many questions common to all parts of the state arising on wills, deeds, contracts, &c. Judge Yeates has sedulously improved the opportunities of preserving these cases which arose from the faithful performance of his itinerary duties. It is true that much of this part of the work contains only decisions at Nisi Prius, but there is a great difference between our manner of conducting trials at Nisi Prius and that usual in England. The reports of those trials in that country are of little comparative value, because they are chiefly confined to facts; there, when questions of law are raised they are either decided without an argument or reserved at once for a hearing in bank. With us it has been usual, although it is

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believed the practice is now somewhat declining,—to argue the questions of law, to cite and read authorities, &c. and often to give the case as full a discussion before the jury as it could afterwards receive on the return of the *postea*. The origin of this inconvenient practice may probably be traced to habits anterior to the revolution, when the bench was commonly filled by men who had not had the benefit of a juridical education, and when it was not only thought necessary to inform the court as well as the jury, but it was often attempted to work upon the jury to decide questions of law for themselves. The practice, however, has continued, although the reason for it has almost ceased; and hence the report of a Nisi Prius trial in this state is often highly interesting and instructive. It may be added that many of the charges to the jury contain views of the points of law on which the case may have turned as comprehensive and elaborate as they would probably receive after an argument in bank.

We may refer for instances of this to the following cases in the *first* vol. Chambers *v.* Furry, 167. Evans *v.* Jones, 172. Irwin's lessee *v.* Nichols, 293. Eichelberger's lessee *v.* Barnitz, 307. Sauder's lessee *v.* Morningstar, 313. Griffith's lessee v. Woodward, 317. Smith's lessee v. Brown, 513; and in the *second* vol. the reader may consult the following cases: The Commonwealth *v.* Nicholson, 9. Hubley's lessee *v.* White, 133, Zeiber *v.* Boos, 321. Durmond's lessee *v.* Robinson, 337. Morris's lessee *v.* Neighman, 450. with others. The third vol. we have not had equal leisure to inspect.

On the whole we consider those reports as forming an useful addition to our stock of juridical information and deserving public encouragement.

We understand that the fourth and last volume is in the press.

☞ Those gentlemen who possess any MSS. decisions or other papers, worthy of publication, and who do not contemplate the compilation of a volume under their own names, are earnestly desired to transmit them to the Editor of this Miscellany, who will insert them in his *American Law Journal*. If the presidents of the districts in this state would attend to this request, it would promote uniformity in the law, and prevent much delay and uncertainty.

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FOR THE PORT FOLIO.—MOORE'S DIGESTED INDEX.

A Digested Index to the Term Reports, analytically arranged; containing all the points of law argued and determined in the Court of King's Bench, from Michaelmas Term, 1785, to Easter Term, 1814, and in the Court of Common Pleas, from Easter Term, 1788, to Hilary Term, 1815; with notes, references, tables of titles and statutes and names of cases. By John Bayly Moore, of the Inner Temple, Special Pleader. 2 vols. royal 8vo. pp. 754 and 337. 1816—$12 50 in boards, in Philadelphia; to be republished at the Port Folio Office.

(*From the Monthly Review.*)

'The merit of a compilation of this nature will depend not only on the fidelity with which the cases or authorities are collected and referred to, but on the order or mode of arrangement adopted in the disposal of them; and chiefly with the latter view the present compilation has been edited.' To the truth of the observation with which the author thus modestly introduces his work to public notice, we fully assent; and we are happy, at the same time, in having it in our power to assure our readers that, while he had before him so proper a view of the object which he ought to endeavour to fulfil by the compilation of an analytical index like the present, he has actually accomplished his task in a manner which does great credit to his own judgment and laborious application, and justly entitles him to the thanks of the profession for whose use his work is intended. In the execution of this design, he has very judiciously adopted a mode of arranging the different titles of his digest, and their several subdivisions, less technical, but more suited to modern practice than that of his predecessor, Mr. Tomlins. The very useful *placita* of Mr. East, and the other more modern reporters, are, with few exceptions, copied *verbatim* from their valuable pages; and, where a case determines or more strikingly illustrates two or more different points, it is subdivided, and arranged accordingly. The various indexes are well designed, and accurately executed: so that on the whole, we are not aware of any plan by which a reference to the various important decisions, contained in so large a body of legal authorities as the Term-Reports, can well be made more easy than it is rendered by means of this very useful compilation.

*** An American edition of the above work will shortly be published, and be sold at a low price, compared with the English copy, to *subscribers*.

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FOR THE PORT FOLIO.

OBITUARY.—ALEXANDER GRAYDON, ESQ.

In a recent number (April) of this Miscellany, we expressed a wish that the very interesting *Memoirs of a Life, chiefly passed in Pennsylvania*, should be enlarged and republished in a manner more worthy of the valuable matter which they contain. This suggestion was adopted by the author; but not many weeks elapsed before his earthly hopes and designs were closed for ever, by a mandate which none can disregard, and his sorrowing friends attended him to the narrow house appointed for all living. The personal nature of these *Memoirs* renders it unnecessary to attempt a delineation of the character of *Mr. Graydon*. He was one of the few survivors of that old school of accomplished gentlemen, which flourished before our revolution;—at a period when the courtesy of society was not disturbed by insubordination in systems, nor violated by laxity in sentiments. That he has indulged himself in some harshness in the *Memoirs* will not be denied; nor will that language be censured by those who remember the merciless persecution by which it was provoked.

> ———— So looks the chased lion
> Upon the daring huntsman that has galled him;
> Then makes him nothing.

In his youth, Mr. Graydon was remarkable for the elegance of his person, and he retained that advantage in an uncommon degree to his latest hour. The elements of his temper were kindness and good will; he was frank and generous; his disposition was sociable and equally fitted to win esteem or disarm resentment; his conversation, chaste and pleasant, diffused the same agreeable feelings around him which seemed to warm his own heart. During many years he was an occasional contributor to this Journal. His last private communication to the writer of this memorial, derives peculiar interest from the melancholy event by which it was speedily followed. The letter contained a translation of a Latin epigram; and though the muse of our friend cannot boast the melody of the swan, yet she breathes the same prophetic strain. Before these lines are inserted, the reader will re-

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quire no apology for the insertion of an extract from Mr. Grayson's letter to the editor.

"———— In a slow convalescence from a lingering indisposition, I have amused myself with the enclosed translation, which is at the service of the Port Folio, if worthy of its pages. It struck me as a pleasing trifle, and though no poet, I had a mind to try how I could dress it in English metre.—I am not unmindful of the story in Gil Blas of the Archbishop of Granada,—the old gentleman so celebrated for his homilies. For, though like him, I may not be sensible of a *decadence* in my mental faculties, it may nevertheless exist; and, whether or not, every person, I presume, who has attained to my years (65) will feel a want of the *vis animæ* or *animi*, that is necessary to the ready performance of a literary undertaking, &c.

THE ORIGINAL.

Avulsa è ramo, frons ô miseranda, virenti,
Marcida quo vadis?—Quo vadam, nescio—Quercum
Maternam columenque meum stravêre procellæ.
Indé mihi illudit Zeyhyrus, Boreasve; vagamque
Montibus ad valles, sylvis me volvit ad agros:
Nec contrá nitor. QUO TENDUNT OMNIA, TENDO;
Quò fertur pariter folium lauri roseque.

ATTEMPTED IN ENGLISH.

Torn from thy nurturing branch, poor, fallen leaf,
What hapless lot awaits thy withering form?
Alas! I know not, but I mourn in chief,
My parent oak laid prostrate by the storm.

Hence, doom'd the sport of every vagrant breeze
I'm hurried up the mount, then down again;
One while I mildew under shading trees,
Now, whirl'd afield, I bleach upon the plain.

In short, I GO, WHERE ALL THINGS EARTHLY, TEND,
And unresisting meet my wasting foes:
For oaks and brambles have one common end—
The foliage of the laurel and the rose.*

We are not prepared to say whether the *Memoirs* will be republished with the projected additions. The book itself contains some things that are bold and unpalatable, but it is a work of unexampled candour and truth; and will conduce more to a veri-

* M. Chaudron has published in his *Abeille Americaine*, (Philad. Jan. 1818.) a French version which is both accurate and elegant. ED. P. F.

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table history of the times to which it relates, than any other publication now extant. The additions which were contemplated by the author, consisted chiefly of copious and interesting illustrations, deduced from a private and confidential correspondence with general Washington himself. To these it was proposed to add a selection from those literary and political speculations in which the author had exercised his pen, while he lived secluded—*the world forgetting and himself forgot*,

Oblitús meorum, obliviscendus et illis.

Here it would be seen that *Mr. Graydon* never lost sight of those imperishable principles for which he had contended on the field. He cherished the love of liberty which beat in his heart until it became the impression of his conscience and the conviction of his understanding. Though a severe sufferer from political intolerance, nothing like tergiversation could be ranked among his failings. The perilous appearances in our political horizon never alarmed the soldier of the revolution, who knew that the relations of truth and justice are immutable.

His literature was various and elegant, for he was educated when more attention was paid to that important subject, by the gentlemen of the country, than is to be found in our own times. That his style is not more easy and polished we should attribute more to indifference than inability. Though he was not careful about words, yet he obeyed another precept of the orator in being anxious about things.

REV. J. M'KEAN, L L. D.

Died at Havanna (Cuba) whither he had gone for the restoration of his health, the Rev. Joseph M'Kean, L L. D. late a Professor in the Harvard University.

In common with many of our eminent men, Dr. M'Kean published but little. His fame, therefore, must principally be deposited in the recollection of contemporaries; but there is no reason to apprehend they will prove unfaithful to the trust. Probably no one ever saw him without the conviction of his being an extraordinary man, and both his character and his countenance were alike too strongly marked to be easily forgotten.

He possessed that ardour of temperament which has been thought characteristic of men of genius, and that glow of imagi-

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nation which imposes the heaviest task on the vigilance of reason. "Passions that might not be conquered, were to be, at least, controlled; and limits assigned to flights whose course would not be totally arrested." To no species of character, perhaps, is the influence of religion more necessary or medicinal. Constituted to feel in their extremes the emotions of joy and sorrow, this influence served to tranquillize the tumults of the one, and mitigate the anguish of the other. In the sacred profession which he early adopted, his public exercises were original and affecting. They evinced his own devout reliance on those truths which it was his delightful employment to impress upon others. The strength of his feelings, with his occasional efforts in their suppression, imparted to the method of premeditated composition, much of the additional interest, freshness and abruptness, of extemporaneous discourse. A lettered clergy is too apt to consign animation in delivery to the exclusive use of the fanatics; although the history of the latter, one would think, had sufficiently attested its effect to urge the introduction of so powerful an engine into the service of rational christianity. Dr. M'Kean had the fervour, without the fury, of enthusiasm, and the decision of a partisan unmingled with its rancour. The remark frequently made respecting modern discourses, that they are moral dissertations merely, to exercise the ingenuity of the speculative or the taste of the refined—could never apply to those of this gentleman. His fancy was constantly subordinate to his faith, his theology blended with his ethics, and when he reasoned of righteousness and temperance, it was always with reference to a judgment to come.

In composition, as in conversation, the rapidity of his thoughts was greater than that of his expressions; and these, copious and felicitous as they frequently were, seemed to render but inadequate justice to his previous conceptions. He delighted others, but he did not satisfy himself. There may be a *beau ideal* in eloquence as in the other fine arts; a spirituality, rising above the fetters of human phraseology, and the ideas of *Professor M'Kean* sometimes resembled those finer essences, which escape, ere we can confine them. Hence arose an occasional hesitation in his manner, and a cursory observer might have mistaken for poverty of intellect, what in reality proceeded from its affluence.

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With so impassioned a character as our friend possessed, to assert that his conclusions were always correct, would be to claim for him something supernatural. But if his opinions were ever erroneous, they were never insincere. He honestly laboured to have them adopted by others, with an energy similar to what they inspired in himself; while, at the same time, his own example of bold and independent inquiry usually prevented an implicit reliance on his authority. Many traits of resemblance might, perhaps, be discerned between the subject of this sketch, and the late Gilbert Wakefield; since, however different the consequences of their respective investigations, the spirit in which they were conducted was the same. In singleness of mind and heartiness of feeling, on all topics that came under consideration, they were especially allied; and both were equally conspicuous for the fairness with which they pursued what each considered as the truth, and the frankness with which they declared the result of their researches.

When the office of Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory in Harvard College, was vacated by the resignation of the hon. Mr. Adams, Dr. M'Kean was elected his successor. For this appointment he was qualified not less by critical sagacity and classical taste, than by the happy union he exhibited of the gentleman with the scholar—a combination not common with academicians. He excelled, too, in the power of acquiring and retaining the attachment of youth. Those whom he instructed as pupils, he also welcomed as friends, and his house was the seat of hospitality at once cordial and courteous. His piety, patriotism, and friendship, all partook of the energy and ardour of his nature. To that domestic circle, particularly, where his affections more intimately centred, so intense were his regards, that it might almost be doubted, if the favour he earnestly implored of returning to die among his family, was not denied in mercy. They were dear to him as his own soul, and the parting from their immediate presence might have been more painful than its separation from the body. The "love that is strong as death," might have maintained a fearful contest with the final conqueror; the fortitude of the Christian, been impaired by the fondness of the man; and the triumphant aspirations of the saint have yielded to the sighs of the husband, and the father.

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FOR THE PORT FOLIO.

THE DEATH OF TASSO—A PRIZE POEM.

From the French of M. Dejouy; published in the Port Folio, Oct. 1817.

CANTATE.

Awake my soul! one victory more,
One effort make these pangs to brave—
Let for one moment glory's rays,
Pierce the dark shadows of the grave—

Hark, what shouts ascend the skies!
See what splendours round me rise,
Dazzling with regal pomp my eyes—
To whom decreed,
This car, this crown,
Unheard of honours high renown,
Fair merit's deathless meed—
To me, to me.
The fates decree,
Th' immortal palm of never-dying fame:
Imperial Rome's
Eternal domes,
Prepare the crown that consecrates my name

CAVATINE—

Oh! thou, my more than vital soul,
My light, my life, my love,
Thou, who dost my fate control,
My every impulse move—
Thou, who art destiny to me,
Dear arbitress of fate's decree,
Who with love's ardent flame consumed,
That breast whose genius you illumed;
Thou, whose name sounds from shore to shore,
My noble, tender Eleanore!—
Deign now one gracious smile to pay,
To this so great, so glorious day—
This grateful triumph—these high honours prove
Me not unworthy thy distinguished love—

Sport of misfortune and perfidious fate,
He who the fam'd Rinaldo did create,
He who renowned Armida sung,
And with whose name the world has rung!
Haste! capricious mortals, fly,
Raise me altars now I die—
Those outrages you did create,
You now yourselves will expiate—
While I lived, reproach, neglect,
Wretchedness and disrespect,
Oblivion and oppression dark,
Combined my steps on earth to mark—
Haste! capricious mortals, fly,
Raise me altars, now I die—

AIR.

Let all posterity respond,
The dying accents of my lyre—
For immortality to me,
Begins the moment I expire—
I see that time must disappear,
Without regret I see it end—
How glorious on these steps to die,*
Where all the capitol ascend—

CHORUS.

Sing, ye muses—weep, ye loves!
Tasso falls upon his lyre—
Eleanora's lover dies,
Tasso never can expire.

FOR THE PORT FOLIO.

TO MYRA.

While musing in my lonely cell,
I pass in fond review,
Those precious moments loved so well,
In friendship passed with you;
How can I bear the maddening thought,
To banish from my soul,
The sweet illusion love has wrought,
Since o'er my breast it stole.

In listless apathy my days,
Till then unvalued flew;
Unknown the torments love repays,
Unkown its pleasures too;
For though no kindness you bestowed,
On my unhappy suit,
My heart its hottest pleasures owed,
To that most dear pursuit.

Sooner that heart shall cease to throb,
And streams retrace their source,
Than I this faithful bosom rob,
Or love from it divorce;
Fain would I have you think that fate,
My name has joined with thine;
It cannot be that endless hate,
Should meet such love as mine.

Then why with angry looks destroy,
My fondly cherished dream?
Why crush the transitory joy,
Of hope's delusive gleam?
Oh! let me, let me love again,
For life had nothing half so sweet;
And let that heavenly face regain,
Those smiles 'tis heaven itself to meet.

FOR THE PORT FOLIO.

From the Persian of Hafez.

TO HIS MISTRESS.

Oh! thy dear form of matchless grace,
Gives sweet delight to every place;
Thy am'rous glance, thy playful air,
Have freed my heart from every care.

Thy nature's gentle as the rose,
When first its blushing buds unclose;
And like the pine of Eden's grove,
Thou'rt nought but beauty, nought but love.

Thy feign'd reserve, thy coy caress,
A thousand charms for me possess,
Thy downy face, thy dimpled cheek,
Of fond desire and rapture speak.

* Poets were always crowned on the steps leading to the capitol.

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Thy humid eye, with love's soft light,
Thy arching brow, with smiles is bright;
And all perfections sweetly join,
To make thy lovely form divine.

Within the garden of my eyes,
Of thee unnumber'd pictures rise;
And thy dark curling locks impart
Their own sweet odour to my heart.

A wand'rer in the way of love,
Who's doom'd like me, alone to rove,
From grief's dread torrent no retreat,
No refuge, can expect to meet.

But since thy friendship is bestow'd,
No longer dreary seems the road,
'Midst all my sorrows, all my fears,
It's heart-consoling influence cheers.

Ah! see dear maid, before thy eyes
Thy wretched lover faints and dies;
Yet still thy smiles' enliv'ning charm,
Can death of ev'ry pang disarm.

However dreadful seems to be,
The desert of his search for thee,
There Hafez though his heart be broke,
With joy can still thy name invoke. L.

To the Lady who, on Twelfth Night, addressed some beautiful verses, with a wreath of evergreen, to Miss ******, one of the Queen's attendants.

I greet thee fair, whose magic wand
Can wake to sympathy the soul;
Whose lyre breathes music forth so bland
As if from seraph's touch it stole!

Ah, sure thy frame is finely wrought,
Such feeling exquisite to know;
And nature when she form'd thee, sought
A rare and cunning work to show.

The theme, I own, may well excite,
For she can charm the heart away;
But tho' in homage all unite,
Oh, who like thee can pour the lay?

Long may the wreath thou wov'st entwine
The snowy temples of that maid;
The flame of friendship mutual shine,
And never from thy bosom fade!
Baltimore. A.

FOR THE PORT FOLIO.

THE ROSE WITHOUT A THORN.

FANNY.

No Rose without a thorn, they say,
But don't let it alarm you,
For here behold a single rose
Without a thorn to harm you.

HENRY.

The wonder's common, as you'll find,
When with the world you mingle,
For 'tis indeed *without a thorn*,
But then, you know it's *single!*

FOR THE PORT FOLIO.

To her who may understand it.

——— by and by thy bosom shall partake
The secrets of my heart. *Shaks.*

To thee on whose unclouded day,
Bright virtue sheds its purest ray:
To thee, with whom I often rove,
By memory led, through friendship's grove:
With whom in many a morning dream,
I glide along life's placid stream,
Like Juno's swans that lightly lave
Their plumage in the curling wave:
To thee a bauble gift I send,
And with it, warmest wishes wend.

Though poor the gift; though rude the muse
The token thou wilt not refuse;
Since something whispers in my ear,
The donor's name will make it dear.

In history wise and poet's rhyme
A serpent bids us think of time,
And may we not the ring apply
To represent our social tye?
Bright as the metal when refin'd,
Are friendship's pleasures to the mind.
And like its form, no end we prove
In acts of kindness when we love.

Then take the ring—and may it tell
How long I'll love thee and how well.
Then take the ring and may it say
Remember him who weaves the lay:
Who prays that health's unborrowed hues
O'er thee may long her tints diffuse;
And plenty's copious horn be found,
Scattering, for thee, her fruits around.
Regard it not with listless face
If e'er *another* claim its place,
But let it ever say to thee
How dear thou art, sweet girl, to me!
SEDLEY.

ON SEEING THE "WATERLOO WALTZ" IN A NEW CATALOGUE OF MUSIC.

From the London Globe.

A moment pause, ye British fair,
While pleasure's phantom ye pursue,
And say, if sprightly dance or air
Suit with the name of Waterloo.
Awful was the victory—
Chastened should the triumph be;
'Midst the laurels she has won,
Britain mourns for many a son.
Veil'd in clouds the morning rose;
Nature seem'd to mourn the day
Which consign'd, before its close,
Thousands to their kindred clay.
How unfit for courtly ball,
Or the giddy festival,
Was the grim and ghostly view,
Ere evening clos'd on Waterloo.
See the Highland warrior rushing,
Firm in danger, on the foes;
'Till the life blood warmly gushing,
Lays the plaided hero low.
His native pipes accustom'd sound,
'Mid war's infernal concert drown'd,
Cannot sooth his last adieu,
Or wake his sleep at Waterloo.

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Chasing o'er the cuirassier,
See the foaming charger flying,
Trampling in his wild career,
All alike, the dead and dying!
See the bullets through his side,
Answer'd by the spouting tide;
Helmet, horse, and rider too,
Roll on bloody Waterloo.
Shall scenes like these the dance inspire,
Or wake th' enlivening notes of mirth?
O! shiver'd be the recreant lyre,
That gave the base idea birth.
Other sounds I ween were there,
Other music rent the air;
Other waltz the warriors knew,
When they clos'd on Waterloo.
Forbear, 'till time with lenient hand,
Hath sooth'd the pang of recent sorrow;
And let the picture distant stand,
The soft'ning hue of years to borrow.
When our race has passed away,
Hands unborn may wake the lay,
And give to joy alone the view,
Of Britain's fame at Waterloo.

—

SONNET.

Thrice happy he, who in earliest youth
Has sought the bower of meditation dear,
Who, long accustomed to the voice of truth,
Can yield to truth an unreluctant ear;
To him how welcome each declining year,
How fair the splendor of his setting skies,
No time, no circumstance to him is drear;
Within himself whose noblest transports rise,
Or Nature's simplest scene a thousand sweets supplies.
In secret best the humble soul may rise
As grateful incense to the eternal power,
Winging its way above yon passing skies
To him who loves the world excluded hour;
'Tis now that streams of heavenly radiance shower
On the misguided thought, now that the ways
Of checquered Providence no longer lour,
Now that th' enlighten'd eye can firmly gaze
Beyond the precincts drear of this benighted maze.

—

PARODY.

From the Pittsburgh Gazette.

In the uphill of life, when I find I am toiling,
May my fate no less fortunate prove,
Than a well furnish'd purse to assist my turmoiling,
And a dear little girl that I love:
With a cellar well stor'd, and a cook to my mind,
And a friend that ne'er wishes to borrow;
I'll indulge my good humor whene'er so inclin'd,
And invite him to dinner to-morrow.

With a coat to my back, that I'm able to pay for,
Whether specie or paper prevail;
And a wife who at church, I shall ne'er have to stay for,
And a brewer that gives me good ale;
With a couch to recline on, a valet to wait,
And tobacco to puff away sorrow!
I'd envy not Bony, his honor or state,
Nor exchange places with him to-morrow.

From political storms, may my mind be completely
Secured by its indolent ease;
And my wife when address'd, always answer me sweetly,
"Just, my dear sir, as *you* please."
From duns and from lawyers, aloof may I stand,
And from sycophants lend, ask, nor borrow;
But if such intrude, have a porter at hand,
To invite them politely—to-morrow.

May I ne'er have a foe, who is mean and intriguing,
Nor ever a coward offend;
May I never become, either dull or fatiguing,
Nor e'er have a garrulous friend;
Thus gliding thro' life, without labour or guile,
With a face free from wrinkle or furrow;
Even death! from his errand, will lingera while,
And still put it off 'till to-morrow.

ORLANDO.

—

FOE THE PORT FOLIO.

THE HEART UNDECEIVED.

From the Spanish of Cadulso, by Julius Davezac esq. the translator of Marmion.

LE COEUR DESABUSE.

Tes guirlandes de fleurs enchainent l'univers,
Amour! dans les ennuis d'une existence vaine,
A ces charmants liens mes bras furent offerts;
Les fleurs en se sechant m'ont decouvert la chaine;
Et je vis que c'etait des fers.

Par des sentiers fleuris, au temple des dilices,
Tu promets de guider les aveugles mortels;
Je te suivis errant au gre de tes caprices.
Au bout de la carriere, au lieu du bien reels
Je ne vis que des precipices.

Tu nous offres, cruel! l'attrayante boisson,
Que contient du plaisir la coupe decevante,
Je bus: un feu soudain egara ma raison;
Je brulai, cousume d'une soif devorante;
Je vis que c'etoit du poison.

Son empire promet une mer sans orage
Un calme continu, sans ecueils, sans dangers,
Je m'enbarquai: bientot les plus affreux nuages,
La tempete, les flots, la foudre et les rochers,
Ne m'ont offert que des naufrages

J'admirai la douceur des oiseaux innocents
Qui trainent, dans son char, ta mere qui les guide;
J'osai leur prodiguer mes baisers caressants
Mon sein fut dechire par ce couple perfide;
Te vis que c'etoit des serpents—

Fuis amour, revenu de ses egarements,
Mon cœur tranquille enfin brave tes artifices
Va chercher pour joults d'autres cœurs imprudents,
Porte ailleurs, tes poisons, tes fers, tes precipices,
Tes naufrages et tes serpens.

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PERKINS AND JONES'S SUPPLY PUMP.—The intention of this contrivance is to supply fire engines with the waste or gutter water at the time of fire, and thus to use as little water as may be from the public reservoir. As the pump is very portable, and may nine times out of ten be brought into use, every fire engine should be furnished with one or more, with a sufficient length of hose. The experiment lately exhibited in this city was this: Three artificial dams were made in the gutter, at certain distances, by means of a very simple contrivance, consisting of a piece of canvas fastened to a stick. The stick with the canvas was laid over the gutter, so that a sufficient body of water was caught. These dams were supplied for the experiment, from a hydrant, and the *supply pumps* were severally inserted. The water, however muddy, is filtered as much as is required in the act of raising it. The water was propelled into a large fire engine, made altogether on a new plan, and which works horizontally by means of ropes, so that four set of ropes are used, and as many hands may be employed as their respective lengths will admit: these ropes are connected with horizontal bars, which, by means of a chain working on two wheels, also horizontal, communicate motion to the piston of the forcing pump; over which is an air vessel of the largest kind. The engine itself may be either used with the *goose neck*, or with the hose and pipe; so that it combines all advantages. From the dams before mentioned, this engine was filled in about forty seconds. This mode of supplying engines is very expeditious, and sooner accomplished than with hose from the hydrant direct, and the labour required appeared to be trifling. This experiment clearly proved, that the plan ought to be adopted, for the reasons before given.

From the quantity of water which runs down our gutters in time of fire, three or four engines might be constantly supplied in this way.

—

ENGLISH LIBERTY OF SPEECH.

Part of a speech delivered by the Earl of Chatham.

"My Lords, I need not look abroad for grievances. The grand capital mischief is fixed at home. It corrupts the very foundation of our political existence, and preys upon the vitals of the state—the constitution has been grossly violated—THE CONSTITUTION AT THIS MOMENT STANDS VIOLATED. Until that shall be healed, until the grievance be redressed, it is vain to recommend union to Parliament; in vain to promote concord among the people. If we mean seriously to unite the nation within itself, we must convince them, that their complaints are regarded, and that their injuries shall be redressed. On that foundation I would take the lead in recommending peace and harmony to the people.—On any other, I would never wish to see them united again. If the breach in the constitution be effectually repaired, the people will of themselves return to a state of tranquility. If not—MAY DISCORD PREVAIL FOR EVER. I know to what point this doctrine and this language will appear directed. But I feel the principle of an Englishman; and I utter them without apprehension or reserve.

The crisis is indeed alarming;—So much the more does it require a prudent relaxation on the part of government. If the king's servants will not permit a constitutional question to be decided on, according to the forms, and on the principles of the constitution, it must then be decided in some other manner; and rather than it should be given up, rather than the nation should surrender their birth right to a despotic minister, I hope, old as I am, I shall see the question brought to issue, and fairly tried between

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the people and the government. My Lords, this is not the language of faction, let it be tried by that criterion by which alone we can distinguish what is factious from what is not—by the principles of the English constitution. I have been bred up in these principles; and know, that when the liberty of the subject is invaded, and all redress denied him, resistance is justified.

—

FRENCH EMIGRANTS.

The following is the reply of general Lallemand, to the publications which have recently appeared in the papers relating to certain designs of the French emigrants.

Reply to the letter from Natchitoches, published in the Louisiana Gazette, of the 31st of March.

The French colonists, who have gone to settle on the river Trinity, have no other object than the choice of productive lands, where they might procure labourers and cattle at low prices, and from which they might derive a prompt and productive revenue. They look for those advantages which are to be derived from a rich soil, by active laborious men; they have no other wish than to cultivate them and to enjoy the tranquillity necessary to such an establishment. They have no connexion with any assemblage that has heretofore taken place in those parts, and will never engage either in privateering or smuggling, nor in any other occupation that might render them a subject of disquiet to any people.

Signed. H. LALLEMAND.

New Orleans, 1 April, 1818.

—

LIFE BOAT.—Put three or four cleats on each bilge of the boat inside, or make holes through the timbers for the purpose of receiving lashing; then have two or more empty water casks ready to put in the boat: over these and through the cleats or holes pass the rope. Let the sea now break over and fill her—a common boat with eight men in her, will keep (with only two casks) her gunwale six or seven inches above the water. The boat being thus above the surface, she can be bailed out; and should there be a number of men so as to keep her down, enough may get out to let her rise, and steadying themselves with their hands on the gunwale, let the others bail, taking alternate spells, until she is free. The casks will prevent the boat's *upsetting*, acting upwards as a lead keel would do downwards. Should you be compelled to leave your ship at sea, put in the boat as many casks as can conveniently be stowed; let them be scuttled, all but one or two, and have tight tarpaulin covers; in these you can then put provision, water, compass, quadrant and charts; and as the provisions are consumed, there will be room, should the casks be large enough, for the weary or sick to screen themselves from the weather. I always keep two or three casks of water in the long boat, which I use first, and when out make my stowage of bread, &c.

Norfolk Beacon.

—

RECEIPT FOR DESTROYING FLIES WITHOUT THE USE OF POISON.

Take half a tea-spoonful of black pepper in powder, one tea-spoonful of brown sugar and one table spoonful of cream, mix them well together, put them in the room on a plate where the flies are most troublesome and they *will soon disappear.*

—

It will perhaps be useful to mention that families would find a material saving if they were to use common Soda or potash dissolved in soft water afterwards mixed in hard water if they have no other, before they have their linen washed; the quantity of soap will not only be diminished by meliorating the hard water but the colour of the linen really improved.

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An English physician, Dr. Richard Pearson, has succeeded after various attempts in forming a vegetable compound by which persons engaged in exploring hot and desert regions might be saved from perishing by hunger and thirst. The ingredients are reducible into a very small bulk and not liable, when mixed, to spoil by keeping. With a pint of jelly made from starch by boiling water, mix two ounces of Gum Arabick and half a drachm of catechu, both previously reduced to powder, and to the whole then add one drachm of crystallized citric acid also pulverized. Spread the compound upon a clean board or paper, and gradually dry it in an oven of a gentle heat, till it becomes hard and brittle, when it may be broken into pieces of a proper size for being carried in the pocket Doctor Pearson calculates that two ounces of this compound will sustain life for twenty-four hours—but supposes that during the exertion of travelling four ounces may be required. So that two pounds would last a person totally destitute of every other sort of aliment eight days.

—

FILTERING MACHINE.—We are glad to learn that Mr. Sanderson's filtering machine is daily becoming better known, and nothing but a knowledge of its merits is necessary to bring it into universal use. Considering the general state of our Schuylkill water when drawn from the hydrant, compared with the perfectly pure, bright, and pellucid state in which it is drawn from the filter; and considering also that this purification is effected without trouble or inconvenience, we cannot think of any thing upon which the price of one of the machines could be expended, which would contribute as much to the gratification, the comfort, and even the health of a family. It consists of an earthen or stone jar, capable of containing eight or ten gallons of water, and may be conveniently set in a fireplace, or any unoccupied corner. The water is poured in at the top, and, after passing through the filter, is drawn out pure and bright by a cock at the bottom, however impure it may have been when introduced. The machinery is perfectly simple; occasions no trouble; and is not liable to get out of repair.

—

ROYAL BROTHERS.—Great Britain has made several attempts to establish such a commercial intercourse with the Emperor of China, as would be profitable to one, and perhaps both of the parties concerned. Two splendid embassies have been fitted out by the former nation, the first under the care of Sir George Staunton, and the second under that of Lord Amherst, with a great retinue, and magnificent presents, to induce the "Oldest Son of the Moon" to form a treaty with his Royal Brother, not quite of such illustrious descent, of Great Britain. Both these embassies failed, on some point of etiquette, a difficulty which often occurs in the adjustment of national concerns between potentates. His majesty of China required, particularly in the latter instance, acts of submission and humiliation, too great to be endured by the stiff-necked and stiff-backed representative of John Bull, and the ambassador with his brilliant train was obliged to return and to tell his master that he must wait for a more condescending emperor to ascend the Chinese throne, or despatch a more flexible and pliant minister, before he could realize his wishes with regard to the trade of that vast but whimsical empire. An event of character somewhat resembling this, in some of its circumstances, has, it seems lately taken place between our government and a neighbouring potentate, not descended from the Moon, unless indeed, when she was in an eclipse, but still a monarch of

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lofty pretensions, great stateliness, and unyielding dignity and pride. We allude to his majesty of Hayti, king Henry the 1st. For some cause, the president found it expedient to despatch the frigate Congress on a message to this sovereign, with a Mr. Tyler on board as the agent of the government. Whether by accident, or design, we pretend not to know, this gentleman's credentials were very badly drawn up, and either from a want of geographical knowledge in the cabinet, or some untoward circumstance, the very name of the country, as well as that of its capital, were mistaken in the document. We know not how to excuse *this error*. Had Hayti formed a portion of a newly discovered world near the south pole, there would have been some excuse for such a mistake. But it is not to be supposed, that the acting secretary of state, or any higher officer in the cabinet could have been unacquainted with the fact, that Hayti was the name of a kingdom in the neighbourhood of America, and that his majesty Henry 1st, was its sovereign, enjoying all the rights, privileges and immunities to crowned heads belonging and appertaining, and attended with a full share of the splendor and magnificence of royalty. In such a state of things, it can hardly be considered as owing to ignorance or accident that in Mr. Tyler's credentials, this kingdom should have been called by its old colonial servile name of St. Domingo, and the capital by that of Cape Frangois.

Let these things, however, be as they may, since they have occured, we are not surprised to find the Haytians *back up* at the apparent indignity. The reception which Mr. Tyler met with, on his arrival has been published in all the newspapers. Count Limonade, "Secretary of state, and minister of foreign affairs of Hayti," in the highest style of dignity, offended but not petulent, directs the king's "secretary and interpreter," upon finding that the American agent "was the bearer of a simple certificate, couched only in unusal and inadmissable terms," to inform him that he could not be received, "not being furnished with authentick credentials in good and due form, sufficient to credit him with the Haytian government." At the *same* time, the prime minister, *charitably* supposing Mr. Tyler to be ignorant of the diplomatick usages established in that government, directs that they be made known to him. Thus, like the embassy of Lord Amherst to China, this effort of our government completely failed, upon this single point. Of how much imporsance it may have been, we know not. The commerce of that island has been of very great moment to this country. Its affairs are now placed in hands that mean to hold and direct them. Its sovereign is black, but his talents are respectable, his courage and energy unquestionable, and his title to his throne, at least according to notions which have been of late much cherished as, "*legitimate*." The talents of some of his ministers are of a high order. Count *Limonade*, like the beverage from which he appears to have derived his title, we presume can be *sweet or sour*, as occasion requires, and when both qualities are well mixed, he is doubtless very pleasant and palatable; when otherwise, probably one of these ingredients is very acute and uncomfortable. The truth is, government had better fully acknowledge his sable majesty, or let him entirely alone. We see not why, in the multitude of sympathy that is so fashionable at the present time for the *yellow* inhabitants of the south, who are feebly struggling against a feeble tyranny, no regard should be entertained for a nation of a darker complexion it is true, which, under tenfold difficulties, and a vastly greater force of op-

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pression, threw off the yoke by the most astonishing courage and perseverance, and have maintained their independence against all the efforts which France, in her gigantick days could bring against them.

N. Y. Daily Adv.

—

VIRGINIA.—A motion was recently made in the legislature of Virginia, by Mr. Naylor stating the propriety of appointing a chaplain, but his resolution for that purpose, after much argument and discussion, was negatived by a very considerable majority. All the talents of the House, with a very few exceptions, were opposed to Mr. Naylor. On this subject one of the Virginian editors, says "we regret that such a motion should have been brought forward, as it is a question which is calculated to excite much prejudice and warmth of feeling. Many of the members who voted against Mr. Naylor's resolutions, were regular attendants on divine worship: but were opposed to the election of a chaplain on constitutional principles. It ought to be recollected that the spirit of our constitution is opposed to the giving of a preference to any particular sect; and it would be impossible to elect a chaplain that was not a member of some particular church. Although we are the sincerest in our wishes for the success of christianity, yet we most decidedly agree in the decision of the house of delegates on this question—we hope the proposition will never again be made; and that our representatives may be allowed to say their prayers, according to their own forms, each in his bed chamber before he repairs to the house. We are confident that they will be equally acceptable to the Deity; and will be attended with no expense to the state.—We understood that one of those delegates who seemed most anxious for the election of a chaplain, had been at one period a minister of the gospel.—We would have had therefore no objections, if these men in place of advocating the election of a hired chaplain, proffered their own services on this occasion, without receiving any money from the treasury—suppose for instance, general Blackburn, who is said to understand divinity as well as law, was to propose to pray for the house every morning, we are certain that no clergyman in the union, would be heard with more attention or respect."

—

SENECA INDIANS.—Seven warriors of the Seneca Tribe of Indians, who inhabit a village within 4 miles of Buffaloe in the state of New York, lately visited Boston, on their way to England. Their names are *Long Horn* commonly called *col. Thomas' Swamp Beaver, Handsome, Lazy Traveller, Two Guns*, &c. They intend to visit Great Britain in consequence of an application made to the tribe some time since by certain individuals in Montreal for the purpose of representing native habits, manners and customs both warlike and domestic among the English. Their expenses of travelling and support, are paid for, and the emoluments to be derived from their publick exhibition, we suppose will accrue to those who first set the project on foot. In a council of the Senecas some months ago, it was determined, that permission should be given to these red warriors to cross over the great water and see the whites. They visited those objects of curiosity in Boston, which might be supposed to interest persons of their attainments. They went to see colonel Sargeant's painting of "CHRIST ENTERING JERUSALEM"—which induced the principal chief LONG HORN, to make some pertinent observations relative to the christian religion, and the worship of the great spirit. They were gratified, he remarked, with the picture, but could not vouch for the truth of the representation—The great spirit

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had given the Bible to the whites, which he had not seen fit to bestow upon the Indians; but the tradition handed down to them from their forefathers, had taught them to be just, good to each other, hospitable, generous and honest,—virtues, which they had practised with greater constancy, before the whites came over and introduced ardent spirits among them, and induced many of their people to get drunk and steal.—The divisions which they understood existed among the christians, were so great, that he hoped the Indians would be viewed with lenity and forbearance, in case they continued to consider the religion of the great spirit as better suited to their present condition, than the adoption of the tenets of any particular sect of christians. An attempt was made by a learned gentleman to confirm them in the value of their moral and religious impressions, and to inform them of the perfect consistency between what they already believed, and that which the principal figure upon the canvas had taught in the Bible. —They were told that the vices of drunkenness and theft were forbidden among christians, and, that those who practised them would be punished. They were exhorted to attend more to the cultivation of the earth and habits of industry if they were desirous of enjoying the benefit of living as well as the whites. The chief in reply, appeared to be sensible of the advantages of agriculture, which he confessed had been very much neglected among them, and especially since the game upon their hunting ground had become very scarce, the importance, of this cultivation become more evident;—he thanked the gentlemen for their attention, good conversation and politeness—and took their leave. An interpreter accompanied them who appeared capable of rendering the true meaning of what was imparted on both sides.

With regard to their dress it is not strictly aboriginal—Their garments consist of coloured calicoes —of English manufacture, which formed a sort of tunic, wound round the middle and secured by a belt. Their head dresses consist of light drab beaver caps, ornamented in a grotesque manner with various coloured feathers.—Around the arms and neck of several among them, are bands of silver or tin which are intended as ornaments, and from their ears and noses are suspended silver drops—or the hair of some animals manufactured into proper shape—Their faces are coloured with red paint, and on the whole are not destitute of an intelligent expression. The only mark of rank is a bracelet of some skin, round the arm of the principal sachem from which is hung a tuft of red hair.

—

DELAWARE.—A suggestion has been lately thrown out, in the state of Delaware, that it would be for the interest of the people, that the state should be annexed to the contiguous states, rather than that a small territory and population should sustain the entire expense of a state establishment.

—

A traveller has noticed with proper censure, that it is the custom in churches in Winchester, Virginia, for the men to put on their hats as soon as the service is ended, and while yet standing in their pews.

—

Two gentlemen at Bath having a difference, one went to the other's door early in the morning, and wrote *Scoundrel* upon it. The other called upon his neighbour, and was answered by a servant, that his master was not at home, but if he had any thing to say he might leave it with him. "No, no," says he, "I was only going to return your master's visit, as he *left his name* at my door in the morning."

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The legislature of South Carolina has passed an act, to permit the introduction of Negroes into that state. How far this contravenes the law of the U. S. abolishing the slave trade it will be for the national Courts to determine.

—

Mr. Campbell, the Poet, has addressed a letter to the Editor of a Morning Paper, contradicting a report quoted from an American newspaper, that he had intimated his willingness to accept of a Professorship in an American College. Mr. Campbell says, that he has not intimated any such willingness, and that he has no desire of permanently exchanging his native country for any other.

The Editor was informed some time since, that Mr. Campbell had expressed a willingness to visit this country, for the purpose of delivering a course of lectures on the subject of polite literature, provided a class could be formed for him. A liberal subscription has been made for this purpose, and we do expect to see Mr. C. in the U. S.

—

Cincinnati, Ohio, Dec. 8.

SUDDEN DEATH.—Died on the evening of the 23d ult. Miss ELVIRA COOPER, step daughter of William Lemon, Esq. of this town. The time and manner of this young lady's decease, were peculiarly awful and affecting. It was to have been her wedding night; she had retired to her room to dress, apparently in perfect health, and in less than fifteen minutes she was discovered to be a corpse by her sister, who entered the room to assist her in dressing. By this time the friends had begun to assemble to witness the nuptial ceremony; but alas! how changed the scene. She was a woman of delicate frame, and it is supposed her sudden death was occasioned by fainting in a cold room; that her blood chilled and stagnated before any relief could be afforded.

At the commencement of the parliament in 1802, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Sheridan took the oaths at the same time; the premier, happening to have no silver in his pocket, borrowed a couple of shillings to pay for his oath. This being observed from the gallery, the following paragraph appeared in a morning paper of next day. "Something is certainly on the carpet at present between the ministry and opposition, for we assert from undoubted authority, that yesterday *a loan was negotiated* between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Sheridan."

—

Extract from a speech of the Gov. of Kentucky, to both houses of the legislature.—"I regret the necssity of once more pressing on your attention the anti-republican and highly criminal practice of selling offices, which is become too common, indeed fashionable.—Shall the publick offices in the republick of Kentucky be an article of sale in the market, or the reward of qualifications and integrity? This is the question to be decided. If this practice is sanctioned, or even winked at, it will prove, that while we profess, that the road to publick station, is open to all, the poor as well as the rich, that they are, in fact, confined exclusively to the latter. The prevalence of such practices, especially if countenanced, is evidence of the decline, if not of the state, of the republican purity of the government. I therefore recommend a revision of the law against selling offices, and the enaction of severe penalties, and effectual provisions to suppress this pernicious and illicit traffick."

—

The Western States.—It is stated in the Nashville paper that exports from West Tennessee to New-Orleans, amounted during one year, to more than *a million and a half of Dollars.*

Among which were,

10,000 Hhds. Tobacco	$1,000,000
1500 Bales Cotton,	100,000.

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Lord Erskine, being counsel for the plaintiff in an action for the infringement of a patent for buckles, expatiated with his usual eloquence on the improvement made on this manufacture. "What," said he, taking out his own buckle and exhibiting it to the court; "what would my ancestors say, were they to rise out of their graves, and see me with such an ornament as this?" —"They would be surprised, I dare say," observed Mr. Mingay, "to see you with either *shoe or stocking*."

—

Lord B——, who sports a ferocious pair of whiskers, meeting Mr. Curran, in Dublin, the latter said, "When do you mean to place your whiskers on the *peace establishment*?"—"When you place your tongue on the *civil list*?"

—

Maryland.—A sufficient number of members appeared in the House of Delegates on the 1st of Dec. to form a quorum, but in consequence of the act to suppress Duelling (passed at last session) prescribing an additional oath which was deemed unconstitutional, the members present did not qualify, but adjourned until the next day, that further time might be had to consider the subject. On Tuesday, the opinion of Luther Martin, Esq. was communicated to one of the delegates, and after the members convened, they determined to dispense with the additional oath, and qualify in the manner heretofore practised. Mr. Martin says, "so far as the law of last session requires, that the member chosen as a representative shall be obliged to take the oath prescribed by the act, I think there can be no doubt but that the same is unconstitutional. The constitution has declared what are the qualifications which shall render a person eligible, and when duly elected, what oaths are to be taken by the member chosen, before he takes his seat. The additional oath required by the law, has not the apology of having any relation to the peculiar duties which he owes to his country in his legislative character, or to regulate his conduct while he sustains that character.

—

Connubial Carte and Tierce.—A few nights ago the good people of Horncastle were amused by the following announcement of the bellman: "Mr. J. wishes to inform the publick, he will not be answerable for any debt or debts his wife Marianna J. may contract after this publick notice." As soon as possible afterwards, the bellman was again sent round with the following: "Mrs. J. begs to inform the public, she never has, nor ever intends, to contract any debts on her husband's credit, well knowing it stands on too slender a foundation."

—

Penitentiary.—It appears that several of the largest states in the union have almost at the same period of time turned their attention to the subject of the penitentiary system, for the punishment of crimes —New-York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and South Carolina—In the last mentioned state this mode of punishment has not yet been adopted, and a committee of the legislature after enumerating the facts connected with the establishment of Pennsylvania and Massachusetts upon this subject have come to the conclusion that such a system of punishment was not proper to be adopted. The following facts have led to this result.

By the returns of convictions from 1800 to 1810, both inclusive, it appears there were in this state, 143 convictions for penitentiary offences, which gives an average of 14 per year.

From 1800 to 1814, the convictions were 62, which gives an average of 12 per year.

The population of this state in 1800, was 189,430; in 1810, the population had increased to 210, 750, which affords a small annual increase.

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From this statement it appears that convictions have not only not increased in a ratio with the population; but have numerically diminished.

As we are unacquainted with even any circumstances peculiar to this state, which were calculated to lessen crimes, or with any circumstances peculiar to Pennsylvania, which were calculated to increase them, we are induced to conclude that the penal code of this state, imperfect as it is, has been productive of more benefit than that of Pennsylvania.

—

The lead mines of Missouri.—Your readers may have noticed a motion lately made in Congress respecting the laws relating to the Lead Mines of the Missouri Territory. These mines, as property of the United States are the subject of the legislation; but very little is known respecting them by the publick. The following account, writen by a friend of mine, who has travelled much in that territory, will give some information. The mines are south of the Mississippi river, and commence a few miles from it. My friend writes as follows:

"The tract of country, called the Lead Mines, is about forty miles square and commmences about thirty miles from the Mississippi, and extends to the west. In all this tract it is supposed lead may be found, and it has already been found in different places through most of that extent. In some places it is washed out of the hills and in the roads by rains. It is found in digging from 1 to 25 feet deep. Generally there is a sand or lime stone rock about fifteen feet below the surface, which, is from ten to twenty feet thick, generally, immediately below which, and as deep as has yet been tried, the mineral is found in abundance. In some places it is the dirt in lumps of different sizes without any tift upon it. In other places, and more generally, it is found covered with what the people here call tift, which is a species of spar sometimes found crystalized. The spar is from one to four inches thick, covering the lead, which is enveloped in it, like an egg in the shell. The spar is also found without any lead. (Quartz or flint) is found in great abundance both in and on the surface of the earth, in crystals of microscopick size, to half an inch diameter. Sulphurets are common, besides the sulpheret of lead. The lead ore is strongly impregnated with arsenick, and it contains a very small quantity of silver."

—

General Washington—An anecdote is related of this gentleman which displays in a strong and amiable light the exalted force of his feelings, and the truly noble cast of his manners. When colonel Washington, (the immortal saviour of his country) had closed his career in the French and Indian war, and had become a member of the house of Burgesses, the Speaker Robinson, was directed by a vote of the house, to return their thanks to that gentleman, on behalf of the colony for the distinguished military services which he had rendered to this country. As soon as colonel Washington took his seat, Mr. Robinson, in obedience to this order, and following the impulse of his own generous and grateful heart discharged the duty with great dignity; but with such warmth of colouring and strength of expression as entirely confounded the young hero. He rose to express his acknowledgments for the honour: but such was his trepidation and confusion, that he could not give distinct utterance to a single syllable. He blushed, stammered, and trembled for a second; when the Speaker relieved him by a stroke of address that would have done honour to Louis the XVI in his proudest and happiest moments. "Sit down Mr. Washington" said he, with a conciliating smile; "your modesty is equal to your valour; and that surpasses the power of any language that I possess.' *Wirt's Henry.*

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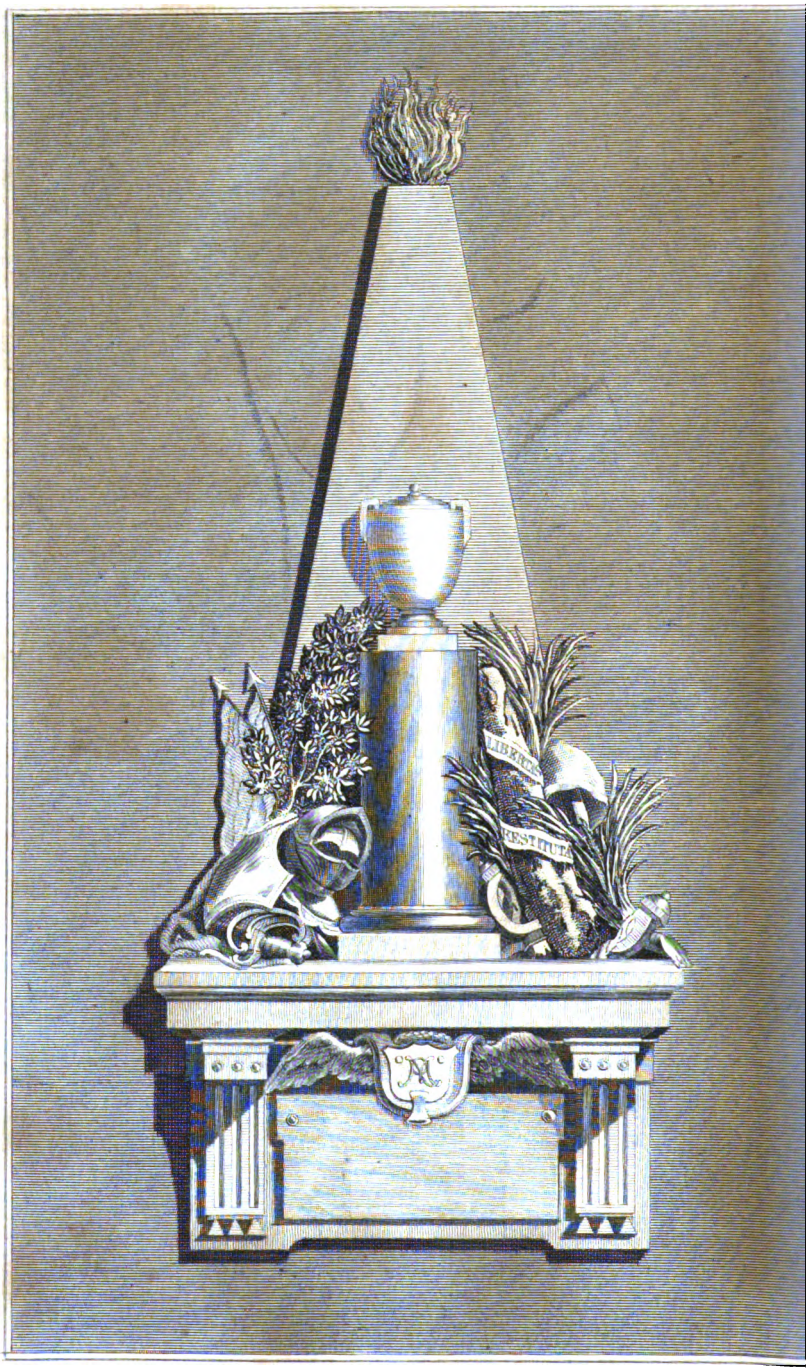

MONUMENT to MONTGOMERY

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THE PORT FOLIO,

FOR

AUGUST, 1818.

Embellished with a view of the Monument to Gen. MONTGOMERY.

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TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

Among those to whom this page is addressed, there are few, we hope, who are unwilling to pay what they owe. If there be any upon whom we have any claims, they must submit to be reminded of their obligations, however unwelcome it may sound in their ears, and how reluctant soever the editor may feel to obstruct the path of literature by the grim-visaged figure of a dun. While Carelessness procrastinates what Honour should punctually perform, Discontent hovers around, and Despondency shakes her leaden wings. In our calendar, the ides of January and July are periods when every well-wisher to this establishment is expected to correspond with the publisher.

The versatility of "*No Strephon*" is admirable. He thinks the times are gone when lovers saw nothing but despair and death in the darkness of a frown. Like Antæus, he gains strength from defeat, and attacks new objects. According to this fickle swain,

> The heart that's large enough *for two*,
> Will never, never break for one.

A constant Correspondent, who is a very Proteus in his poetical contributions, and who wants more poetry, might be gratified if all our correspondents were like him. But as some of the Scottish and English critics have been pleased to find "much exquisite original poetry" in the present series of the Port Folio, Mr. Oldschool is unwilling to put the compliment in jeopardy.

"*A friendly hint*," from *Norfolk, Va.*, shall not be thrown away.

We regret that we have not yet been able to give our readers some account of two or three books, which have recently been sent to us.

The writer of the "Consolatory Lines," who wants a motto, may find one in the *Twelfth Night*:

> "——————— it is silly sooth."

O. P. Q. may inquire at the post office.

"*Silenus*" is rejected; so is—about a ream of sonnets. Charades and acrostics are scarcely ever admissible.

We believe it is *Swift*, who exclaims, on seeing a poem superior to what he supposed the alleged author to be capable of producing,

> "Fine words—I wonder where the rascal stole 'em!"

This line we recommend to the perusal of *Adolphus*, who transmitted to us, last year, *Lines addressed to a young lady*.

Errata.—In the poem *on the death of Tasso*, in our last, after the line

> And with whose name the world has rung,

the following couplet was omitted:

> In misery and tears life's gloomy round,
> Has languish'd, oft in fetters bound.

In the title-page of our last number, for Calmia, read *Kalmia*.
Page 47, line 6 from bottom, for order, read *ordeal*.
end of last line, add *it*.
48, bottom line, for crde, read *crude*.
49, 8th line from bottom, for It, read *The genus*.

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THE PORT FOLIO.

FOURTH SERIES.

CONDUCTED BY OLIVER OLDSCHOOL, ESQ.

Various; that the mind
Of desultory man, studious of change
And pleased with novelty, may be indulged.—COWPER.

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FOR THE PORT-FOLIO.

MEMOIRS OF RICHARD MONTGOMERY, MAJOR GENERAL IN THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES.

RICHARD MONTGOMERY was born in Ireland in the year 1737, a descendant of an ancient and honourable family. After receiving a liberal education, he entered the army at an early period. In his twenty-first year we find him holding the rank of a captain in the seventeenth British regiment, under general Moncton. He had borne a full share in all the American wars and the reduction of Canada, and had therefore no common claims to promotion. But although his military abilities were highly distinguished, war and conquest had no other charms to him than as the means of peace and happiness to mankind, and he found leisure in the midst of camps to cultivate an excellent taste for philosophy and polite literature. To these he added a careful study of the arts of government and the rights of mankind; looking forward to that time when he might return to the still scenes of private life, and give a full flow to the native and acquired virtues of a heart rich in moral excellence. He had formed an early attachment, amounting even to an enthusiastic love for this country. The woodland and the plain; the face of Nature, grand, venerable, and yet rejoicing in her prime; our mighty rivers, descending in vast torrents through wild and shaggy mountains, or gliding in silent majesty through fertile vales; their numerous branches and tributary springs; our romantic scenes of rural quiet; our simplicity, *then* uncorrupted by luxury or flagrant vice; our love of know-

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ledge and ardour for liberty—all these served to convey the idea of primeval felicity to a heart which was fraught with benevolent feelings. In 1772 his country was blessed with peace, and he immediately resigned his commission, and emigrated to these shores. He selected a delightful spot on the banks of the Hudson, in New-York; married a daughter of judge Livingston of that state; and retired from the bustle of a noisy world. In this most eligible of all situations, the life of a country gentleman, deriving its most exquisite relish from reflection upon past dangers and past services, he gave full scope to his philosophical spirit and taste for rural elegance. Satisfied with himself, and raised above all vulgar ambition, he devoted his time to domestic pursuits, the intercourse of a select society, the study of useful books, and the improvement of his villa. But neither wood nor lawn could make him forget the duties which he owed to society. When the hand of unlawful authority was stretched forth, Montgomery was ready to exchange his peaceful groves for the tented field. From that fatal day in which the first American blood was spilt by the hands of British brethren, and the better genius of the empire turned abhorrent from the strife of death among her children, our hero chose his part.

He was appointed a major-general, the second in rank of eight who were chosen by the congress in 1775. His principles of loyalty remained unshaken. Love to our brethren whom we must oppose, the interchange of good offices, which had so intimately knit the bonds of friendship between the two members, the memory of those days in which we fought under the same banners; the vast fabric of mutual happiness raised by our union, and ready to be dissolved by our dissensions; the annihilation of those plans of improvement in which we were engaged for the glory of the empire—all these considerations conspired to render this conflict peculiarly abhorrent to him and every virtuous American, and could have been outweighed by nothing earthly but the unquenchable love of liberty, and that sacred duty which we owe to ourselves and our posterity. The necessity of resistance was manifest, and no sophistry could question our right. "In cases of national oppression," says Blackstone, "the nation hath very justifiably risen as one man, to vindicate the original contract sub-

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sisting between the king and people."—"If the sovereign power threaten desolation to a state, mankind will not be reasoned out of the feelings of humanity, nor sacrifice liberty to a scrupulous adherence to political maxims."

Montgomery did not hesitate to accept the commission, praying at the same time that "Heaven might speedily reunite us in every bond of affection and interest; and that the British empire might again become the envy and admiration of the universe." (*Letter to general Schuyler, 8th Nov.* 1775.) He was entrusted, jointly with general Schuyler, with the expedition against Canada; but, in consequence of the illness of that gentleman, the whole duty devolved upon him. There was benevolence in the whole plan of this expedition. It was to be executed not so much by force as by persuasion, and it was exactly suited to the genius of Montgomery. He understood the blessings of a free government, and could display them with captivating eloquence. He had a soul, great, disinterested, affectionate, delighting to alleviate distress, and to diffuse happiness. He possessed an industry not to be wearied, a vigilance that could not be eluded, and courage equal to his other abilities. With a few new-raised men, of different colonies and various tempers, ill supplied with arms and ammunition, undisciplined, unaccustomed to danger—under such circumstances, and in the short space of an autumnal and winter campaign, in rigorous northern climes, to achieve a work which cost Great Britain and the colonies the labours of several campaigns, and what was a sacrifice of infinitely more value, the life of Wolfe—this certainly required a degree of magnanimity beyond the ordinary reach, and the exertion of the highest abilities of every kind. The command and conduct of an army were but small parts of this undertaking. The Indians were to be treated with and restrained; the Canadians were to be managed, protected, and supported; and even his own army, in some degree, to be formed, disciplined, and animated; to be accustomed to marches, encampments, dangers, fatigues, and the frequent want of necessaries. When his men laboured under fatigue, wanted food, made their beds on the snow or in deep morasses, they were ashamed to complain, when they found that their general was willing to share in the execution of all that he commanded. Thus

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his example did more to inspire patience, obedience, and love of order, than the most rigid exercise of power could have effected. The influence of this example was still stronger, as it did not appear to be the effect of constraint or political necessity, but the amiable expression of a sympathizing soul, leading him to condescend to all capacities; exact in his own duties, and great even in common things. His own superior military knowledge he would sacrifice to the general voice, rather than interrupt that union on which success depended; and when a measure was once resolved upon by the majority, however much contrary to his own advice and judgment, he magnanimously supported it with his utmost vigour, disdaining that work of low ambition which will strive to defeat in the execution what it could not direct in planning.

It is not necessary that we should follow him through the details of the war in Canada. After capturing Fort Chamble, St. John's surrendered to him, and the governor of Montreal abandoned that city to his victorious arms. Being joined by Arnold, with a body of well disciplined New England troops, he laid siege to Quebec on the first of December. He was now on the same plains which had been consecrated by the blood of Wolfe. Here he won his earliest laurels, and he seemed to be animated by a kindred spirit with the departed chief. The situation of his army was pressing. Snows and frost only quickened his motions. He hoped by one successful stroke, before the arrival of succours to the garrison, to complete his plan, and save the effusion of blood. Owing to the small size of his guns, the bombardment produced no effect, and he was compelled to make an attempt to storm the garrison. He passed the first barrier, and was about to attack the second, when a fatal shot released his gallant spirit, and united him with the glorious commander whose fame he emulated!

It has sometimes been stated that the body of the general was privately interred in the evening by a few soldiers; but this is not true, and justice to his generous adversary requires that we should vindicate the reputation of the lieutenant-general of Canada from such a stigma. We have ample testimony in *The Campaign against Quebec in the year* 1775, *by John Joseph Henry, Esq.*, who was lately a presiding judge in one of the judicial districts of this state. This is a homely tale, but it is exceedingly in-

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teresting, because the writer saw all that he describes. He was under the command of Montgomery, and being taken by the enemy, had an opportunity of witnessing the honours that were paid to his memory. The following passage is transcribed from Mr. Henry's book:

"It was on this day that my heart was ready to burst with grief at viewing the funeral of our beloved general. Carleton had in our former wars with the French, been the friend and fellow soldier of Montgomery. Though political opinion, perhaps ambition or interest, had thrown these worthies on different sides of the great question, yet the former could not but honour the remains of his quondam friend. About noon the procession passed our quarters. It was most solemn. The coffin, covered with a pall, surmounted by transverse swords, was borne by men. The regular troops, particularly that fine body of men, the seventh regiment, with reversed arms, and scarfs on the left elbow, accompanied the corpse to the grave. The funerals of the other officers, both friends and enemies, were performed this day. From many of us it drew tears of affection for the defunct, and speaking for myself, tears of greeting and thankfulness towards Carleton. The soldiery and inhabitants appeared affected by the loss of this invaluable man, though he was their enemy. If such men as Washington, Carleton, and Montgomery had had the entire direction of the adverse war, the contention in the event might have happily terminated to the advantage of both sections of the nation. M'Pherson, Cheeseman, Hendricks, Humphreys, were all dignified by the manner of burial."

In the History of the American Revolution, Dr. Ramsay pays a well-earned tribute to the memory of this accomplished soldier.

"Few men have ever fallen in battle, so much regretted by both sides, as general Montgomery. His many amiable qualities had procured him an uncommon share of private affection, and his great abilities an equal proportion of public esteem. Being a sincere lover of liberty, he had engaged in the American cause from principle, and quitted the enjoyment of an easy fortune and the highest domestic felicity to take an active share in the fatigues and dangers of a war instituted for the defence of the community of which he was an adopted member. His well known character was almost equally esteemed by the friends and foes of the side which he had espoused. In America he was celebrated as a martyr to the liberties of mankind; in Great Britain as a misguided good man, sacrificing to what he supposed to be the rights of his country. His name was mentioned in parliament with singular respect. Some of the most powerful speakers in that illustrious assembly displayed their eloquence in sounding his praise and lamenting his fate. These in particular who had been his fellow soldiers in

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the late war, expatiated on his many virtues. The minister himself acknowledged his worth, while he reprobated the cause for which he fell. He concluded an involuntary panegyric by saying, 'Curse on his virtues, they have undone his country.'

"To express the high sense entertained by his country of his services, congress directed a monument of white marble, with the following inscription on it, which was executed by Mr. Cassiers at Paris, and placed in front of St. Paul's church, New-York.

THIS MONUMENT
Was erected by order of
Congress, 25th January, 1776,
To transmit to posterity
A grateful remembrance of the
Patriotism, conduct, enterprise, and
Perseverance
OF MAJOR GENERAL
RICHARD MONTGOMERY;
Who, after a series of success
Amidst the most discouraging
Difficulties, fell in the attack
On Quebec
31st December, 1775,
Aged 39 years."

In the present number of this Journal we have given a view of the monument, and we close this account by adding that the bones of the deceased have been brought recently from Canada, and are now deposited in the city of New-York, near the monument erected by order of congress. We do not deem it necessary to dwell upon the particulars of the ceremony attending this "sad ostent." The following inscription was placed upon the coffin.

THE STATE OF NEW-YORK,
In honour of
GEN. RICHARD MONTGOMERY,
Who fell gloriously fighting for the INDEPENDENCE
And LIBERTY of the UNITED STATES,
Before the walls of Quebec,
the 31st Dec. 1775,

Caused these remains of this distinguished hero to be conveyed from Quebec, and deposited, on the 8th day of July [1818] in St. Paul's church, in the city of New-York, near the monument erected to his memory by the United States.—[*Smith's Sermon, Am. Biog.* &c.]

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FOR THE PORT FOLIO.

ON THE ANTIQUITY OF THE SURYA SIDDHUNTA.

Mr. Oldschool,

I was astonished, some time since on reading a number of the *Analectic Magazine*, at the statement made by the *Edinburgh Reviewers*, and republished in that Journal without contradiction, that professor Playfair's papers, in the second volume of the *Edinburgh Transactions*, on the antiquity and truth of the *Surya Siddhuntá*, (or, the Indian astronomical tables) were considered as unanswered. I had some indistinct recollection that they were completely answered, and shown to be incorrect. The imposing character of the Edinburgh Review, however, had to my regret, almost entirely persuaded me that I was wrong. I am now enabled to prove from the highest authority, that the first impression was correct. I beg of you, Mr. Oldschool, for the sake of truth, to present to your readers the following extract from the celebrated work of *Magee, on Atonement*. Magee is a senior fellow in Trinity College, and professor of Mathematics in the University of Dublin. A great variety of scientific and literary topics, as well as the great subject of the work, have received strong and durable touches from the hand of this giant-genius and profound scholar. Speaking, in page 410, of the Hindu Chronology, he says—

"The astronomical tables of the Hindus, it is well known, supply the only reasonable data from which to judge of their chronology; their habitual exaggerations rendering every other source of chronological information altogether chimerical; insomuch, that Sir William Jones pronounces that 'the comprehensive mind of an Indian chronologist has no limits;' and has proved his assertion by a number of the most extraordinary instances indeed. Their astronomical calculations therefore, having become a subject of great curiosity and interest with men of science, the celebrated M. Bailly in 1787, published at Paris, a volume on the Hindu astronomy, in which he contended for its great antiquity, carrying it back to a period of more than 3000 years before the Christian

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era. This conclusion he founded on the nature of certain of their astronomical tables, which he contended, contained internal evidence that they had been formed from actual observations, and must therefore be carried up to so early a date as 3102 A. C. His reasonings upon this subject in his elaborate *Traité de l'Astronomie Indienne et Orientale*, were followed by other astronomers, particularly by professor Playfair, of Edinburgh, in 1789—and the *Suryá Siddhuntá*, supposed to contain the most ancient treatise of astronomy of the Indians, was also carried up to a very high date, not less than 2000 years A. C. That the reasonings, however, which led to both these conclusions are erroneous, later discussions of the subject leave but little room for doubt. Mr. Marsden in an ingenious paper in the Philosophical Transactions for 1790, had, without attempting to impeach M. Bailly's astronomical arguments, pointed out a satisfactory mode of accounting for the apparent antiquity of the Hindu tables, by conceiving the computations to be founded not upon a *real*, but *imaginary* conjunction of the planets, sought for as an epoch, and calculated retrospectively. The celebrated M. La Place—(than whom, says Magee, a greater name has not arisen since the days of Newton, and upon whom, let us add, the Edinburgh Reviewers have passed as comprehensive an eulogy as it is within the power of language to convey,) has *again after the most accurate mathematical investigation*, not only pronounced upon the *recent date* of the tables, but has also pointed out the errors in the calculations from which M. Bailly deduced his results, and has clearly demonstrated the epoch in the tables not to be *real*, but *fictitious*. And last of all, Mr. Bentley seems completely to have settled the point in his two most ingenious and learned papers in the sixth and eighth volumes of Asiatic Researches, in which he not only contends that from the principles of the Hindu astronomy, the recent date of the tables can be deduced; but that from authentic testimony, independent of all calculations, the age of the Suryá Siddhuntá can be proved such as not to carry the date of its composition farther back than the year 1068. In his endeavours to establish these points, he does not scruple to pronounce M. Bailly and professor Playfair to have been totally mistaken in their reasonings concerning the antiquity of the Hindu astronomy—and to have

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proceeded upon an entire ignorance of the *principles* of the artificial system of the Hindus, the nature of which he states to consist in this, 'that certain points of time *back* are fixed on as epochs at which the planets are *assumed* to fall into a line of mean conjunction with the sun in the beginning of Aries; and from points of time so *assumed* as epochs, the Hindu astronomer carries on his calculations as if they had been settled so by actual observations; and determines the mean annual motions which he must employ in his system, from thence, as will give the positions of the planets in his own time, as near as he is able to determine the same by actual observation." Vol. 6th, page 542. He then proceeds to show by what means such fictitious epochs may be assumed without incurring the danger of a perceptible variation from the real mean motions; and upon the whole he has fortified his argument in a way which renders it not easy to be shaken. "At all events, the main foundation on which the extraordinary antiquity of the Hindu tables has been built, must be given up as no longer tenable, and the decided priority of the Mosaic scriptures can no longer be reasonably questioned."

The extract which *Magee* makes from *La Place* is too long to insert here. I have taken only the concluding sentences of it, and send you, Mr. Oldschool, an accurate translation of the French. "But besides the errors to which the results of the Hindus have been liable, it must be observed, that these astronomers have considered the inequalities of the sun and moon *only* in relation to eclipses in which the annual equation of the moon is added to the equation of the centre of the sun, and increases it by about 22′; which is nearly the difference between our results and those of the Hindus. Several elements, such as the equations of the centre of Jupiter and Mars, so widely differ, in the tables of the Hindus from what they must have been at their first epoch, that no conclusion can be drawn from the other elements favourable to their antiquity. The *ensemble* of these tables, and especially the *impossibility* of the conjunction which they suppose at the same epoch, prove, on the contrary, that they have been constructed, or at least corrected *in modern times*—which is confirmed by the mean motions which those tables assign to the moon, in respect to its perigee, its nodes, and to the sun—which motions

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being (in these tables) more rapid than Ptolemy has made them, evidently show that the formation of the tables under view, is *posterior* to the time of that astronomer; for it has been seen that these three motions *are accelerated from century to century.*" La Place—*Exposition*, etc.

It is somewhat surprising that notwithstanding the reasoning of this great astronomer, and illustrious *Frenchman*, the *Edinburgh Reviewers* should have asserted the contrary, particularly when it is obvious that only French viands can please their Gallic taste. An argument, Mr. Oldschool, which though not employed by *Marsden* nor *La Place*, yet appears to be of some weight, is submitted, with great diffidence, to your approbation.

The science of astronomy in modern times has drawn to its support and illustration, the whole force, and the irresistible results of mathematics. Almost every astronomical law or principle enters into the calculation of an eclipse; these principles are conducted to one result by mathematical calculation; and the truth of the process is proved by ocular demonstration, that the eclipse foretold six months ago, now actually happens at the very moment which astronomical principles had shown. Now if astronomers have demonstrated that an eclipse mentioned at such a time by profane historians, *must* have happened at the time, and would be visible where it is said to have been, the profane chronology which is precisely the same with the Christian chronology, *must be true.* If therefore a different chronology founded upon a different astronomy, would place the same event at a different period; if by taking the calculations of a different astronomy, *it could not have happened* at the time mentioned in history; we have nearly a *demonstration* that the latter chronology and the latter astronomy *are false.* Modern astronomers have proved that eclipses mentioned in profane history, must have happened at that time, and must have been visible where they are said to have been. Some of the most remarkable are the following—which have been verified by astronomers.

Before Christ 585, May 28, an eclipse of the sun foretold by Thales, by which a peace was effected between the Medes and Lydians.

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B. C. 523, July 26, an eclipse of the moon, followed by the death of Cambyses.

B. C. 481, April 19, eclipse of the sun, on the sailing of Xerxes from Sardis.

B. C. 431, August 31, a total eclipse of the sun, and a comet, followed by the plague at Athens.

B. C. 168, June 21, a total eclipse of the moon, and the next day Persius king of Macedonia was conquered by P. Emilius.—These are a few eclipses mentioned in history to have happened at a certain time, and which have been verified by modern astronomy.

Dr. Priestley, in his *Lectures* selects the eclipse which, with its circumstances, is related by Thucydides, l. 7,50. It happened 27th August, and was total. It so alarmed Nicias, the Athenian general, then besieging Syracuse, that he delayed for three days an intended retreat, a delay which proved fatal to him. The time or date of the defeat of Nicias is agreed on all hands, to have been in the Olympiad, answering to the year 413 before Christ. "Upon looking" says Priestley, "at the astronomical tables, it appears that the moon was at the full about midnight at London, or one o'clock in the morning at Syracuse on the 27th of August of that year, when the sun was only four degrees, forty-eight minutes from the node, far within twelve degrees, the limit of lunar eclipses; and when consequently there must have been a *total* eclipse of the moon, visible from the beginning to the end of it, to the Athenians."

Take now the Indian astronomy as the basis of calculation of these eclipses, and they would never have happened at the time assigned to them by history, to which all give implicit credit; the conclusion is *inevitable*, that the Hindu astronomical tables are incorrect, and the chronology founded on them *false*.——The day has arrived, Mr. Oldschool, when *science* is furnishing in almost all her departments, irresistible evidence to the truth of that Holy Record, which constitutes the way of life and restoration to our fallen race, and which alone contains "that righteousness which can exalt us as a nation." R. H. L.

Staunton, 6th May, 1818.

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FOR THE PORT FOLIO.—CRITICISM.

Demetrius, the Hero of the Don. An epic poem. By Alexis Eustaphieve. Boston, 1818. pp. 256.

The most remarkable circumstances connected with this book are, that it is written in the English language, and that the author is a Cossac of the Don. Selecting a memorable event in the annals of his nation, he has endeavoured to relieve the cares of a Russian consulship by the song of an epic poet. The author has been advantageously known among us as a zealous and able vindicator of his country, against the calumnies which ignorance and malice have propagated against Russian manners. He has likewise taken some part in political speculations, and his labours are creditable to him as an ingenious writer, and a loyal subject. In "the author's apology" for offering this poem, we are informed that the seven cantos now before us form only a part of "a preconceived magnitude," with which he seems inclined to amuse the public. He thinks this specimen, which is fictitious, cannot prejudice the whole, because if it excite our "interest and sympathy," "the desire to obtain the remainder," which is to be altogether historical,—"would rather increase;" and on the contrary, if it provoke "the opposite feelings," the reader might be encouraged to proceed, by the consideration that "the prospect could not be worse." There is some consolation in this assurance: but if in this curious union between fiction and fact, there should not be more fact in his history than we have discovered of invention in his imagination, we may as well at once prohibit the banns. We wish we could gratify the "prophetic ear" which is represented as *listening*, in the hope of being greeted with the sound of "enlightened approbation;" but in spite of our personal good will towards Mr. Eustaphieve, we must assure him that *le vent du bureau* does not blow in his favour.

The plot of this poem is common as a twice-told tale. The incidents are sometimes trifling, and at others contrived with no great skill. We smiled at the capering of Trouvor's horse before the king; and were amused at the simplicity with which his rider accepted the challenge of Mamay. The expedient of Arcas, in knocking his master down to save his life, is somewhat new; but it

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detracts largely from the dignity of the knight. The "great Mamay" is a great braggart, and the king is pretty much of a cypher.

Something is made of Trouvor, by the aid of his mistress and squire; but his brother in arms, seems to be introduced for no other purpose than that of having a spare man on occasion. The author frequently offends by too much minuteness, and his versification is extremely defective. Many lines may be printed in a different manner, and no one would suppose that they were weaved in a poet's loom. *e. g.*

"Selima was betrothed to Moskow's royal prince, and then she was solicited by great Mamay. 'Gainst these what chance could Trouvor have?' p. 125.

———"for, in truth, I know not in what other light to view his last and bold attempt to clear himself." p. 98.

The sentences are often so crowded with incidental circumstances or unnecessary explanations, that the sense is obscured, and grammar is put at defiance! Behold an instance:

———"he bids *with iron chains,*
Slavery's ignoble badge and punishment,
To bind the royal limbs t' an ancient trunk,
Never before so honoured."

Further still:

"To feed his scornful malice, he commands,
Upon the prince's breast, *of armour stripp'd,*
Where shone the precious gem, the royal star
Of Slavia, to suspend a lanthorn foul,
The midnight robber's guide, for the archer's mark."

As an instance of the author's tedious minuteness, we may quote the comfortable report of Zorana, by which Selima is prevented from destroying herself, under the apprehension that her lover had fallen in a combat with his rival. Zorana, upon seeing "her friend's extreme distress," first remembers "past tenderness:" then "the demon of revenge" whispers, that

———"by a single harmless word—
Selima's passport to the realm of Death,
She might remove a favour'd rival"—

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At this horrible suggestion—

> "Dark and ghastly smile
> O'erspreads her features: and, lest time should change
> Reflection's course, and kinder thoughts impart,
> She hastens the death-warrant to announce.
> 'Demetrius—is'—*dead* was the word she meant,
> But here sweet Nature claim'd again her rights,
> And Virtue her *last strongest* effort made:
> Uniting, interfering both, they throw
> The life-restoring negative between,
> And force Zorana to conclude—'not dead.'
> Surpriz'd, yet pleas'd at what she said, at once
> She to the generous impulse yields, and adds:
> 'Nor dead, nor dying, nor impaired in health.'"

If the princess had proceeded—

> But quite as well as could expected be,

the line would not have surprized us, and the information would have been more like what we usually receive, when, as was the fact in the present case, the person interrogated knows little or nothing about the subject of inquiry.

Some of the personifications will amuse the reader:—Bustle, for instance, "moves abroad on Rumour's wings;" we have "Expectation, waiting at each gate;" on the heights of a tower, the people form "a mass of Curiosity;" and the author speaks of storming "Impossibility's own rocky hold."

The author promises a critical essay on the Epŏpœia, in which we have no doubt we shall find the rules very correctly stated, though they are so little observed in this poem. In an epic poem, narration, not being an imitation of nature, is rarely allowed; but the persons themselves must be introduced to carry on the story. DEMETRIUS is almost an unbroken narrative. The persons, with a single exception, are lords and ladies of high degree; but in their language the author does not appear to have observed what Aristotle says, in relation to *expression*, of the difference between the πολιτικης, or language of the people, and the ῥητορικης, or art of speaking ornamentally. In his diction there is much that is vulgar and feeble, and little that is poetical or dignified. The

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poet has endeavoured to display grand sentiments by pompous words, but he never reaches the magnificent and sublime. The sort of verse which he has adopted is an English invention, and approaches nearest, in melody, to the hexameter of the ancients. In the variety of its cadences, it offers, perhaps, a better medium for the relation of a long story. A blank verse line has properly but one pause, but it may contain several positions. Mr. Eustaphieve varies and multiplies these positions to the utter confusion of every thing like regular recitation. We are equally bewildered when we come to consider the *διανοήσεις*, or disposition of the parts. This should be so contrived as to exhibit, at a single view, and in an uniform subordination to the main design, all the parts of the poem. If any character, or event, is introduced in the course of the poem, which neither promotes nor retards the object in view, the poet should resort to the expedient of an episode. How far this has been done in the poem before us, cannot be seen until the sequel shall appear. We are equally unable to form an opinion on another indispensable quality in an epic poem; we mean the greatness of the action, upon which it depends. We have read seven cantos here, and it is time that we should know what we are about. The actions of the two great epics are very short; but Homer and Virgil have diversified them by such delightful episodes, and enriched them by the splendour of so gorgeous a machinery, that we almost become indifferent to the resentment of Achilles. In DEMETRIUS, if it be the design of the author to descant on the love of the hero, and to lead him through a series of calamities, or if the wrath of his rival is to be the theme, he must give more brains to the former, or he will not excite our sensibility, and more force to the latter, or he will fail to awaken our terror.

We cannot close this volume without a remark on the doctrine advanced in the "Apology" annexed to it. In this, the author claims a right to submit a part of his poem to public investigation, that he may obtain "a surer guide in the preparing and disposing of" the sequel. There are some works of which it is necessary to exhibit a specimen; but the epic poet who pursues such a course, would give no more satisfaction than the person who carried a brick about, when he wished to sell his house. A

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single passage may evince that the author has been blest with a "poet's eye," but it does not prove that he is capable of a long continued strain; and it cannot demonstrate that he possesses judgment to select a *subject*, experience to delineate *manners*, feeling to describe *sentiments*, and skill to polish his *diction*.

We must mention another trespass on the rules of this species of composition, for which we arraign the poet. He introduces himself,—a subject on which dulness becomes witty, and the taciturn garrulous. It is a canon in criticism, which neither Blair nor Kaimes would dispute, that the author of an heroic poem should seldom speak himself, but throw as much of his work as possible into the mouths of his principal actors. The reason is obvious; the introduction destroys the illusion. Instead of flying through the field of battle, of sympathizing with Andromache, shrinking from the wrath of Achilles, or listening to the pious strains of Æneas, our pleasure is interrupted, as it is in *Demetrius*, in order that we may be informed that the author

> "from Scythia's hyperborean clime,
> Obedient to his monarch,"

"sought our shores," and received, what he well deserves, "a friendly welcome."

From the most exalted walks of composition down to ordinary conversation, we shall find the influence of this principle. When the poet identifies himself with the actor, he at once assumes all the splendid qualifications which he had breathed into the creature of his imagination. Speaking of his *Dialogue on Old Age*, in which, it will be remembered, that Cato is the chief speaker, Tully informs us that upon a review of it, he was agreeably deceived; he fancied that it was Cato, and not himself, who uttered his thoughts on a particular subject. Those who will examine the fables of the Iliad and the Æneid will be surprized to find how small a portion of these inimitable works proceeds from the authors. In the general disposition of his fable, Milton has observed this rule, so carefully, that scarcely a third part comes from the poet: the rest is spoken by Adam and Eve, or by some good or evil spirit, who is engaged either in their destruction or defence.

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The complaints of his own blindness, his reflections on the nudity of our first parents, on the Angels' eating, and some other passages, are certainly exceptions; but they are so extremely beautiful, that criticism would be captious indeed if they were rejected.

GEOLOGY OF ENGLAND.

1. A Delineation of the Strata of England and Wales, with part of Scotland, exhibiting the Collieries and Mines, the Marshes and Fenlands originally overflowed by the Sea, and the varieties of Soil, according to the variations of the Substrata, illustrated by the most Descriptive Names. By *W. Smith.* 15 sheets, coloured. Carey, London. August, 1815.
2. Geological Section from London to Snowdon; showing the varieties of the Strata, and the correct Altitudes of the Hills, coloured to correspond with his Geological Map of England and Wales. By *W. Smith.* 1817.
3. A Memoir of the Map and Delineation, &c. By *W. Smith*, Engineer and Mineral Surveyor. 4to. pp. 51. London, 1815.
4. A Series of County Maps, on a much larger scale than that of the General "Delineation," &c. coloured to correspond with the large Map, from Documents in Mr. Smith's possession. Carey, Strand, London, 1817.
5. Strata identified by Organized Fossils, containing Prints on coloured Paper of the most characteristic Specimens in each Stratum. By *W. Smith.* 4to. Published in Numbers. London, 1816.
6. Stratigraphical System of Organized Fossils, with reference to the Specimens of the original Geological Collection in the British Museum, &c. By *W. Smith.* 4to. London. E. Williams, Strand, 1817.

(*From the Edinburgh Review, February*, 1818.)

A MAP may not, at first sight, appear to come within the scope of our publication: but the performance now before us, with the other works connected with it, has more than ordinary claims upon the attention of the public. It contains a great deal of information, of practical importance as well as speculative interest. It is the first work of the kind that has ever appeared in England; and it is the production, after the labour of more

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than twenty years, of a most ingenious man, who has been singularly deficient in the art of introducing himself to public notice.

Mr. Smith is by profession a civil engineer, and, we are informed, is particularly skilled in that department of his business which relates to draining, and the structure of canals. It appears that, in the course of the inquiries to which his occupations naturally led him, he had occasion, many years ago, to observe the regularity and steadiness of the order exhibited by the strata in the vicinity of Bath; and in the year 1790, he drew up a tabular view of the stratification there, which in fact contained the rudiments of all his subsequent discoveries, and was in itself a proof of great sagacity and application. In the course of different journeys afterwards made, he not only recognised, among the strata in the north of England, several of his old acquaintances at Bath, but was surprised to find them in the same company with which they are associated in that neighbourhood: And, after full investigation, he became at last convinced, that the series of beds was uniform throughout the whole of the south-eastern portion of the island; and that the edge of every stratum, with very few exceptions, might be traced uninterruptedly from one shore to the other, in a direction from S.W. to N.E. These curious observations, which were made, we have no doubt, without any acquaintance with any previous publication on the subject, led very naturally to the project of a map, in which they might be embodied and combined, and gave birth to the valuable works at present under our consideration.

In an early stage of his Inquiry, Mr. Smith communicated his observations to the Reverend Joseph Townsend, the author of a well known and valuable book of travels in Spain, and subsequently to Mr. Farey, who was, at that time, we believe, his pupil; two gentlemen who must, in fact, be considered as the editors of Mr. Smith's opinions; for the Memoir which he has himself connected with his map, is extremely brief and unsatisfactory. The title of the book in which Mr. Townsend has given an account of Smith's discoveries—'*The character of Moses established for veracity as an Historian*'*—has apparently very little connexion with the Geology of England; but the ingenious author conceived the credibility of the Mosaic account of the creation, to derive important support from the existing appearances of the globe; and, for the purpose of illustrating those appearances, he has entered into a full description of the British strata; which he very candidly professes to have derived almost entirely from Mr. Smith, of whom, after stating, that, with a view to the completion of his own work, he had lost no opportunity of conversing with foreign mineralogists of eminence, he thus expresses his good opinion.—'The discoveries

* Two vols. 4to. 1813. 1815. Bath, Gye & Son, and Longman, London.

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of this skilful engineer have been of vast importance to Geology, and will be of infinite value to this nation. To a strong understanding, a retentive memory, indefatigable ardour, and more than common sagacity, this extraordinary man unites a perfect contempt for money, when compared with science. Had he kept his discoveries to himself, he might have accumulated wealth; but, with unparalleled disinterestedness of mind, he scorned concealment, and made known his discoveries to every one who wished for information. It is now (1813) eleven years since he conducted the author in his examination of the strata which are laid bare in the immediate vicinity of Bath; and subsequent excursions in the stratified and calcareous portion of our island have confirmed the information thus obtained.' (Vol. I. p. iv. v.)

Mr. Farey, the other person whom we have mentioned as the friend of Mr. Smith, is himself a geological observer of great activity, and of unwearied perseverance; and, if zeal were the only qualification of an editor, there could not have been any person better fitted for the task. But the patronage of this gentleman is really a little too vehement,—and of such a sort, that if we wished to ensure the failure of a valuable performance, we should begin by recommending it to his protection. One great topic with him, is the absolute originality of his friend's speculations—a subject into which we do not propose directly to enter, further than just to remark that Mr. Smith, having developed the structure of the neighbourhood of Bath, made known the facts he had observed there, and the inferences, which they suggested, with the warmth and liberality—we may add, with the want of prudence—that are frequently characteristic of men of talents. Geology was, at that period, in its infancy in England; but the importance of these observations could not fail to attract attention. The enumeration of the West-of-England strata was circulated extensively in manuscript, maps also, and sections of the stratification in other parts of the island were shown by Mr. Smith himself at different agricultural and commercial meetings; and printed proposals for a book upon the subject, to be accompanied by a *general* map and section, were distributed in 1801. The elements of the present performance being thus in fact made public, they have had a very important, though unobserved effect, upon the labours of all succeeding inquirers, who have been, perhaps unconsciously, but not less really, indebted to the author for very essential assistance in their progress.

Taking leave, however, of all controversy, and regarding the publications before us as an acquisition of great value, we shall premise to our account of them, a sketch of some points in the history of preceding discoveries, that our readers may be enabled to distinguish the portion of Mr. Smith's communication that is truly original, from the mere filling up

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of outlines which others had previously traced:—a field of inquiry, that, with regard to our present subject, may be confined, in a great measure, to the newer and more regularly stratified portions of the globe.

The French Encyclopedie Methodique contains, under the article Physical Geography, published in 1796 by the late M. Desmarest, a full account of some of the principal publications upon that subject, to the middle of the last century; from whence may be obtained some valuable facts, diluted very plentifully with speculation about the primeval state of the globe. But, on the whole, these volumes have not much increased our respect for the Geologists of the last two centuries,—the perusal of them having irresistibly brought to our minds the speech of the knavish old gentleman, in the Vicar of Wakefield, whose opinion, after all, comes very near the truth.—'You talk, sir, of the world! the world is in its dotage: and yet the cosmogony, or creation of the world, has puzzled the philosophers of every age.—What a medley of opinions have they not broached upon the subject! Sanconiathon, Manetho, Berosus, and Ocellus Lucanus, have all attempted it in vain.' We shall attempt, however, to select from this chaos of philosophers, the names of a few only, who have given something real to the science of geology, with the addition of some others not mentioned by Desmarest: But it is only fair to add, that we are far from supposing Mr. Smith to have been acquainted with these writings.

In the "medley of opinions" so learnedly alluded to by Mr. Jenkinson, there is none more extraordinary than that maintained about the close of the seventeenth century, by Ray, Lister, and other eminent naturalists, respecting the substances now universally considered as the remains of organized beings. It will seem almost incredible to those who are acquainted with the works of Cuvier, and other inquirers of our days, that such a notion could at any time have found supporters. "The great question, now so much controverted in the world," Dr. Plot tells us, in 1677, was, "Whether the stones we find in the form of shell fish, (and in his plates, they are, with the caution usual at that period upon this subject, denominated 'formed stones,') be *lapides sui generis*, naturally produced by *some extraordinary plastic virtue*, latent in the earth, in quarries where they are found; or whether they rather owe their form and figure to the shells of the fishes they represent," &c.*—And this learned writer gives seven weighty reasons for adhering to the former of these opinions, in opposition to the sentiments of Hook, and other persons, who entertained more rational views. This curious absurdity affords a good illustration of the danger of hypothesis in natural history; having originated entirely

* Natural History of Oxfordshire, p. 111.

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from the assumption, that the general deluge was the *only* cause that could have occasioned the deposition of the bodies in question: and as that great event was evidently too transitory, for the production of appearances observable at great depths from the surface, the shortest road of explanation was chosen; and it was boldly denied, that the fossils of the solid strata had ever been endowed with life. Palisey, indeed, is praised by Fontenelle, for having refuted this opinion long before;—yet afterwards, in 1708, a book was published by Scheuchzer, under the title of "*Piscium Querelæ et Vindiciæ*," where the unhappy fishes, entombed in stony substances, are represented as deploring, in very pathetic language, the indignity under which they suffer, in being degraded from the animal kingdom, to the rank of mere brute matter.* This remonstrance, however, does not seem to have been effectual; for Woodward, in 1723, still thought it necessary to reason against the doctrine we have mentioned: And afterwards, and so late as 1752, M. Bertrand, a Swiss clergyman, made a last effort in its favour, contending that fossil-shells, &c. are nothing more than links in the progressive series by which unorganized matter is connected with the animated world; or perhaps the unfinished materials, ("*in fieri*," as Dr. Plot had long before expressed it), out of which the Creator might have formed, and in part did form, the existing races of similar beings.

In the Philosophical Transactions for 1684, there is published, "*An ingenious proposal for a new sort of maps of countries*, together with tables of sands and clays, such chiefly as are found in the north parts of England, by the learned Martin Lister, M.D.;" and the paper is there stated to have been drawn up about ten years before.—"We shall then," the author begins, "be the better able to judge of *the make of the earth*, and of many phenomena belonging thereto, when we shall have well and duly examined it, as far as human art can possibly reach, beginning from *the outside downwards*. As for the inward and central parts thereof, I think we shall never be able to refute Gilbert's opinion thereof, who will not, without reason, have it altogether iron."—"And for this purpose, it were advisable that a soil or mineral map, as I may call it, were devised."—Under the term "*soiles*," however, he enumerates *chalk, flint, sandstone, coal, ironstone, lead ore*, &c. intending evidently to signify the solid strata, as well as the looser materials of the surface; and he adds—"Now, if it were

* The fanciful tendency of this last writer's understanding might weaken his authority upon this point, if it stood alone; for, in his "*Herbarium Diluvianum*," a catalogue of the plants submerged by the waters of the deluge, he has undertaken to determine the period of the year at which that event occurred, which he asserts must positively have been about the latter end of May, from the appearance of a certain fossil that he calls a spike of barley; but which, it is quite evident from his engraving, was a body of a very different description.

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noted how far these extended, and the limits of each soil appeared upon a map, something more might be comprehended from the whole, and from every part, than I can possibly foresee, which would make such a labour well worth the pains. For, I am of opinion, such upper soils, if natural, infallibly produce such under minerals, and for the most part, in such order. But I leave this to the industry of future times." So far, therefore, as the *project* of a Geological Map, (for the author does not appear to have executed his design), the credit of originality is due to Dr. Lister; and may be allowed to atone for his adherence to the hypothesis we have just condemned, as to the origin of fossil-remains.

The labours of Woodward deserve to be mentioned more distinctly; though his views were warped by the then prevailing taste for Antediluvian history. He not only devoted himself with great perseverance and success to the collection of organized fossils, upon which he has given many valuable remarks; but he appears to have had some very correct notions as to the general structure of the globe, and the proper method of pursuing the investigation of it.—"I made strict inquiry," he tells us, "wherever I came, and laid out for intelligence of all places where the entrails of the earth were laid open, either by Nature (if I may so say) or by art and human industry. And whersoever I had notice of any considerable natural spelunca or grotto, any sinking of wells, or digging for earths, &c. or the like, I forthwith had recourse thereunto.—The result was, that in time I was abundantly assured, that the circumstances of these things in remoter countries, were much the same with those of ours here," &c.*—The collection of minerals and fossils left by Woodward to the University of Cambridge, is to this day of great value as an object of reference, from the fidelity with which he recorded the native places and situation of the various specimens it contains.

The writings of Buffon contributed much to attract the attention of naturalists to the discrimination of organized remains, and to the important light which may be drawn from them upon the structure and history of the globe. But the most valuable observations of that period, were unquestionably those of Rouelle, whose opinions, as stated by Desmarest, deserve in many respects attentive consideration. He was the first who pointed out—"que ces corps n'étoient pas jettés au hazard ni dans l'état de confusion que l'on avoit imaginé communèment avant lui—au lieu de cette confusion, on reconnoit un ordre constant dans l'arrangement des coquilles, *dont certains individus font bande à part*, et ne se confondent point avec d'autres qui ont aussi leurs familles separées;—que ces coquilles n'étoient pas les mêmes dans toutes les contrées;—que certains individus se rencon-

* Nat. Hist. of the Earth 1723. pp. 4. 6.

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troient constamment ensemble, *tandis que d'autres ne se trouvoient jamais dans les mêmes lits, dans les mêmes couches;*—que ces collections de coquilles fossilles, à la surface de certaines parties de nos continens, étoient dans le même état d'arrangement et de distribution, que dans le bassin de la mer, où certains animaux testacées affectent de vivre ensemble attachés aux mêmes parages, et d'y former ces espéces de societés ou familles, de même que certaines plantes, qui croissent toujours ensemble à la surface de la terre.* We need not stop to point out the close coincidence between what is here expressed, and the principle that has furnished Mr. Smith with the title of one of his publications—"Strata Identified by Organized Fossils,"—and of which the French naturalists have made such excellent use in their examination of the country round Paris.

If the statements of Desmarest be not incorrect, it would further appear, that Rouelle not only anticipated, or was coincident with Lehman in the distinction (previously intimated, we believe, by Steno and Targioni) between the primary and secondary mountains; but that he had also perceived the division that exists in nature between the older and more recent of the secondary depositions; the former of which he distinguished by the judicious title of *Travaille intermediaire;* a discrimination and a name coming evidently very near to the *Transition Class* of Werner, with whom Rouelle still more remarkably coincides, in noticing the comparative rarity and the peculiar character of the fossils contained in the *Intermediate rocks.*† It is impossible, without specimens or detailed information, to judge of the precise value of this discrimination of Rouelle; but, on the whole, if Desmarest, who was his pupil, is to be relied upon, (for he himself, like Werner, delivered his principal geological opinions in lectures only), the correctness of his views is very remarkable.

In a treatise which Lehman published in 1756,‡ he claims for himself the credit of being the first to observe and describe correctly the structure of stratified countries. He supposes, however, that *coal* beds are the lowest of the stratified substances; that various "pierres feuillettes" occupy the middle portion, and the beds that afford the saline springs (fontaines salantes), the uppermost of the strata; which arrangement, he asserts, is universal: And, after detailing the order, composition, and thickness of the series surrounding the nucleus of the Hartz mountains, and that occur in

* Encyclop. Method.:—Geographie Physique, tom. I. pp. 416-417. (LXIV Livraison.)

† Encyclop. Method. pp. 412. 413. 417. 815.—and compare with Jameson's Geognosy, p. 80. 81. 146.

‡ Versuch einen geschichte von Flœtz Geburgen. Berlin, 1756. Translated by Holback; with other productions of Lehman, under the title of "Traites de Physique," &c. Paris, 1759. Vol. III.

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some detached portions of the north-east of Germany, he points out the identity of certain beds in some of the places described, though distant from each other several miles,—without, however, asserting that the corresponding strata are absolutely continuous. His treatise is also interspersed with very good remarks upon the nomenclature and relations of strata; and on the important purposes in practical mining, which might be served by the study of them.

But the most important observations, we think beyond comparison, that have ever yet appeared on the subject of Stratification, are those of the Rev. John Michell, in a paper "On the Cause and Phenomena of Earthquakes," published in the Philosophical Transactions of 1760.* In this most ingenious production, the author not only states the general appearances of strata, their identity of character, continuity, and uniform thickness, "in length and breadth for many miles,"—the great inclination of the beds in mountainous countries, and their approach to the horizontal position in flat ones; but he explains, most clearly, the arrangement of the strata in England; and this, not as confined to Britain, but as exemplifying a general and beautiful law, which, he asserts, holds universally in all parts of the globe. The situation, he tells us, of the strata, may not unaptly be represented in the following manner.—"Let a number of leaves of paper, of several different sorts or colours, be pasted upon one another; then bending them up together into a ridge in the middle; conceive them to be reduced again to a level surface, by a plane so passing through them as to cut off all the part that had been raised; let the middle now be again raised a little, and this will be a good general representation of most, if not all large tracts of mountainous countries, together with the parts adjacent, throughout the whole world. From this formation of the earth it will follow, that we ought to meet with the same kinds of earths, stones and minerals, appearing at the surface, in long narrow slips, and lying parallel to the greatest rise of any long ridge of mountains; and so in fact we find them."—"The Andes of S. America," he adds, "exemplify this structure;" and, "in N. America, the great lakes, which give rise to the river St. Lawrence, are kept up by a long ridge of mountains that run nearly parallel to the eastern coast; and, in descending from them towards the sea, the same sets of strata, in the same order, are generally met with throughout the greatest part of their length."—"In Great Britain," he continues, "we have another instance to the same purpose; where the direction of the ridge varies about a point from N. by E. to S. by W."—"Of which," he subjoins in a note, "I could give many undoubted proofs, if it would not too far exceed the limits of my present design." And he further mentions, as an example of the great extent of strata in level tracts—"the chalky

* Vol. LI. Part II. p. 566. Sect. 37 to 49.

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and flinty countries of England and France; which (excepting the interruption of the channel, and the clays, sands, &c. of a few counties) compose a tract of about three hundred miles each way." But he states also, that the highest rise of the ridge, and the inclination of the strata, have very considerable irregularities:—"and this often makes it difficult to trace the appearances I have been relating; which, without a general knowledge of the fossil bodies of a large tract of country, it is hardly possible to do."

We know not whether the structure of the districts in America, above referred to, has been confirmed by more recent observations; nor whether by "fossil bodies," in the passage last quoted, the author intended to signify organized remains, as well as mineral productions. But nothing, we think, can be more clear than his exposition of the principle of the stratification of England: And, that he was also acquainted with the detail, is proved, not only by his intimation in the note above alluded to, but by a very interesting document, discovered a few years since among the papers of Mr. Smeaton, in the possession of sir Joseph Banks;* in which Mr. Smeaton has enumerated, as "Mr. Michell's account of the south of England strata," several of the principal beds, with their respective thickness, from the chalk down to the coal, associating as parts of the same stratum, detached portions several miles distant from each other.

The next author of note is Whitehurst, whose "Inquiry into the Original State and Formation of the Earth," was first published in the year 1778, and reprinted, with considerable improvements, in 1786. A great part of this book is infected with that taste for cosmogony which had misled many of the author's predecessors: But if the reader be not repelled by the formidable chapters "of the component parts of chaos, whether homogeneous or heterogeneous," and "of the period of human life before and after the flood," he will find some excellent remarks on the organized fossils; and in the latter part of the volume, especially the chapter "on the Structure of Derbyshire and other parts of England," abundant proofs of the acuteness and fidelity of the author's observations. His statements, indeed, concur precisely with those of Mr. Michell; "the arrangement of the strata being such," he tells us, "that they invariably follow each other as it were, in alphabetical order, or as a series of numbers. I do not mean to insinuate, that the strata are alike in all the different regions of the earth, with respect to thickness or quality—for experience shows the contrary; but that in each particular part, how much soever they may differ, yet they follow each other in a regular succession." p. 178–9. 2d edition.

*This document is so interesting, that we shall insert it in a subsequent page of this article, after the detail of Mr. Smith's enumeration. (See hereafter, pp. 332–3.)

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"It was my intention," he says in another place, "to have deposited specimens of each stratum, with its productions, in the British Museum, arranged in the same order above each other as they are in the earth; being persuaded that such a plan would convey a more perfect idea of subterraneous geography, and of the various bodies enclosed in the earth, than words or lines can possibly express;" (p. 204, 205)—a project which has since been executed by Mr. Smith. But it is remarkable, that at the close of his work, the author dwells with much more apparent pleasure on that part which relates to the early ages of the world, and the condition of its Antediluvian inhabitants, "who slept away their time in sweet repose upon the ever-verdant turf," than upon the truly important and substantial part of his performance.

It is difficult to trace the history of Werner's doctrines,* his printed publications being few, and the most important of his tenets having been delivered only in the form of lectures. His "Kurze Klassifikation," a brief but valuable arrangement and description of rocks, published in 1787, has no allusion nor hint at the doctrine of *Formations*, of which we have given an outline in the preceding number of this volume, (p. 71), that term not once occurring in the tract in question. Nor was the distinction of the *transition* from the floetz class introduced into his arrangement for some years afterwards, grey wacke being placed in the list of 1787, among the floetz sandstones. The opinions of Werner, as to the origin of the basaltic rocks, were formed after the examination of the Scheibenberg in 1787.† The doctrine of *formations* was delivered in his lectures only, and may be dated as of 1790 or 1791; that of the *transition* class not until 1795 or 1796. But his theoretic views, as to the deposition of rocks in general, and the configuration of the earth's surface, which, after all, if what relates to the *overlying* formations be excepted, are little more than a selection from the doctrines of preceding writers, may be collected from his work on Veins, first published in November 1791; at which time it was certain that he was acquainted with the works of Whitehurst, for he has quoted them in the

* We regret that we have not found, in the scientific journals, any biographical memorial of this distinguished naturalist; but the last public action of his life deserves to be specially recorded. His collection of minerals was singularly rich in valuable and instructive specimens, the accumulation, in fact, of a life devoted solely to mineralogy; yet he surrendered the whole to the School of Mines at Freyberg, at a price considerably below the valuation: And, in consequence of the distressed state of Saxony at that period, he accepted only a small part of the reduced sum, reserving a moderate interest upon the remainder, under the form of an annuity, and bequeathing the capital, after his death, to the academy, in which he had been for more than forty years, the most distinguished professor.

† Bergmannische Journal, 1788, Vol. II. p. 845.

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book last mentioned. Mr. Jameson has informed us,* that the structure of geological maps, upon the plan of representing by colours the succession of the strata or formations, was also devised by Werner; so that it would seem, upon the whole, that a system coincident with the principles of Mr. Smith, so far as they extend, had been delivered in the publications and lectures of Werner (mixed, it is true, with a great alloy of theory) before the period when the latter began his investigation of the neighbourhood of Bath.

Since the date of Lister's project for "a soil or mineral map," there have been published, we believe, some attempts at a geological map of England, —but we have not been so fortunate as to see them; and of the numerous continental maps, those of the older German writers, of Guettard in France, and the recent publications of the Wernerian school, are the only ones that have fallen within our examination. The maps which Buache published between 1745 and 1761, are described as relating more properly to physical geography than to geology; and they proceed upon a visionary hypothesis, about a certain frame-work or skeleton of the earth, which the author imagines to consist in chains of mountains, traversing the islands as well as continents throughout the face of the globe. The object of Guettard, in his improved collection of 1775, was merely to mark upon ordinary maps, in the characters employed by chymists, the several mineral substances found at each place; a plan obviously very defective and radically different from that which expresses the order of the strata, by colours. The maps referred to by the late M. Desmarest, as annexed to the Encyclopedie Methodique, have not yet appeared. But that author judiciously insists upon the great instruction to be derived from combining vertical sections, with horizontal maps, and the benefit arising, in general, from even the attempt to reduce to maps, the results of geological investigation.

But it is full time to close these prolegomena; for the length of which it might be necessary to apologize, if the increasing importance of the subject did not render the history of its earlier progress an object of great interest.

It is not very easy to give, in a small compass, a correct notion of a performance expressly directed to the eye; but, with the assistance of an ordinary map of England, our readers may probably be enabled to follow us, while we attempt to convey a general idea of what is represented in Mr. Smith's Coloured Map and Section, which are now expanded before us, and which have certainly a very striking appearance.—The whole of England may be considered as composed of a series of flat or undulating beds, placed one above another, and sloping very gently upwards, from S.E. to N.W.; the general surface, also, of the island, rising pretty uniformly from

* Transactions of the Wernerian Society, I. p. 149.

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the east and southern shores, to the mountainous districts of the west, and the beds emerging from beneath each other in succession; so that a traveller from London to North Wales would pass over the "outcrop," as it is called, or the terminating edge of every stratum in the series.* This accordingly is the course of Mr. Smith's vertical section; and in his horizontal map, the portions of the strata which successively appear at the surface, are marked throughout the whole of their course in different colours.

If a line be drawn from Eyemouth, on the coast of Berwickshire, to Liverpool, and through Montgomery in North Wales, Ludlow east of Hereford, and thence to the sea at Teignmouth, on the coast of Devon, (a course sufficiently accurate for this very general view), it will leave to the west the mountainous tracts of Cornwall and Devonshire, Wales, Cumberland and Westmoreland, and Scotland; and after tracing the margin of the range of Transition mountains, which traverses the south of Scotland, from St. Abb's head to Solway Firth, it will, in England, mark the boundary between the Primary and Transition rocks to the west, and the more regularly stratified and newer depositions to the eastward. This line coincides, we believe, in its direction, with that of the "ridge" pointed out by Mr. Michell; and we shall find that the structure of England in other respects accords with his description.

If, again, a line be drawn northwards, from Exmouth through Taunton, to Tewksbury, and thence, with a modern curvature, to the east, through Stratford upon Avon, Leicester eastward of Nottingham, Newark, Gainsborough and York, to the mouth of the Tees, it also will divide the island into two portions; of which the western will now include, besides the mountainous regions above mentioned, the remaining metalliferous tract, and all the coal districts; that to the eastward being composed entirely of the more recent stratified rocks; a division, which is attended with a corresponding difference in the pursuits of a proportion of the inhabitants of the two tracts,—and constitutes, in fact, a sort of natural boundary between the agricultural and manufacturing population. This concurrence, throughout so large a part of the island, of the metallic minerals with the coal, which is indispensable to the extraction of their contents, has been one of the principal sources of the commercial wealth and greatness of England.

The direction of the beds to the S. E. of the last mentioned line, appears, at first sight, to be very irregular, from the various indentations of the strata at their "outcrop;" but it is soon perceived, that, in a general view, their edges may be considered as parallel in a direction from S. W. to N. E.; the detached portions of the inferior beds, which, in some in-

* Kidd's Geol. Essay, p. 24.

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A LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL STRATA OF ENGLAND AND WALES—

IN A DESCENDING ORDER. [To face p. 102.

	NAMES (according to Smith.)	DESCRIPTION, OR SITUATION.	SYNONYMES.
Plains.	1. London clay	Clay generally blue, containing septaria.	Fossils agree with those of Calcaire Grossier of Paris.
Plains.	2. Clay and brick-earth	Potter's clay, often very pure. Uxbridge, Trough of Poole.	Plastic clay, *Argile plastique.*
Plains.	3. and 4. Sand and light loam	(No. 3. a subordinate bed of crag or stone (?)—not described.)	
Ch. hills.	5. Chalk	1. With flints . Greenwich, Surry, &c. 2. Without flints . Dorsetshire. (3. Chalk marl—omitted by Smith.)	
Ch. hills.	6. Green sand	Silicious sand, with calcareous cement, mica, and green earth—Folkstone, Vale of Pewsey.	(Includes the Kentish rag as a bed. *Webster.*)
Clay Vales.	7. Blue marl	Clay and marl. Isle of Wight, Undercliff, Maidstone, Kent.	Tetsworth clay—Oaktree soil.
Clay Vales.	8. sand Purbeck stone	Including the Purbeck st. and limes-st. of Vales of Pickering and Alesbury. Shells and fragments of do. cemented by calc. spar, alternating with shale and marl. Isle of Purbeck.	
Clay Vales.	9. Portland rock	Calcareous, small-grained, oolitic. I. of Port. & Purb-	
Clay Vales.	10. Sand 11. Oaktree clay Iron sand Fuller's earth	with Carstone-sand, cemented by oxide of iron. Beds in the ferruginous sand. Bedfordsh. Woburn, Apsley, Hogstye-End.	Ferruginous sand. Woburn sand.
Clay Vales.	12. Coral rag	Earthy limestone; a mass of coral.	[Calne Wiltshire. Shotover-hill.]
Clay Vales.	13. Sand and sandstone		
Clay Vales.	14. Clunch-clay and shale	Dark blue clay and slaty clay. Vales of N. Wilts and Bedford.	Oxford, or Fen-clay.
Clay Vales.	15. Kelloway stone	A bed of arenaceous limestone in No. 14.	Kelloway bridge, Wiltshire.
Stone-brash Hills.	16. Cornbrash limestone	thin beds of light-coloured coarse-grained limestone in clay. Malmsbury and Trowbridge, Wiltshire.	Red-Backs of Northamptonshire.
Stone-brash Hills.	17. Sand and sand stone		
Stone-brash Hills.	18. Forest marble	thin beds of calc. flagstone in clay. Forest of Dean, W., Northamptonshire.	
Stone-brash Hills.	19. Clay 20. Great Oolite	Calcareous, oolitic, with fragments of shells united by calcareous matter. Bath, Rutlandshire, &c.	Bath freestone, Ketton-stone, —Barnack-stone.
Stone-brash Hills.	21. Fuller's earth	In a bed of clay, contained within No. 20.	
Stone-brash Hills.	22. Under Oolite	Coarse Oolite limestone, with fragments of shells. Vicinity of Bath, Northamptonshire.	Bastard Oolite.
Stone-brash Hills.	23. Sand and sandstone	(?) Calcareous sand.	
Stone-brash Hills.	24. Marlstone	A bed, marl and clay (?) Large Belemnites.	
Stone-brash Hills.	25. Blue Marl	Beds of blue clay and marl. Pastures of midland-counties. Vales of Glouc. and of Belvoir, Lincolnsh.	Maidwell limestone.
Marl Vales.	26. Lias, blue 27. white	Limestone in thin beds, alternating with clay . .	Watchet, Aberthaw, Southam, Jura limes. of Saussure
Marl Vales.	28. Red Marl	Beds of coarse limestone, conglomerate reddish sandstone, and clay, with gypsum . .	Rock marl, Redground.
	29. Magnesian limestone	Granular yellowish gray, effervescing slowly. Sunderland, Cheddar cliffs, Stone of York-Minster, Aberley-hills.	New red sandstone; 2d floetz Red land limest. [do. of *Wer.*
	30. Coal measures	Beds of coal, sandstone, slaty, and bituminous clays, limestone, and clay ironstone.	Independent coal formation. *Wer.*
Mountains.	31. Derbyshire limestone	Entrochites principal fossils	Mountain lime, or mountain limest. 1st fl. limest.
Mountains.	32. Red and Dunstone	Red sandstone . . . . . N. Wales, Cumberland.	Old red sandstone. [*Wer.* Red rhab; 1st floetz sandstone. *Wer.*
Mountains.		*Various Alternations of Hard Graystone, Blue Flinty Slate, Limestone, &c.*	
Mountains.	33. Killas & Slate	Transition slate: some varieties of clay slate—(?) N. Wales; Cumberland, Westmoreland, Cornwall, Scotland.	(?) Transition slate of *Werner.*
Mountains.	34. Granite, syenite and gneiss	of Cornwall and Scotland.	

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stances, appear within the boundaries of the superior ones, having been unveiled by the action of rivers, or other causes of, "denudation," which have carried away, irregularly, certain parts of the original surface. The "outcrops," however, although nearly parallel, have a slight convergence to the S.W.; so that a circle, about 50 miles in diameter, around Bath, would include almost the whole series. It was fortunately at this point that Mr. Smith commenced his investigations; and having unravelled the perplexity which the beds in that neighbourhood exhibit, he obtained, as it were, a key to the structure of the remaining portion of the island.

The following, then, is the list of entire series of beds exhibited upon the map and section; in which we have endeavoured to reconcile some variations between the different enumerations of Mr. Smith in his Memoir, &c.—though we are not sure that, in every instance, we have been successful. We have added brief notes of the composition of some of the beds, with a list of synonymes. But, with a view to the history of the subject, we have thought it best to preserve the order and the names of Mr. Smith himself, without introducing any corrections. (*See* LIST, *preceding*.)

In this list there are, it must be confessed, too many hard names; but we believe it to be a correct one, with the exceptions we shall presently mention—a numerous series of beds of inferior note being, of course, included under those of principal importance. The denominations are all taken, either from places where the characters of the beds are very distinctly visible, or from the local names which the strata bear in certain districts; and, such as they are, they have come insensibly into very general use among the geologists of England. It has not yet been found that many of the strata correspond with those of the continental formations; but we have mentioned, with the synonymes of the Table, a few, that are supposed to do so.

The succession of the strata is never seen to depart from one unvaried order; but, in several instances, certain members of the series are altogether wanting. Thus Dr. Kidd has stated,* that, at Sidmouth, the green sand strata (No. 6.) are found resting on the red marl (No. 28); no trace appearing of the intermediate formations, from the lias upwards; a fact which he considers as not well accounted for.

The whole series of beds is composed of clay, limestone, and sandstone, the varieties of which, in several instances, are scarcely to be distinguished by the ordinary characters of mineralogists: A number of other circumstances must therefore necessarily be made to assist in their discrimination; and, with this view, Mr. Smith expressly affirms, that certain of the fossils, which the beds in general contain in great profusion, may be

* Geological Essay, 1815, p. 34.

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considered as infallible guides in recognising them; each bed, as he supposes, having its peculiar fossils, which do not occur in any of the remaining members of the series. To a certain extent, we have no doubt that this remark holds true; and its value, as a source of distinction, will be proportioned to the number of organized species which concur in any doubtful stratum. Dr. Kidd, however, has justly stated, that "the mutual connexion of the strata, and the organic remains contained in them, is at least not so exclusive as has been asserted: for the remains of animals concluded to be characteristic of the newest formations, have been found in some of the earlier; and *vice versa*,"*—of which he gives some very striking instances. The organized bodies, then, are probably to be considered, not as infallible guides, but as very useful assistants in the distinction of similar strata; and such we should have expected them to be, if the views of Rouelle be well founded as to the correspondence of the situations of such bodies with that of shell fish at the bottom of the sea.

The thickness of the strata (that is to say, the length of the perpendicular from the top of the uppermost bed to the bottom of the lowest) is a point of great interest, upon which Mr. Smith has not recently published any thing; and the statements of Mr. Townsend upon this point are not in general correct. The dip, with some local exceptions produced by obvious disturbance, is uniformly directed to the S. E., till we pass the magnesian limestone, No. 29; but the coal strata are inclined in every direction;—and, beyond the coal, the inclination of the primary beds is various, and in general very considerable;—nor, in the newer strata, is the angle of the dip the same throughout the series, in consequence both of original differences of position, and of the unequal thickness of the beds. The chalk, in general, falls about 15 or 20 feet in a mile; but, in the Isle of Wight, the beds in some places, are vertical. The *range* of all the beds above the coal is shown to be from S.W. to N. E., not only by geological observation, but by the direction of the valleys and of the heights formed by the emerging strata, as well as by the course of the principal rivers.

Thus far we have spoken of the strata generally; and it is impossible, within our limits, to describe them in detail. There are, however, certain members or groups in the series more prominent than the rest; the *chalk*, for example, perhaps the *ferruginous sand*, the numerous beds included under the *great oolite*, the *lias*, and the *red marl;* and if these be held in view, they will enable our readers to preserve a proper keeping, in the perusal of the desultory remarks that we can offer upon some members of the list.

* Geological Essay, 1815, p. 37.

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The beginning of the enumeration published by Mr. Smith requires several corrections; and we shall insert below* the true order of the upper strata, as given by Mr. Webster at the close of H. Englefield's very beautiful work upon the Isle of Wight, and the adjacent coast of Dorsetshire, of which we shall have occasion to speak more at large in a subsequent article.

The *alluvium* of Webster, is composed principally of water-worn fragments of flints, mixed with sand and clay; the next six beds are those described in a former Number, (Edinburgh Review, vol. 28.), agreeing with part of the formation above the chalk in the vicinity of Paris, and other parts of the Continent. The sand of this formation, at Alum-bay in the Isle of Wight, is considered as the best material which England affords for flint glass. The *London clay*, (No 1, of Smith), so called from its constituting the bason within which London is placed, is described by Mr. Parkinson, in the first volume of the Geological Transactions. The mass of this, and the next stratum, rises in various places considerable heights above the chalk, as at Highgate, Harrow, and Shooter's Hills. It abounds in organic remains, and affords the Septaria, from which Parker's Roman cement is prepared. The *brick earth*, (No. 2,) or plastic clay, which is ably described by Mr. Buckland,† occupies a very extensive portion of the S. E. of England, particularly in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, and constitutes the well-known clay of *Poole* in Dorsetshire.

The more recent portion of the British strata, from No. 1 of Smith to No. 27, may be considered as divided into two by the N.W. boundary of the *chalk district*, which forms an irregular line considerably curved to the S. E., occupying the high grounds in the contiguous parts of Dorsetshire, Wiltshire, Berks, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, and Norfolk, where it is interrupted by the Wash of Lincolnshire; on the north of which, it is resumed at Candlesbury, and is continued from thence to the sea at Fyley Bay. The chalk throughout is naturally divided into three great beds; which are distinguishable by the layers of flint nodules

* Order of the beds enumerated by Mr. Webster, as occurring in the Isle of Wight, and coast of Dorsetshire.

Alluvium.
Upper fresh water formation.
Upper marine formation.
Lower marine formation.
Sand without shells.
London clay, (No. 1 of Smith.)
Plastic clay, (No. 8.)
Chalk with flints. } (No. 5. S.)
—— without flints. }
Chalk marl.
Green sandstone, (No. 6. S.)
Kentish rag—a subordinate bed.
Blue marl—(No. 7. S.)
Ferruginous sand—(No. 13. S.)
Purbeck shell limestone, (No. 8. S.)
Clay with gypsum.
Portland oolite, (No. 9. S.)
Bituminous, &c. shale, containing Kimmeridge coal.

† Geol. Trans. IV. Part II.

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in the first; by their absence in the second, of which the beds are also thicker, and the substance of greater hardness; and the third, or chalk marl, (not noticed in Smith's enumeration,) by the admixture of clay, and by its falling to pieces on being exposed to the atmosphere. The stratum formed by the union of these beds, which is certainly not less than 700 feet in thickness, constitutes the most considerable range of hills in the eastern and southern parts of England; its course being every where marked by dry plains of great extent, such as the wolds of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, and the downs of Surrey, Kent and Sussex, which have nothing like them in any other part of the island: and in several places it bears very fine woods of beech. This great deposite is evidently continued under the clays above mentioned, (Nos. 1 and 2 of the Table;) for wherever the latter are pierced by wells or shafts, the chalk is discovered, and it is unveiled naturally in several places by the deep course of rivers that cut through the superincumbent matter. In Sussex, where the chalk itself is wanting through a considerable space, it has evidently been removed by some great denuding operation, which has swept away a portion of it as well as of the superior beds.

Mr. Townsend has justly observed, that many of the flint nodules which characterize the upper bed of chalk, contain zoophytes, particularly the alcyonium, the sponge, and the "cup-coral." Indeed he says, that zoophytes "appear to have formed universally the nuclei of the nodules of coated flints. In some, the zoophyte has vanished, and left a vacuity which has been subsequently occupied by flint, agate, or calcedony; many specimens of which, exhibiting beautiful mamillæ, are (chiefly) found at the bottom of the chalk incumbent on the green sand of Pewsley Vale." This interesting subject, we are glad to perceive, has been since pursued by Mr. Buckland of Oxford.* Mr. Smith has given a wrong place to the limestone found at Maidstone in Kent. It is found in great breadth in the vales of Aylesbury and Whitehorse, and on the south and west of Oxford; and its occurrence under the green sandstone has occasioned the formation of the remarkable *undercliff* in the Isle of Wight,—the decay of the blue marl causing the subsidence of the incumbent sandstone, in very large and continuous masses.

The stratum which, in reality, is the next in succession, is the *ferruginous sand* (No. 11, of the Table) which Mr. Smith has erroneously placed *beneath* the Purbeck and Portland limestones; which is perhaps the most remarkable mistake that he has committed; this bed of sand being a principal member of the series, and, in several respects, of considerable importance. It is composed of an alternation of siliceous sand, much charged

* Geol. Trans. IV.

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with oxide of iron, clay, and limestone; the sand being cemented, where the iron is in large proportion, into a solid substance, known locally under the name of Carstone. The course of the stratum is in various places much obscured by planting; but it is very conspicuous in Bedfordshire, under the name of the *Woburn-sands;* and the fuller's earth of that neighbourhood is found as a subordinate bed about the middle of it. This last mentioned substance (which appears again in the series, and in the Great Oolite No. 20,) is probably one of the most valuable products, in a commercial view, of the more recent strata of the island. It was formerly thought so much of, that its exportation, even to Scotland or Ireland, was made felony by an old act of Parliament; and Woodward, who is very proud of the productions of his native country, is warm in its praise. "Those," says he, "who are not rightly acquainted with the uses of this, would very probably laugh at any man who should take upon him to set forth how precious a commodity it is; though, in truth, it be a thing of much higher advantage, and bringing in a much higher revenue to this crown and kingdom, than the *delves** of *dimonds* in Golconda, the silver mines of Potosi, and the gold of Brazil, bring in to the Great Mogul, the king of Spain, or Portugal."†

A good account of the pits of fuller's earth in Bedfordshire, was given in a letter to Woodward from a Dr. Holloway, which appeared in 1723. The author speaks of the "ridge of sand-hills" in which this substance occurs, as extending itself from east to west, at about the distance of eight or ten miles every where from the *Chiltern Hills* (a portion of the ridge of chalk); "which two ridges," he says, "you always pass in going from London to the N. N. E. and N. W. counties; after which, you come to that vast vale which takes in the greatest part of the midland counties;—from whence I make a question, whether fuller's earth may not probably be found in other parts of the same ridge of hills, among like matter."

The Purbeck limestone, which comes next in the order of Webster, (but is placed erroneously under No. 8, of Smith, *above* the iron sand,) is remarkable for containing fresh water shells and bones of the turtle.

* The employment of this word here (if it was not in frequent use at that period) may possibly have occasioned its introduction in a stanza of the only poem, according to Dr. Johnson, ever written by the celebrated Bentley.

"Who Nature's treasures would explore,
Her mysteries and arcana know;
Must high with lofty Newton soar,
Must stoop as *delving Woodward* low."

Boswell's Life, &c. 4to, II. 341.

† On Fossils, pp. vi. & vii.

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It is the first building stone in the descending series. The *Portland oolite* (No. 9,) is well known as the stone which fronts many of the public buildings in London. Some of its beds contain numerous fossils; and the shale which contains the *Kimmeridge* coal, is the next bed below it, in the correct order. The term "*Rag*," is a sort of technical generic name, applied by the English quarrymen, to all flag-stones that break with a rough surface; and the "*coral* rag" (No. 12,) is in fact composed almost entirely of coral: the Mytilus crista-galli is one of the most remarkable fossils of this bed.

The "*Cornbrash*," (No. 16,) Mr. Smith tells us, "is very aptly described by its name;" we suppose because it exhibits what he terms a "brashy" or ragged appearance, and produces a soil which is very fertile in corn. The name is used in Wiltshire, where this bed is distinctly seen. Its course is, in general, distinguished by several considerable market-towns "which are situate mostly at places where the outcrop of the stratum crosses the rivers;" and Mr. Townsend explains satisfactorily the cause of this concurrence. The intersection of the harder strata with the stream, occasions shallows, and renders the river fordable. "The *fords* attracted passengers, and established the highways; and as these were liable to be interrupted by floods, on each side of the ford public-houses were constructed for the accommodation of the traveller, which laid the foundation for villages and towns. In process of time fords gave place to bridges; yet the appellation continued to be used when the reason for it had been long since forgotten." Page 189.

The name of *Freestone* has been given to the beds of the *Great Oolite* (No. 20.), from the ease with which they are cut for building, when in a recent state. "This is the rock by which Bath is almost everywhere surrounded, and to which it is indebted for the exquisite beauty of its edifices." It may be traced "from S.W. to N.E. through the centre of the kingdom, in the intermediate space between the coal districts and the chalk; but is nowhere so much rent and separated by deep valleys as in the neighbourhood of Bath." Wherever the great oolite extends, its beds of clay and fuller's earth (No. 21.) invariably appear:—And the under oolite (No. 22.) is often closely blended with the upper, in the southern part of its course; but is detached from it in Oxfordshire, Northampton, and Rutlandshire.

A very considerable thickness of sandy and argillaceous beds next succeeds, among which the *Blue Marl* (No. 25.) occupies the extensive vales of Gloucestershire, Evesham, and Belvoir; but the bed next in importance after the Oolite is No. 26., the *Lias*, which is, upon the whole, the best marked stratum in the whole series. The beds "crop out magnifi-

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cently" at Kelweston, near Bath, and may be seen to great advantage at Turweston and Keynsham, between Bath and Bilton; and, as we have mentioned in our last Number, on the authority of Mr. Horner, these relations may be very well seen in the N. W. of Somersetshire. The stratum is continued along the southern coast of Wales, from Milford Haven to Cardiff; and in its course to the north, it forms, very distinctly, the boundary of that natural division of the British strata, which we have already mentioned. The upper beds, of a blue colour, are remarkable for affording a lime which has the valuable property of hardening under water; and the *white* lias has been employed in a newly invented process for engraving on stone. The whole stratum abounds in organized remains; and the blue beds of the vicinity of Charmouth in Dorsetshire have afforded a very remarkable specimen, preserved in Mr. Bullock's museum, containing the remains of a creature, supposed by Sir E. Home,* to be more nearly allied to the tribe of fishes than to any other classes of animal; but which, we are informed, is by the French naturalists considered as belonging to the Lizard tribe.

The *Red Marl* (No. 28.) is one of the most remarkable and perplexing of the British series of beds, from its great extent, and from the nature of its composition and arrangement. It occupies a considerable portion of Devon and Somersetshire, and, passing northward along the course of the Severn, in a narrow band, spreads over a large part of Shropshire, Staffordshire, and nearly the whole of Cheshire, on the N. and W. of the great Derbyshire coal-tract, to the east of which it stretches in a long band from the vicinity of Nottingham to the sea at the mouth of the Tees. Mr. Buckland has detected its presence also in the vale of Carlisle, and in the vicinity of Whitehaven,† thus adding to its territory a large tract to the N.W. of the Great Northern Coal District, which has previously been supposed to belong to the old-red-sandstone or dunstone (No. 32.) of Mr. Smith; a determination of considerable importance, which tends to remove a great deal of the obscurity that has hitherto involved the relations of the *two* red-sandstones, (Nos. 28. and 32.) one of which was well known to occur in certain situations beneath the coal.

The surface of the district occupied by the red marl is everywhere nearly horizontal; and the soil above it affords some of the best land in England. The formation itself consists of a great number of different substances, in the form both of beds and of anomalous masses—limestone—breccia—gypsum—rock-salt—and several varieties of sandstone. And it is very remarkable, that in every other country where rock-salt has hitherto been found, it is accompanied by reddish clay and sandstone, resem-

* Phil. Trans. 1814, p. 571. † Geol. Trans. IV. Part I.

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bling those of Cheshire red marl. "In North Cheshire," says Mr. Townsend, "all the town, and most of the villages, are built with the stone of this extensive stratum, which in Exeter gives the name to Rougemont castle; and, in various parts of its course, has had a share of the denomination of places; as at Radford, Redford, Redhill, Rotherham," &c. And Dr. Kidd thinks it not improbable, that the two rivers of America, both called "Rio Colorado," owe the colour from whence they derive this name to their passage through a district similar to our rock marl.*

The northern portion of the *Magnesian Limestone* (No. 29.), which extends from the sea-shore beyond Sunderland to Nottingham, is remarkable for the steadiness of its course, and the uniformity of its character; and it derives considerable importance from the station which it thus occupies immediately above the coal. But at the place last mentioned, it suddenly disappears; and its relations, where it is said to be reserved in the midland counties, and has been ascertained to exist in the south and west of the island, are still somewhat obscure. Two valuable papers have recently appeared upon this subject, by Dr. Bright and Mr. Warburton, and by Dr. Gilby, which render it probable that this rock forms a bed within the lowest portion, or is perhaps the very lowest bed, of the red sandstone: And at St. Bees, near Whitehaven, on the north-western shore, it has been found by Mr. Buckland below the red marl, and immediately above the coal strata; a situation precisely the same with that which it maintains throughout its course from Nottingham to the sea.

30. "The mass of strata," says Mr. Smith, "usually called *coal metals*, is known to be deprived of much of the superficial space which it would occupy, by the overlapping of the *red earth*. When this unconformability of the red earth shall be more generally known, and its irregular thickness more correctly proved, it is highly probable that much more coal may be discovered, and the coal metals be found as regularly connected as other strata." (*Memoir, p.* 49.) The coal strata in general appear to have been deposited in the form of detached basins, within corresponding cavities of the subjacent limestone; but it is doubtful how far any continuity can be ascertained between the beds, in distant portions even of the same basins; and, upon the whole, the relations of the coal, with those of the incumbent and subjacent substances, forms a subject well deserving of investigation. One of the best known of the British coal districts, is that of South Wales, described by Mr. Martin in the Philosophical Transactions for 1806; which is remarkable, as being the seat of some of the most wealthy and extensive manufactories in this country; a very large proportion of all the British copper being smelted at Swan-

* Kidd, Geol. Essay, p. 105.

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sea, on the southern verge of this great basin—and the ironworks of Merthy Tidvie, on its northern boundary, being probably the greatest of the kind in the world. The difference of quality in the coal of South Wales, which, in some places, is bituminous, in others wholly destitute of bitumen, like that of Kilkenny, is a fact that deserves attention, but which has not hitherto been explained.—Besides this tract, and various detached portions of coal country, in the neighbourhood of Bristol, Gloucestershire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, and North Wales, an uninterrupted range of coal strata occurs in the north of England, which is bounded on the east by the magnesian limestone, and on the west by an irregular line from Berwick on the Tweed to the neighbourhood of Liverpool, thence again eastward, through Manchester, by Newcastle under Line, to Nottingham; the coalfields of Cumberland, &c. being, as it were, a lateral offset from this great tract. Mr. Smith has marked, we have no doubt with great fidelity, the situation and boundaries of some of these coal districts: but, in Northumberland and Durham, his map is very erroneous; as will be evident upon comparing it with that which accompanies Mr. Winch's Memoir on this part of England, in the Geological Transactions, Vol. 4.

31. "The limestone of the peak of Derby, which rises from beneath the coal measures, being brought up, as it were, in several places, by local causes of disturbance, and consequently exposed by denudation, is a part of the same kind of rock which appears at intermediate distances, under the same circumstances, from thence up to its termination, in the sea near to Berwick on Tweed."—"In a part of Westmoreland, and Cumberland also, it seems to underlay the coal. It reappears, under the same circumstances, in Flintshire; and may be thence traced to the corresponding point in the sea in South Wales. The greatest mineral districts are in the course of this limestone." *Smith's Memoir, p.* 49, 50.

Mr. Farey, who has given an excellent account of this rock, under the name of *Mineral Limestone*, states, that the beds beneath the coal strata are six in number, namely, three of limestone, and three of toadstone; the united thickness of the former being 170 yards, that of the toadstone 70, and of a *fourth* bed of limestone below these, 130. These beds are intersected by numerous veins, productive of valuable ores, especially of lead; which, according to Whitehurst, do not pass through the intermediate toadstone strata, but are nevertheless continued through all the three beds of limestone: A statement, from whence it has been inferred that the toadstone must have been injected, or forced in between the limestone beds, subsequently to the formation of the veins. But the correctness of this inference is denied by Mr. Farey. The *fourth* limestone forms by

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far the thickest mass, without division into obvious beds, of any in the British series. The deep vales of Dovedale and Wettendale being excavated wholly in this stratum to the depth of at least 250 yards; yet a large part of it seems to be still above. It is the first, or lowest of the floetz rocks of Werner, that occurs in England.*

We shall here close these detailed observations on the strata enumerated by Mr. Smith; his delineation of the mountainous portion of the island, in which the older rocks occur, being obviously very general and incomplete. It would perhaps have been better, if, in the first instance, he had confined his publication to the beds above the red marl, with which he is evidently much better acquainted than with the remaining members of the series. The various and important uses of the determinations we have already detailed, are too obvious to require much illustration. In mining, and the search for coal,—in the structure of canals, of roads,—in building, draining, and the judicious search for, and management of springs,—the advantages of an acquaintance with the strata are incalculable. Mr. Townsend mentions an instance where the Commissioners of the Bath roads sent ten miles for flints, while their wagons actually passed, without their knowing it, over a bed of flints for the greatest part of the way; and while a bed of excellent rock was situated beneath the sand of which the surface was composed. And he states, that the pits from whence all the stone was taken for building the city cathedral of Bath, were open-

* Our readers will now be enabled to appreciate the value of Mr. Michell's list of the strata already mentioned, at p. 319; the date of which was about 1788 or 1789. We have subjoined to each *item* the corresponding number of Smith's enumeration, principally on the authority of Mr. Farey; by whom this interesting document has been published in the Philos. Magazine, Vol. XXXVI. p. 102.

"*Mr. Michell's Account of the South of England Strata.*

	Yards. (Of Thickness.)		Yards. (Of Thickness.)
"Chalk (No. 5. of Smith)	120	"Sand of Newark, (?) about	30
"Golt, (part of chalk marl, No. 5, and blue marl, No. 7.)	50	"Red clay of Tuxford, and several red marl (No. 28.)	100
"Sand of Bedfordshire, (No. 11.)	10 or 20	"Sherewood forest, pebbles and gravel, (alluvial?)	50 *unequal*
"Northamptonsh. lime and Portland limes, lying in several strata, (Nos. 9. to 25.)	100	"Very fine white sand, (*Qu?* bed in No. 28.)	*uncertain.*
"Lyas strata (Nos. 26. and 27.)	70 or 100	"Roche Abbey and Brotherton limes (No 29.)	100
		"Coal strata of Yorkshire	—"

It will be perceived, that the author of this list accords with Mr. Webster, in placing the ferruginous sand *above* the Portland limestone.

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ed in the Great Oolite (No. 20.), at four miles distance, although the same kind of stone was immediately at hand, but concealed, till some quarries were long afterwards opened. But the lavish waste of money in the fruitless search for coal, affords one of the strongest practical illustrations of the benefit that may be expected from the present publication. Mr. Townsend having mentioned several cases (and we could add some others) in which large sums have been employed with that object, in sinking through the *upper strata* of the series, a project which the slightest knowledge of the subject would have shown to be quite hopeless: for, if the coal be continued every where beneath the superior beds, it must obviously be placed, in such cases, at depths from the surface, altogether beyond the reach of art. Yet, in one instance, more than 30,000*l.* were expended in thus sinking through the clunch clay, No. 14.; and "at Bruham, near the *chalk hills* of Bradley Nole, a pit was sunk for coal to the depth of 600 feet; and the bottom of it was still in the uppermost beds of the Great Oolite, (No. 20.)"—*Townsend*, p. 128.

Among the consequences resulting from the stratified structure of the globe, as connected with the purposes of human life, there are few more interesting than one pointed out by Mr. Townsend, respecting the distribution of water below the surface. "Had the strata been all porous, every shower of rain, even the dew, had sunk down to the centre of the earth; to prevent this evil, every filtrating stratum has its bed of clay. But, had these alternate strata of rock and clay been horizontal, the whole produce of rain and dew had been retained, to form either one wide expanse of water, or a bed of mud, unfit for the habitation of the human race. By the inclination of the strata, the filtrated water descends on a bed of clay, till some fissure or some extensive fracture gives it an opportunity to issue under the form of springs." Vol. I. p. 317.

In considering the general inferences deducible from a comparison of the structure of the British islands, with that of other countries, it would appear, 1*st*, That in districts small in comparison with the surface of the globe, but of great extent with reference to our limited powers of contemplation, an actual continuity and identity exist in the composition and order of the strata. 2*dly*, That in detached and distant quarters of the world, a very striking *similarity* between the composition and character of the formations has been demonstrated. Thus, in the great primary assemblages, Granite, Mica Slate, and Clay Slate, &c.; in the various coal formations, Coal, Sandstone, Ironstone, &c. are found universally to be associated. But, 3*dly*, That the *detail* of these groups is very different, in different countries; the number, order and qualities of the several rocks that compose primary divisions,—or of coal, sandstone, &c. in the coal for-

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mations,—being infinitely diversified. And, consequently, *4th*, That the law of *Formations*, so far as it has been hitherto established, is of a very general character; the investigation of any one tract of country, by no means affording a formula by which the arrangement of others can be anticipated:—In short, that the several parts of the globe are, in their geological structure, analogous, but not the same.

The various detached basins of the coal strata in England, may perhaps afford an example, on a small scale, of the structure mentioned in the second of these passages.—it is certain, at least, that no correspondence has *yet* been demonstrated between them. And it is not impossible that all the stratified rocks of England may exemplify the first, in forming only a portion of some great European tract or basin, throughout the whole of which the continuity of the principal beds may be hereafter ascertained. "The sand of the inland sand hills above Bulloine, in Picardy," says Dr. Lister, in 1673,* "is the very same with that on the sea shore at Calais; and, although this is not England, yet *the sea hath but accidentally divided us;—for from Dunstable*, ex. gra. *in England, even as far as the walls of Paris by Calais*, is, as it were, a continued woolds of chalk and flint."—We have seen, that Mr. Mitchell also considered the chalk of England as having been once continuous with that of France; and Mr. Townsend is of opinion, that our chalk hills may be regarded "as the margin of a deep and extensive basin, inclosing channels, lakes, &c. and alluvial districts in England, Lower Saxony, and Swedish Pomerania, and that we may look for the north-eastern margin of this basin, in the Isle of Rugen, where, in the two promontories of Jasmund and Wittow, we see chalk cliffs, in the former 200, and in the latter 360 feet high; this margin appearing again in Zealand and Mona." (*?* Moen)—p. 324–5. The similarity of the continental formations above the chalk, to that of the Isle of Wight, confirms this idea; and though many of the beds beneath our chalk seem to be wanting on the continent, there is already reason to suppose that some of our more remarkable strata do exist there.

Our readers will have collected, in the course of the preceding pages, our opinion as to some of the principal defects of Mr. Smith's map; and we need not dwell upon them minutely. The whole space to the west of the coal, may be considered as very defective; and this deficiency is rendered more remarkable by the minuteness of the divisions in the remainder of the map. Wales, for example, with the exceptions of the coal districts, is occupied by two shades only of colour, those of "red rhab" and "killas;" and Cornwall by those only of killas and granite. It would

* Phil. Trans. vol. xiii. xiv. p. 741.

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have been much better, if the colours had been confined to places respecting which the author was possessed of certain and accurate information: for his readers (if that term be applicable) would thus have known where information was wanting, and could have relied with more confidence on what was expressed. As the map stands, there is no mode of distinguishing the correct from the inaccurate portion.

We have already pointed out the most important errors at the beginning of the series, in the S. E. of the island, on the authority of Mr. Webster. The maps in the Transactions of the Geological Society will point out other defects, particularly those of the London clay, vol. 2.; of part of Somersetshire and of Lincolnshire, vol. 3.; and those of Durham and Northumberland, vol. 4. The comparison is in general unfavourable to Mr. Smith; but we believe that his delineation of a large part in the interior and west of England is very accurate: indeed, when the great labour and extent of the task are taken into the account, its correctness is surprising. The scale of the map, five miles to an inch (the whole occupying a space of 5 1-2 feet by 7 1-2), is, we think, considerably too large. It would have been much better if the general map had been more portable, and the minuter details left for separate maps of counties: and, if a second edition be published, we recommend the adoption of this plan.

We have seen several of the county maps announced at the beginning of this article, in which the beds were laid down to considerable minuteness, from documents in Mr. Smith's possession, and we do not hesitate to recommend them strongly to our readers.—A series of such maps, connected by a general one, would be a capital acquisition to country gentlemen, naturalists, and travellers in England. But the great defect of the work is the employment, without explanation, of a nomenclature perfectly new. Even if the barbarism of many of the names be forgiven, they must still be unintelligible to all persons but the inhabitants of small districts, in which the terms have a local circulation. We should have thought that the proper scientific names of the substances composing the strata, with a series of brief descriptions, might have been easily obtained for the Memoir; and that some such table as we have attempted above, might have been inserted on the map itself. The determination of the meaning of the terms employed in a work of such magnitude, would form, it appears to us, a very fit object for the labours of the Geological society; and, if proper application was made to that learned Body, we have little doubt that a committee would willingly assist in rendering more useful the result of Mr. Smith's researches. We can hardly imagine a more grateful occupation for men of liberality and scientific acquirements, than thus to give effect to valuable observations, and, at the same time, essentially promote

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the welfare of an ingenious and deserving man, who is dependent solely upon his own exertions for support.

In the examination which we have now concluded, we have deduced our inferences and statements from such documents only as are already in possession of the public, that we might avoid all risk of trespassing on the rights of those who are engaged in following out and correcting the investigation, in which Mr. Smith has so well taken the lead. It is no small gratification to reflect, that developments of such great usefulness and interest have been effected by an Englishman, untaught, and unassisted; and that he has been enabled to produce, with all its imperfections, one of the best Geological Maps that has hitherto appeared: for to this high praise we do think Mr. Smith is fairly entitled. It has therefore given us peculiar pleasure to bring before the public this performance; and we are persuaded that the enlightened persons to whom we have just now alluded, will partake of our satisfaction in thus attempting to mark an era in the history, where their own names cannot fail hereafter to occupy that elevated place, which zeal in the pursuit of science, guided by intelligence and liberality, is always sure to obtain.

FOR THE PORT FOLIO.

Syllabus of the Lectures of Thomas Cooper, Esq. M. D. as Professor of Geology and Mineralogy in the University of Pennsylvania.

Of the characters of mineral substances, as distinguished by the sight, the touch, the taste, the smell, the hearing.

Of the means of distinguishing mineral substances artificially: by the file, the knife, the blow-pipe, the mineral acids: by their crystallization and the goniometer; their phosphorescence, their refraction, their magnetism and polarity, their electricity, specific gravity, &c.

Of the specific gravity of the globe of the earth, according to Sir Isaac Newton, Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Cavendish, Drs. Maskelyne and Hutton.

Of the crust of the globe so far as we have yet pierced into it.

Of mineral classification: 1. By families, founded on external characters. *Werner* in Germany, and his followers, *Jameson* in Scotland, and *Thomson* in England. 2. By chemical characters, *Kirwan*, *Babbington*, *Kidd*, *Clarke*, in England. 3. By the primitive crystal, and the crystallographic variations, according to certain laws of decrement and increment; *Romé de Lisle Haüy*, and his followers of the French school. 4. The sys-

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tem of the present lecturer; viz. mineralogy founded upon geological situation and connexion; with the reasons for proposing the plan of mineralogical classification now first adopted.

Of the foundation of geological science, viz. regularity of position of the formations and strata that compose the crust of the earth. Definition of formation, viz. a series of strata occasionally alternating and intermixing; apparently formed within one and the same limited period.

Causes of anomaly and exception; viz. volcanic action; action of water; atmospheric decomposition; rock-avalanches. Wherein, of strata deficient in the usual series, of partial irregularities in the position of strata; boulder stones, and other rolled and misplaced masses of rocks, heterogeneous to the district where they are found.

Of the division of the formations, into primitive, transition, secondary, alluvial, and volcanic. Cautions against the implicit adoption of the theories whereon these names are founded.

Of the PRIMITIVE formations, viz. granitic, magnesian, calcareous, and argillitic.

Of the *granitic* formation, viz. the old granite, gneiss, imbedded large grained granite, mica slate. Of the hornblende and syenite (sometimes called the primitive trap rocks) alternating and intermixed with the granitic formation.

Of the substances composing the granitic formation; viz. quartz, feldspar, mica, hornblende.

Of the substances non-metallic, occasionally found in the granitic formation, viz. schorl, tourmalin, sibarite, garnet, beryl, cymophane, topaz, pyrophysalite, scapolite, spodumene, andalusite, jade, phosphate of lime, fluate of lime, idocrase, allalite, prehnite, &c. &c.

Of the *magnesian* formation; consisting of chlorite, steatite, talc, amianth, serpentine. Of the alternating and intermixing primitive or *magnesian limestone*.

Of the substances non-metallic, found in the magnesian and limestone formations: asbestos, bitter spar, staurotide, automalite, diallage, kyanite, tremolite, actynolite, epidote, dolomite, &c. Of the connexion between hornblende, epidote, and actynolite.

Of partial and intermixing beds, nodules, and strata; of quartz, syenite, and porphyry. Of the as yet indistinct line of division between the primitive and transition formations: of the psammites of the French geologists: reasons for retaining the transition class: of the distinctive characters of the transition class, viz. 1. Absence of crystallization in the mass. 2. Aggregate of worn fragments, and particles imbedded in a paste. 3. Commencement of organic remains. 4. Werner's character of the argilla-

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ceous nature of transition hornblende. 5. Characters now first proposed for investigation by the present lecturer, viz. the carbonaceous and destructible colouring matter prevalent in transition slates and limestones; and the presence of non-bituminous anthracite.

Of the TRANSITION rocks: of porphyry: of clay-slate passing into transition clay-slate: grauwackes, grauwackeshists, limestones, and transition traps, viz. hornblende, sienitic or hornblende rocks, and greenstones.

Of the substances found in the transition class: jaspar, flint-slate, lydian stone, whetslate, gypsum, anthracite, graphite, asbestos accompanying anthracite, black chalk; organic remains of transition, viz. *small* crustaceæ, and impressions of the smaller and first class of vegetables, fishes, &c.

Of the various kinds of zeolite in primitive and transition rocks, the produce of infiltration.

Of the old red sandstone: its doubtful character: and of the substances found connected with the old red sandstone; viz. rock salt, gypsum, jet, &c.

Of the SECONDARY, floetz, or horizontal formations: of the mountain, or metalliferous limestone, and the sandstone strata and lavas accompanying it: of the bituminous coal formation; the sandstone usually subtending it; the strata composing and intersecting it, neptunian and volcanic; of the magnesian limestone; of the strata intervening between the magnesian and lias limestone; wherein of the oolite of England; *quere* if this be not a tufous deposite from thermal waters? Of the strata above the lias limestone ascending to the chalk; of the strata in Europe above the chalk; of the absence (according to the present state of observations) of the chalk and other more recent floetz deposits, within the bounds of the United States.

Of the substances found in the secondary strata: crystallized and amorphous quartz, millstones, fullers' earth, lithographic stones; of the surturbrand, amber, &c. near or in the alluvial.

Of the organic remains of the secondary strata. *Quere*, are strata really characterized by organic remains? and if so, to what extent?

Of the ALLUVIAL SOIL and the organic remains found in it: of the relative ages of organic remains, and of the animals to which they belonged: of madrepore and coraline islands.

Of VOLCANIC formations; viz. of modern and active volcanoes, and the substances found therein, ashes and cinders; cellular, compact, and porphyrytic lavas; of idocrase, and ejected portions of primitive rocks; of the minerals termed nepheline, meionite, and sommite; of obsidian, pumice, tufa, puzzolane or terras, zeolyte, augite or volcanic hornblende, olivine or peridot, sulphur, salts, &c. &c. Of mud-lavas.

Of ancient and extinct volcanoes: wherein of columnar basalt, amor

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phous basalt, porphyry, greenstone, whinstone, toadstone, amygdaloid or mud lava. Of the volcanic interpositions called dykes.

Of the geodes, zeolytes, prehnites, jaspars, agates, quartz, olivine; &c. found in the air-cells of ancient volcanoes, and formed by infiltration.

Of the probable volcanic origin of Werner's newest flœtz trap formation.

Of BASINS: 1. Of coal basins, Richmond, Virginia: Rive de Guir in France, &c. 2. Of chalk basins; of the Paris basin, the London basin, the Isle of Wight basin. 3. Of the great basin of the Mississippi.

Of MINERAL WATERS: 1. Saline. 2. Hepatic and carbonic. 3. Chalybeat. 4. Thermal.

Of METALLIC SUBSTANCES in veins, beds, or strata: Of the metallic substances generally found in the primitive: as pyrites, magnetic and octahedral iron; titanite, rutilite, menachanite; molybdena; tin, &c. &c.

Of other metallic substances common to the formations.

Of METEOROLITES and falling stars.

Of theories and COSMOGENIES; and the insufficiency of any yet proposed taken singly, to account for known appearances.

When the substances are exhibited *in* the rocks, as they are actually found in nature, with their accompaniments, they convey, as I think, far more precise information than any insulated hand specimen or cabinet collection can possibly afford. For the motto of mineralogy, is that of man in the civilized world; *noscitur à socio:* "shew me your companions and I will tell you who you are." I insert the preceding syllabus of my lectures, as containinga *new* arrangement at least; and as suggesting views of the subject not to be found in the usual systems of mineralogy.—T. C.

Two courses have been delivered, one in the fall of the year 1817, the other in the spring of 1818.

AMERICAN COPPER.

A SPECIMEN of the native copper found on the south shores of Lake Superior, has been analysed at the mint of Utrecht. The director gives it as his opinion, that the mass from which it was taken has undergone fusion by volcanic heat. That its qualities resemble what is called Peruvian copper, its colour a clear red; peculiarly qualified for rolling and forging; and is incomparably better than Swedish copper, for colour, the fineness of its pores, and its extreme ductility.

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FOR THE PORT FOLIO.

LETTER FROM COL. BARRÉ TO THE HON. ARTHUR LEE,

DATED LONDON, 31 JAN. 1771.

Sir—I should have long since acknowledged the receipt of your very obliging letter of last June, if I had been in England; but I was, at the time of its arrival, in a remote part of Europe, and now seize this as the first opportunity, which presents itself since my return, to pay my respects to you.

I see you lament, with all the feelings of true patriotism, that the firmness of America has at last given way to the combined arts of ministerial and mercantile wickedness. It was very difficult to resist the former, and upon my word I think it fair to call the latter rather mercantile weakness than wickedness.—Some of the most considerable men throughout your continent are employed in active commerce. They stood long in defence of the rights of their fellow-subjects; but the ministers here had sagacity enough to see that (besides the jealousy of each other) the expense of the contest lay too heavy upon that body of men, to continue much longer. However, it must be confessed upon the whole, that America has shown, in the late struggle, a strong love of liberty, a spirited resentment, and most uncommon abilities.

I am exceedingly obliged to you for your two presents. Their intrinsic worth is rare, and the manner of sending them very flattering. It must give me great pleasure to find that my poor services are still remembered in America, and that I hold a place in the esteem of so respectable a man as Mr. Lee.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ISAAC BARRÉ.

FOR THE PORT FOLIO.—THE NEW YORK JEW.

(*From the Diary of the hon. Arthur Lee.*)

New York,—1784.—I went to visit a Jew, called Simpson, though his true name is Sampson. He was born at Frankfort on the Maine; has lived in this city seventy years, and is aged ninety-

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nine. He married a wife on Long Island, with whom he lived sixty years, and she died in her eightieth year. He wore his hair and beard, both white, but not yet of the silver whiteness of old age. He had some of his teeth remaining, and his eyesight good. His eyes were blue, his complexion fair and florid; both which are uncommon among Jews. He walked well, ate well, slept well, and talked well. His voice was strong—he talked much, but was not prolix; is a very warm whig, and as such quitted the city, when the British took it. He told us, when he first came hither, the whole consisted of one street, and there were orchards where the town is now. He said there was then an Indian king on Long Island, who was very proud; and thought there was no one in the world greater than himself; but having heard much of the great king of England, he sent his son to see whether he was bigger, as he phrased it, than himself. Simpson was present when the son returned. The old king was eating a mess of mush. He immediately inquired of his son, whether he had seen the king on the other side of the water, and whether he was bigger than himself? The son answered, a great deal bigger: and gave such a stupendous account of the British king, that the old man remained for some time in a sullen reverie. At length he asked his son, if the king of England ever died: to which the latter replied in the affirmative. Upon this the chief recovered his cheerfulness, and eat his mush with alacrity. He said, he believed general Washington was the greatest warrior in the world, and ought to be called Joshua: that the king of France had made him one of his mareschals, and he was sure would never rest till he got him into his service. On some one's mentioning that the Jews of Amsterdam were about to purchase a large tract of land on the back part of Georgia, for the purpose of establishing a colony of Jews exclusively; he observed that it would not do; for that the Jews prospered most when intermixed with other nations. He delivered his sentiments with conciseness and perspicuity. His only failing consisted in being somewhat deaf. He said, in all his life he had not kept his bed two days from sickness—that he had never observed any particular regimen, had used spectacles for forty years, till of late he could see without them. He was easy and cheerful; and benevolent of his blessings on us.

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FOR THE PORT FOLIO.

Letter from a Gentleman to his Friend about to proceed on a Journey to the Interior.

My worthy Friend,

I RECEIVED your letter, and am highly flattered by the honour which you have conferred upon my name, by selecting me as one of the patrons of your noble enterprise to explore the interior of this globe. I am sure your frankness will forgive me for suggesting that it would have been better if you had associated with me two of our own philosophers, instead of those gentlemen whom you have chosen. Who so proper to patronize the magnificent undertaking of a son of Fredon as the enlightened Fredonians themselves?

> Of all the schemes that Fame can feed on,
> None e'er shall equal those of Fredon;
> Hence Fredon's sons should always lead
> The projects of each gallant Frede.

Pray pardon the homeliness of these lines, as they are an extract from an unpublished epic poem which I am writing on Fredonian discoveries, in which your name shall not be forgotten.

I wish I could accept your invitation to be one of the "hundred brave companions" with whom you so generously offer to share the glory of your enterprise; but you will recollect that I am a *centumvir* of this world, and have obligations to fulfil in Fredon too imperious to be neglected. Our *illustrious friend*, with that distinguished liberality which so eminently characterizes all his actions, promises to lend you his pedrometer, and regrets that he has disposed of the books that you wanted from his library. But I have no doubt you will be able to borrow them from congress, since as the purchasers have found no earthly use for them in this world, they might possibly promote the ends of science among the sçavans whom you are about to visit. What profound reflections arise in the mind at the bare mention of these interesting people! Methinks I behold all the theories of the Fredonian philosophers realized! Salt mountains lift their hoary heads to the skies; horned frogs querulously croak in muddy pools; and mighty mammoths move among the mea-

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dows. That the cadmean, which our friend Thornton claims as his invention, is the vernacular idiom I do not entertain a doubt, and I trust perpetual motion will there be exhibited in all its glory.

For myself I have not much to say, though I have not been of late years an unfrequent worshipper at the shrine of science.

My observations on the case of Miss Polly Baker led me into a series of experiments on the subject of sleep. The result was very satisfactory to myself, that sleep was an unnecessary indulgence, but when I undertook to read my memoir on the phenomenon at the New-York Philosophical Society, some of my auditors dozed, and my particular friends hinted that it was utterly impossible to persuade people to keep awake unless I should cease to write. They did not point out any necessary connexion between my composition and their sleeping; nor did I ask any explanation, as I had witnessed the same effect to be produced by the lucubrations of other Fredonian philosophers. My waking while they slept convinced me of the vast superiority of mind over body, an observation which I frequently made to myself when I served in the public councils of the Fredonian nation as a *centumvir*.

With the most cordial wishes for your welfare and the success of your enterological enterprise, I am, &c.

P. S. I have been as much perplexed as a certain royal personage was at the opening of a dumpling, in thinking how you will effect an entrance into the hidden region. Sometimes I thought that you might find an enteromphalos through which you could creep. But in tumbling over the pages of Shakspeare, which I sometimes peruse instead of *Cicero in the original*, I found a solution of all my difficulties in the following passage, which proves that the great poet of nature rolled his eye towards the very spot which has now been dreamt of in your philosophy.

> 'Tis you must dig with mattock and with spade,
> And pierce the inmost centre of the earth.

After you have accomplished a penetration, it would be prudent to close the inlet, lest some of the English navigators, now in search of the north pole, should discover the entrance and divide the honour of your discovery. As no one ever got through my essay on

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MARRIAGE OF ISAAC

PROMOTION OF JOSEPH

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the *art of becoming a great philosopher*, I send you a copy, elegantly bound and gilt for the important purpose of "occluding" the entrance to the interesting regions.

FOR THE PORT FOLIO.

THE STORY OF JOSEPH.

From "Conversations on the Bible," by a Lady.

We announced, some months ago, that a lady of Philadelphia, was preparing for the press a work on the Bible; and we now have the pleasure of informing our readers that a specimen of the author's plan has recently been published.

We learn from private sources, in addition to the publisher's advertisements, that this specimen has been received with great commendation, from those who are best qualified to speak on the matter,—from ministers of the gospel who preach various doctrines, but who unite in one opinion on the merits of this unambitious production; and are very desirous that it should be introduced into our schools. Eminently useful as it would be in the seminaries of youth, there is much in these Conversations of which very many of a more mature age, are deplorably ignorant; and after dosing away the sabbath *mornings* of a whole life, and acquiring the name of Christians, some of them might not be a little mortified to find in this book, how ignorant they were of the mere history of the volume which contains the sum of their hopes. How many of this description would be puzzled to answer one of the first questions that occurs in this volume—Why the Bible is so called—need not be investigated. The object of the writer is to give a plain and connected view of the historical parts of the Bible in conjunction with the prophesies, and to illustrate the customs and manners which so often occur in the sacred pages. This is effected by means of Conversations between a mother and two daughters, to which persons, a son is occasionally added, when the author finds it necessary to introduce a *little learning*, and wishes to do it without shocking the feelings of some readers at the *very idea* of *women*

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talking Greek! The mother relates, in her own language, the sacred history, and the young ladies ask questions whenever they feel at a loss. In this way they proceed through the first five books of Moses, in a series of dialogues, which are never dull, even to those to whom the subjects are familiar, and which will be very instructive to those who do not repair to the great fountain head from which this rivulet flows. The author says, in her preface,

'To talk about the Bible in our social circles now, is just as fashionable as it is to be a member of a Bible society; for in our age of wonders, we are all philosophers and all philanthropists—the title, therefore, of this little book will lead some to expect that sort of discussion to which they are every day accustomed. They will be entirely disappointed. The flippancy and temerity with which the most abstruse questions of scripture are introduced into familiar conversation is as irreverent as it is absurd, and ought to be discouraged. Let us endeavour to ascertain, with a seriousness corresponding to the magnitude of the subject, the authority on which these doctrines are given to us, and if we find, as we certainly shall, that they will bear the severest scrutiny, let us acquiesce in silence, while we humbly feel their superiority to our limited reason.

'Should this first essay be received with approbation, the work will be continued.

'That faults may be discovered in this performance, there exists not a doubt in the mind of the author. They might, perhaps, be extenuated by adequate apologies; but they who take upon themselves the office of instruction, have but little right to insist on the lenity of the public. An anonymous work may anticipate candour, because it owes nothing to the adventitious weight of reputation. Nor is there, in our liberal times, any hostility to a female pen, to be deprecated. The moral and intellectual sphere of women has been gradually enlarging with the progress of the benignant star of Christianity; but it was reserved for the nineteenth century to honour them beyond the circle of domestic life—to form them into societies organized, active, and useful in the most excellent pursuits. Still, let them ever remember, that whilst here, they may be permitted to emit one invigorating ray,—there, it is their duty, and their privilege to shine.'

Philadelphia, 1818.

The volume is embellished with a variety of engravings, illustrative of the scenes described, which are executed with much neatness. We insert two of them with this article; and as we did not propose to enter into a review of the CONVERSATIONS, we pro-

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ceed to make an extract. It will certainly be admitted by those who understand the subject, that we expose this book to a severe ordeal, when we select for this purpose an abridgment of a story so simple, so affecting, and so replete with instruction, as the tale of Joseph. As a specimen of eloquent narrative, it has never been surpassed. But it was necessary to bring it within the compass of a part of a small volume, and it will be seen that this difficult task has been accomplished with singular felicity. Unlike the compositions of uninspired men, there are in this tale, no excrescences to be lopped off, no verbiage to be pruned, no tediousness to be enlivened—it would seem to be like a finished picture, so perfect that the slightest touch would destroy the whole. Yet it has been condensed here, by a mind so familiar with all the lights and shades, that the reader rises from the perusal with the same satisfaction that a spectator feels while he dwells upon the vivid colours of an accurate panorama.

'We come now to the beautiful story of Joseph, which is familiar to every one. We cannot however omit it, because it is intimately connected with the history of Israel.

CATHERINE. No matter how often it is repeated, mother. I have never read any thing so deeply interesting.

MOTHER. It is impossible to surpass the relation which has been left by the inspired historian. But unless we could assume his mantle, the noble simplicity of his manner must be lost in any abridgment. I touch it therefore with unaffected diffidence, and must be content to relinquish the embellishment of many an inimitable stroke of natural eloquence, and continue briefly our narrative through the principal events of that patriarch's life. He was the favourite child of his father, and most probably because he was the most amiable. For it would seem more likely that Benjamin, the Benoni* bequeathed with the last breath of his beloved Rachel, should engage the partial fondness of the bereaved husband. But he loved Joseph more than all his other children, and excited their jealousy by imprudently displaying his affection.

Accustomed as they were to consider the elder, as entitled to superior honours, they could not behold Joseph distinguished by a garment of curious texture, the mark of his father's peculiar favour, without envy and disgust. But Joseph was destined to be more nobly distinguished by wisdom and virtue; to fill a station of eminence, and distribute relief to a suffering community.

*Benoni, "the son of my sorrow." The name given by his mother at the moment of her death.

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Intimations of his extraordinary fortune were given to him in two dreams, which, in the innocency of his heart, he related to his family. "We were binding sheaves together in the field," said he, at one time, "and my sheaf arose, and stood up, and your sheaves stood round about, and made obeisance to mine." And at another, "I thought the sun, and the moon, and the eleven stars, made obeisance to me."

CATHERINE. This designation of their number was too plain to be misunderstood, particularly by those, who envying him, might be watching for occasions of complaint.

MOTHER. Even his fond father felt the implication, and rebuked his seeming arrogance. "Shall I," said he, "and thy mother, and thy brethren, indeed, come to bow down ourselves to thee?" but the prediction sunk deep in his mind.

The hatred of his brothers was embittered, and they determined to remove him from the possibility of realizing his vain hope. When he had just reached his seventeenth year, an opportunity occurred to execute their atrocious plan.

They were shepherds, and tended their flocks, sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, occasionally shifting for the benefit of pasturage. They were now supposed to be at Shechem, considerably distant from the vale of Hebron, the dwelling of the family, and had probably been a good while absent, as their father became anxious to hear from them. Unsuspicious of any danger to Joseph, whom he had kept at home, he sent him to visit his brothers, and bring him intelligence of their welfare. Coming to Shechem he was informed by a stranger of whom he inquired, that they had removed to Dotham. Thither therefore he followed them; and when they saw him approaching, and remembered that he had on a former occasion reported their reprehensible conduct to their father—his superior endowments, and aspiring dreams, they saw the opportunity they had waited for of avenging themselves, and proposed to put him to death, and deceive his father by some plausible tale.

Reuben, the eldest son of Leah, was not of the council, but overheard the shocking design, and moved by compassion for his aged parent, he contrived to save the life of the helpless youth, by persuading them rather to confine, and leave him to perish in the field, than stain their hands with his blood. To get him out of their way at any rate, was their object; after stripping him therefore of his clothes, regardless of his tears and entreaties, they cast him into a pit, and sat down unfeelingly to their accustmoed meal.

Whilst they were yet eating and drinking, a caravan of Ishmaelitish merchants, carrying balm and spices to Egypt, appeared in view. They dealt also in slaves, and now the avarice of these unnatural men, most

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happily suggested the sale of Joseph, rather than the unprofitable guilt of putting him to death, and they disposed of him to the traders, for twenty pieces of silver. Reuben, his advocate, had been absent during this last transaction. Returning to the pit, to conduct him in safety to his father, and finding him not, he ran in great consternation to his brothers, lamenting the sad accident! Instead of openly defending him against their violence, he had weakly condescended to preserve him by a stratagem, and now that he was lost, how should he return to his father! What could he now do? He could only unite with the more guilty, in devising a plan to conceal the whole. They killed a kid, and staining the coat of Joseph, they carried it with affected simplicity to their father, and asked if he could certainly identify it!

He knew at once the coat of his darling child, his own distinctive gift, and the conclusion was inevitable: "an evil beast hath destroyed my son, I will go mourning to my grave!" And absorbed in grief, he wrapped himself in sackcloth, their garment of mourning, nor could the efforts of his children or his friends alleviate his sorrow.

CATHERINE. How must envy have hardened their hearts when they could be insensible to the tears of their aged father!

MOTHER. Let this affecting example be to you, my children, a beacon to warn against the least approach of such a baneful passion. These deluded men were gratified with the present success of their barbarous scheme, but they reflected not on the anguish they were preparing for themselves. (B. C. 1729). Meanwhile, their unoffending brother was carried by the traders into Egypt. His engaging countenance would readily procure a purchaser, and he became the property of Potiphar, an officer in the king's guard. Potiphar was a discerning man: under every disadvantage he discovered the extraordinary talents of Joseph, and though but a youth, a stranger, and a slave, to his management he committed all his affairs. Ten years he continued in this subordinate situation, conducting himself with unvarying prudence, and enjoying the utmost confidence of his master. All the house of Potiphar was blest for the sake of his Hebrew servant—the verification of whose auspicious visions seemed already to dawn,—when a cloud intervened, and obscured for a time his ascending glory. While Potiphar saw himself, no fault in Joseph, he suffered his esteem to be suddenly subverted, by the misrepresentations of an abandoned wife, and degrading him from all his employments, he cast him into the prison of the guard house. Here too, he obtained the reverence that his virtues deserved. The keeper was probably acquainted with the true character of the slandered Hebrew, and had seen the smile of Providence illuming his captivity. Assured therefore of his fidelity, he gave him the charge of his fellow prisoners.

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Among others, two officers of Pharoah, his chief baker and chief butler, who had offended their master, were consigned to his care. These men were observed by Joseph one morning, when he visited them, to appear remarkably dejected. He inquired the reason, and was told, that they had respectively been disturbed by foreboding dreams, and there was "no one in the prison to interpret them." He requested them to tell *him* their dreams, and piously intimated that God, who alone had the power, would impart the design! The dreams were related, and the unhappy baker was informed, that "in three days the king would hang him on a tree," but to the more fortunate butler, he predicted his restoration to his office; and he made use of the opportunity to bring his own cause before the king; beseeching his fellow prisoner to remember *him* when he should again deliver the cup to Pharoah. "For indeed," said he, "I was stolen out of the land of the Hebrews, and here have I done nothing to deserve a dungeon."

Three days after, came the birth-day of Pharoah, when the criminals were brought out for judgment. The chief baker on that day was hanged, and the cup-bearer was reinstated, but Joseph was forgotten in the hour of his prosperity!

CHARLES. Could he be so very ungrateful?

MOTHER. He was unkind, and even unjust, rather than ungrateful. The prophet was in no wise the author or instrument of his deliverance. He had indeed relieved him from oppressive apprehensions, for in a despotic government like that of Egypt, where the will of the monarch is the sole rule of distribution, no man can estimate the measure of his punishment, however light his offence. But he had seen the wisdom and virtue of Joseph in the prison, and knowing that he was the victim of injustice, it was his duty to advocate his cause, when he was himself restored to favour.

Two years afterward the monarch himself was thrown into great consternation by a singular dream, and his magicians and soothsayers were summoned in vain, to declare the mystery. No plausible conjecture occurred to their minds, all was doubt and anxiety, and now the butler remembered Joseph and reproached himself! He hastened to his master, and informed him, that he would find in the royal prison a young Hebrew, a servant to the captain, who could interpret dreams, and confessing his own guilty negligence, he related the occurrences that had displayed the inspiration of Joseph. These were joyful tidings to the humbled king, and Joseph was brought as quickly as he could change his garments, and fit himself to appear in the royal presence. "I have dreamed a dream," said Pharoah, "and I have heard that thou canst interpret it." With the same humility with which he had answered his fellow prisoners on a similar occasion, assuming nothing to himself, Joseph replied, "*God* shall give Pharoah an answer of peace."

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"In my dream," resumed the king, "I saw seven fat cattle come up out of the river, and feed in a meadow, and seven others, so poor, so ill-favoured, as I never saw in all the land of Egypt, came after them, and devoured the fat cattle. And again; I saw seven ears of corn come up on one stalk, full and good; and other seven withered, thin, and blasted by the east wind, sprung up after them, and devoured the seven good ears—and the magicians are not able to declare the meaning."

FANNY. If dreams were once so full of meaning, why do we wholly disregard them now?

MOTHER. Because having now an ample revelation containing all that it is necessary for us to know of the future, and all that we require to direct us for the present, that is our only certain guide. Before that was promulged, various means were used to instruct mankind. Amongst these were dreams; which, though superstitiously observed by the orientalists, who were much addicted to signs and emblems, were often made subservient to the decrees of Providence. Pharoah, on this occasion, was happily submissive to the divine suggestion; and listened attentively whilst Joseph expounded the mysterious vision.

"GOD," said he, "hath showed Pharoah what he is about to do. Seven years of great plenty shall bless the whole land of Egypt; and afterwards seven years of famine shall so consume it, that the abundance shall be forgotten. And because these things shall surely come to pass, let the king avail himself of this gracious communication, and appoint a suitable person to lay up corn in the plentiful years, to keep the people alive during the famine that shall follow."

"Can we find," exclaimed the delighted king, "such an one as this, in whom is the spirit of God? He to whom such high knowledge is imparted, is the most wise and most proper to be set over the kingdom." Then taking a ring from his own hand, and putting it on that of Joseph (B. C. 1715)—"Thou," continued he, "art ruler of all my people—only in the throne will I be greater than thou." And he commanded his servants to array him in sumptuous apparel, to seat him in the second chariot in the kingdom—and proclaim before him, "Bow the knee!" And yet further to promote his honour and happiness, he gave him in marriage an Egyptian lady—Asenah, the daughter of Potipherah, a priest of On.

FANNY. Then these people worshipped idols, though they acknowledged the God of Joseph!

MOTHER. Believing in a plurality, they seem to have thought them not incompatible. Here you see, they admitted the power and knowledge of one Supreme—yet we know that they were addicted to the basest idolatries.

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Elevated now to the second dignity in the empire, and invested with powers to execute his benevolent purposes, Joseph went throughout the provinces of the empire, preparing storehouses to lay up the surplus food of the plenteous years. They came, according to his prediction, and the earth produced her fruits in immeasurable abundance, and in every city the corn of its district was carefully stored.

The seven years of famine also arrived, and the perishing multitudes cried to Pharoah for bread. To Joseph all was committed, and he opened his stores, and supplied them according to his discretion, and the treasury of Pharoah was filled.

But the famine was not confined to Egypt, the adjacent countries were equally afflicted; and when they heard that the Egyptians had provided against a general scarcity, they crowded thither for food.

(B. C. 1717.) Amongst those that presented themselves on this occasion, came ten of the sons of Jacob, and prostrated themselves to the ground before the governor of Egypt—little imagining that he whom they now reverenced was their banished brother!

CATHERINE. How could they possibly have forgotten him? One would think that remorse alone would have kept him alive in their memories.

MOTHER. They had not forgotten him—their cruelty to him had penetrated their minds, as we shall presently see; but now they were occupied with more immediate cares.—Besides, his person was altered with the progress of his years. To the bloom of his beauty was added the maturity of manhood; nor had they the thought of looking for him amidst the splendour of a court, and invested with the power of a sovereign. But he recollected them, and now saw the accomplishment of his dream. Thrown thus into his power, and petitioning for bread for themselves and their families, his gentle nature forbade retribution.—He thought of his aged father—he thought of Benjamin, his younger brother—and, to conceal the yearnings of his heart, he charged them abruptly with coming to see the poverty of the country! They disclaimed the ignoble purpose! "They were," they said, "*twelve* brethren, the sons of one man—that the youngest remained at home with his father, and *another was not*;* and to buy corn for their families alone were they come." He affected to question their integrity, and, threatening to punish them as spies, he threw them into prison. Coming to them after a few days, he proposed that they should prove the truth of their statement by bringing their youngest brother into Egypt; but he would keep one of their number, in the prison, an hostage for their return.

* This form of expression was probably used to avoid the direct assertion of Joseph's death, which they could not certainly affirm.

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Overpowered now by all these painful circumstances, appealing to their awakened consciences, they broke out into lamentations, and bitterly reproached themselves, even in the presence of Joseph, who they did not imagine understood them, for he had hitherto employed an interpreter. "Verily we are guilty concerning our brother; for we saw the anguish of his soul when he besought us, and we would not hear; therefore is this distress come upon us!"

"Did I not say to you," cried Reuben, "Do not sin against the child, and ye would not hear, therefore, now, his blood is required!"

These mutual upbraidings almost shook the fortitude of Joseph—his heart relented, and he turned from them to conceal his tears.

"Prove yourselves true men," said he, as soon as he could command his voice to speak, "by bringing your youngest brother to me." And he took Simeon and bound him before their eyes! Then ordering his servants to fill their sacks with corn, and to provide liberally for their journey back to Canaan, he dismissed the remaining nine.

On their journey, as one of the young men opened his sack to get provender for their asses, they were greatly astonished by finding a sum of money in the mouth of the sack; and fearful that divine vengeance had now indeed overtaken them, they said one to another, "What is this that God has done to us?" But how aggravated were their terrors, when arriving at home, and in the presence of their father, they emptied their sacks, and discovered in each the bundle of money that had been carried into Egypt, now secretly returned. Compelled to account for the absence of Simeon, they were obliged to relate all that had befallen them; and to add the cruel injunction of the viceroy, that Benjamin should come to verify their story and deliver Simeon. "Me," cried the afflicted parent "ye have bereaved of my children. Joseph is not, and Simeon is not, and ye will take Benjamin away; all these things are against me." "Slay my two sons," replied Reuben, confident of the probity of the Egyptian prince—"If I bring him not to thee; deliver him into my hand and I will bring him to thee again." But entreaty was vain—Benjamin, the only remaining child of his lamented Rachel, he would not hazard on so long a journey. "My son," said he, "shall not go down with you, for his brother is dead, and he is left alone: If mischief befal him by the way, then ye shall bring down my gray hairs with sorrow to the grave."

CATHERINE. Poor old man; I never read his pathetic lamentation without tears. Still I cannot help blaming him for refusing to send Benjamin to release Simeon, who ought to have been equally dear to him.

MOTHER. I am no apologist for parents who make unreasonable discriminations amongst their children; indeed they are seldom observed, where all the children of a family are equally dutiful. In this case we

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may allow something to the enfeebling effects of old age and peculiar circumstances. Necessity, however, soon wrung from Israel a reluctant consent. Their provision was exhausted, and he was obliged to call upon his sons; "Go again, buy us a little food." Judah, less tender than Reuben, declared they *would not* go without Benjamin; for the governor, said he, "did solemnly protest that we should not see his face without our youngest brother." Pressed now on every side, the suffering father exclaimed, "Why dealt you so ill with me as to tell the man ye had yet a brother?" They answered, that he had questioned them so minutely, that they could not conceal it; nor had they any motive for endeavouring to do so, for they could not imagine that he would say, "bring your brother down." And they continued to urge him by every consideration of tenderness for them and their little ones, of duty to himself, and the impolicy of a longer delay, to commit Benjamin to their care,—pledging themselves with affectionate solemnity for his safety. "Go then," cried the distracted patriarch, "if it must be so, take of the best fruits in the land a present to the man, and double money in your hand, and the money that was returned in the mouth of your sacks, carry it again in your hands; peradventure it was an over-sight. Take also your brother, and God Almighty give you mercy before the man, that he may send away your other brother and Benjamin. If I be bereaved *of my children*, I am bereaved." With these affecting words he dismissed them, and they hastened into Egypt, and to the presence of Joseph, who when he saw that Benjamin was with them, directed his steward to prepare an entertainment, and bring these interesting strangers to his house at noon, avoiding himself for the present any conversation with them. Alarmed by this unexpected honour, and connecting it with the mysterious circumstance of the money returned in their sacks, they sought the steward, and anxiously exculpated themselves from any knowledge of the obnoxious act; in confirmation of which, they had brought the money again with them, and had added other sums to obtain a further supply of corn, the single object they again asserted of their original visit. The good natured steward relieved their excessive apprehensions by acknowledging that he had himself restored their money, and encouraged them to hope that Providence had yet some special favours in store for them. He then liberated their brother Simeon, and brought them all into Joseph's house where they were to dine, and gave them water to wash their feet, and other refreshments, very grateful after their long journey.

CHARLES. Let me take this opportunity to ask the reason of that ancient custom of giving travellers water to wash their feet; we should think it an awkward piece of civility now.

MOTHER. We do not require it. Our convenient boots and shoes were not known to the people who practised that courtesy. They wore

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sandals, which exposed the upper part of their foot to the dust. Washing the feet and bathing the whole body is so necessary to health, as well as comfort, that it becomes a religious rite in very hot climates. But I will not detain you from the meeting of Joseph with his brethren.

FANNY. Yes, I am impatient to return to that eventful dinner.

MOTHER. No explanation however took place at this second meeting, for the purposes of Providence were not yet completed. Every thing that occurred was calculated to excite wonder and reflection; especially the singular notice that was taken of Benjamin: for Joseph not only graciously accepted their present, and asked affectionately for their father, "the old man of whom they had spoken;" but seeing a new face among them, inquired gently, "is this your younger brother? God be gracious to thee my son," was all he could articulate; and hurried from them to his chamber to give vent to his tears. When his agitated feelings were somewhat tranquillized, he washed his face, and assuming an air of indifference, met his family and guests.

Three tables were prepared; one for the governor of Egypt, another for his eleven brothers, and a third for the nobles who were admitted to his society, and who could not submit to the abomination of eating with the Hebrews.

CHARLES. Dear mother: your narrative so often encounters the customs or prejudices of the ancients, of whom I am always anxious to learn what I can, that I am tempted to interrupt you. Pray tell me why these people could not eat together.

MOTHER. Because the Hebrews, who at that time made no distinctions in articles of food, would eat the flesh of animals held sacred by the Egyptians; and the abhorrence of the latter of such a profanation would not permit them to sit at table with those who committed it.

But though offensive in this particular, the strangers were treated with extraordinary civility. Arranged carefully in the order of their birth, they received each a portion from the governor's table; but Benjamin's was five times the quantity of any of his brother's. This singular attention amazed them; but as they saw no immediate occasion of alarm, they enjoyed the present moment in feasting and mirth. Early the next morning they commenced their journey homeward laden with provisions as much as they could possibly carry. But scarcely had they lost sight of the city, when they were overtaken by the very steward who had seemed so studious of their comfort, and abruptly reproached with having returned evil for good in that they had stolen the golden cup of his master. Confident of their innocence, and seeing only in this disgraceful charge some new oppression of their mysterious persecutor, they fearlessly inquired, how they who had brought back the money discovered in their sacks on

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the former occasion, which they might have concealed and retained, could now be suspected of an action they abhorred? And to evince their indignant sincerity, they added, "let him die with whom the cup shall be found." The terms were accepted and the baggage immediately examined, beginning with Reuben's and descending to Benjamin; when lo! in the sack of the latter the goblet was found.

FANNY. Alas! Had he stolen it indeed?

MOTHER. O no—it was placed there secretly by Joseph's direction, who intended by these trials to bring them to a sense of their guilt. Their conviction had seemed yet incomplete; but now overpowered entirely by the dreadful result of their own stipulation, they saw the hand of God taking vengeance for their brother's blood. In awful suspense they returned to the presence of Joseph, and prostrating themselves at his feet, they exclaimed, "what shall we speak, or how shall we clear ourselves; God hath found out the iniquity of thy servants: behold we are my lord's servants, both we, and he with whom the cup is found."

"God forbid," returned he, "that I should do so: the man in whose hand the cup is found, *he* shall be my servant, as for you, get you up to your father in peace."

This determination was the climax of their sufferings. To see the sorrow they had once wantonly brought upon their father by tearing from him his favourite, renewed in the loss of Benjamin, they could not endure. Judah, therefore, encouraged by the amiable deportment of Joseph, approached him, and deprecating his anger, he prayed to be heard. He then went on to rehearse with the simple eloquence of heart-felt grief, the whole history of their coming into Egypt. He painted the anguish of his father for the loss of Joseph, his best beloved child; his subsequent tenderness for Benjamin, the only remaining son of their mother, and his excessive unwillingness to trust him out of his sight. Nor did he forget indirectly to appeal to the generosity of the governor, by reminding him that the unhappy Israel would not have been brought into this dilemma but for his own rigid inquiry,—"have ye yet a brother," and his refusal to let them have corn except he came down. Suspecting no danger," he continued, "he had readily became the surety for his safety; and now that the liberty of Benjamin was thus inexplicably forfeited, he would pay the penalty in his stead, for he could not return and behold the anguish of his father."

This pathetic speech of Judah, not one word of which can be omitted without losing a significant expression, was admirably adapted to affect such a man as Joseph; his firmness was conquered—the tide of tender emotions could no longer be restrained—and hastily commanding every one except his brethren to leave the room, he cried, "I am Joseph—does my father yet live? Amazement, joy, and shame overpowered his bre-

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thren; he saw them unable to speak, and generously encouraged and comforted them.—"Come near, I pray you, said he, I am Joseph your brother, whom ye sold into Egypt; be not grieved therefore nor angry with yourselves that ye sold me hither, for God did send me before you to preserve life." And seeing them incredulous, and pitying their confusion, he continued to assure them, "haste ye, go to my father and say to him, thus saith thy son Joseph, God hath made me lord of all Egypt; come down unto me, tarry not, and I will nourish thee, for there are yet five years of famine; thou shalt dwell in Goshen, with all that thou hast, lest thou come to poverty. Your eyes see, and the eyes of my brother Benjamin see, that it is my mouth that speaketh unto you; tell my father all my glory in Egypt, and all that ye have seen, and haste and bring down my father hither." And he fell on Benjamin's neck and they wept in one another's arms; and he embraced all his brethren and shed tears upon them. Tranquillity and confidence by degrees succeeded to these impassioned feelings, and they conversed affectionately together. Meanwhile, the report of this unexpected meeting, had gone abroad. The violence of Joseph's agitation had been overheard by his servants; every one rejoiced in the happiness of their benefactor; and Pharoah himself, embracing every opportunity to testify his high regard for him, gave immediate command that carriages should be prepared to bring down the father of Joseph and his whole family into Egypt. "Regard not your stuff," said the generous prince, "for the good of all the land of Egypt is yours."

Preparations were accordingly made, and the sons of Israel, laden with provisions and presents both for him and themselves, returned to their father with the tidings of Joseph's existence and elevation in Egypt.

FANNY. These tidings would be almost as insupportable as the former had been, though from an opposite cause.

MOTHER. His feeble spirits fainted under the excess of surprize and joy, and only the evidence of the carriages provided by Joseph and the munificent monarch whom he served, to transport him with all that he had, could convince him that such great and unexpected blessings were his. "It is enough (said he) Joseph my son, is yet alive—I will go and see him before I die."

FANNY. I suppose Israel intended to return to the land of promise, and die there?

MOTHER. He might reasonably have cherished such a hope, because he had not yet attained, as he afterwards told Pharoah, to the years of the life of his fathers: but he certainly knew that his posterity should return. Yet knowing also, that they should be afflicted "in a land wherein they were strangers," this sudden removal of his whole family to a foreign country,

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was calculated to fill his mind with anxious reflections on the probable consequences of an event so remarkable. Penetrated too, with the profoundest gratitude for the marvellous recovery of his son; he stopt at Beersheba to offer a sacrifice of thanksgiving and praise.

At this memorable station, his fathers, both Abraham and Isaac, had received the homage of the king of the Philistines, because he saw that they were the favourites of heaven, and at his own request made treaties of friendship with him; and here the same protector whose presence Abimelech acknowledged, encouraged Israel to prosecute his journey without fear; for in Egypt he would make of him a great nation.

CATHERINE. Was this then the beginning of that bondage so famous in the history of the children of Israel?

MOTHER. It was the beginning of that bondage predicted to Abraham, as the lot of his posterity, in these words: "They shall serve four hundred years, in a land that is not theirs;" yet their residence in Egypt, commenced (B. C. 1706), under the most flattering auspices. They were met on the way by Joseph in his chariot, and in the arms of his long-lost son, the full soul of the happy father received the fruition of earthly bliss! "Let me now die," said he, "since I have seen thy face." When tears and embraces had relieved the unutterable feelings of both, Israel and five of his sons, were conducted to the king. The venerable patriarch, was seated in his presence, and questioned of his age, and occupation; and when he answered, "thy servants are shepherds," the land of Goshen, a section rich in pasturage, was assigned to them, and the flocks of Pharoah were committed to their care.

Two years of the famine were spent, when Israel came with his family into Egypt. During five more it continued with such distressing severity, that all the riches of the inhabitants came into the royal treasury to procure the means of subsistence. When their money was exhausted, they brought in their cattle of every description, and exchanged them with Joseph for bread. Still the earth withheld her fruits, and the starving people crowded around him, "Shall we die before thine eyes?—take us, and our land—we will be servants to Pharoah, only give us bread."

But this upright minister would not aggrandise even the prince who had elevated him to the second place in the kingdom, to the prejudice of his subjects; but employed the plenitude of his power for the advantage of both. He improved the condition of some, by removing them to more convenient habitations, and generously restored four-fifths of the lands of all; retaining but one, for the king: and this regulation continued afterwards for ages. One-fifth of all the territories of Egypt belonged to the king, excepting the lands of the priests, who were wholly exempted from tribute.

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CATHERINE. How old was Jacob when he entered Egypt?

MOTHER. An hundred and thirty years, and he lived, afterwards, seventeen in Goshen. Before his death he assembled his sons, and after reciting the most affecting incidents of his life, and adopting the two sons of Joseph, Ephraim, and Manassah,—who were ever afterwards reckoned as heads of tribes,—he blessed them severally, and "told them what should befal them in the latter days."

FANNY. Can you show us the accomplishment of these prophecies?

MOTHER. Several commentators* have very satisfactorily performed that service. To them I must refer you, and hope you will derive from their curious investigations, the same degree of pleasure they have repeatedly afforded me. Excepting the decisive evidence they bring, by their incontrovertible accomplishment, to the genuineness of sacred writ, we are not immediately interested in the predictions in question. That, pronounced on Judah, the grand link in the chain of our story, alone concerns us.

To him it was said, "with Judah shall the *sceptre* remain, till *Shiloh* come, and to him shall the gathering of the people be." The word *Shiloh* is variously interpreted; but it is most commonly taken to mean, the *sent;* and to point out to the Messiah, whom we shall find by and by, proceeding indeed from this honoured tribe, to whom the *sceptre* was given, and in whose family, till his advent, it remained.

The dying patriarch also took an oath of his sons, especially of Joseph, as possessing chiefly the power to excute his will; to carry him into Canaan, and bury him with his fathers, in the sepulchre which had been purchased by Abraham, when he was a stranger in that land, for the burial place of Sarah: where Isaac, and Rebekah, and Leah, had also been laid. And accordingly, his remains were carried up with great pomp into Canaan, (B. C. 1689), attended by all the males of his family, and a great retinue of noble Egyptians.

FANNY. Deprived now of their natural protector, and wholly in the power of Joseph, his brothers began to fear that they should be sacrificed to his just resentment, no longer restrained by reverence for their common parent.

MOTHER. But this illustrious man was always superior to circumstances. The fear of God was the governing principle of all his actions. His amiable nature was melted to tears, when they sent messengers to deprecate his anger, and afterwards came, and, prostrating themselves, presented his departed father's request, that he would forgive them! "Am I," said he, "in the place of God? It is his to punish, and mine to obey his will. *He* sent

* See Newton on the Prophecies, and others.

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me before you into Egypt, to save much people alive; now, therefore, fear not; for I will nourish you, and your little ones."

The useful life of Joseph was protracted to the length of an hundred and ten years; and under his affectionate care his family grew and flourished. (B. C. 1635.) In his last hours he reminded them that they were to return to their own country, and enjoined them to carry up his bones, and deposit them with those of his ancestors. His unmerited kindness to them, had secured their obedience, and they preserved his body for that purpose, by embalming it after the manner of the Egyptians. From the sacred records, we learn no more of this celebrated ruler, but profane writers have said, that the Egyptians continued long to venerate the name of their benefactor.

To the fascinating power of such an assemblage of endowments, without the alloy of a single vice; as much as to the affecting vicissitudes of his fortune, we may ascribe the pleasure with which we contemplate the beautiful story of Joseph. Severely tried in a variety of circumstances, he was faithful in all. The lustre of his piety augmented the splendour of a throne, and illumined the gloomy cells of a prison. Diligent and submissive, in adversity —active, and beneficent in prosperity—as a statesman—a son—and a brother—he was prudent, dutiful, and generous; diffusing blessings while he lived, and erecting for posterity, a monument of transcendant virtue.

INGENIOUS INVENTIONS.

An invention, called the Perspectograph, is announced in New York as a late production of Mr. Busby. Six of the most distinguished artists of that city have certified that the Perspectograph is a useful invention, that will materially assist all persons desirous of making accurate perspective views from nature.

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A Mr. H., of England, has discovered a mode of distillation from unmalted barley, which is illegal by the excise law; he purposes bringing this excellent invention to America.

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A subscription has been opened at Savannah "for a steam-ship Packet, to run from that port to Liverpool, under the superintendance, direction, and navigation of captain Rogers, at present of the Charlestown steam boat."

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FROM THE EDINBURGH MAGAZINE.

Women; or Pour et Contre: a Tale. By the author of Bertram, a Tragedy. 3 vols. 12mo. Constable and Co.

We have no hesitation in placing this as undoubtedly at the head of Mr. Maturin's productions. In his earlier novels, with much occasional felicity of expression, and many indications of genius, there was yet such a chaos both of incidents and of language, that we could scarcely trace any presiding mind moving over the troubled waters of his invention. Even his Bertram, with all its power and popularity, came upon us rather as a "blast from hell," than as conveying any of those "airs from heaven,"—which ought ever to encircle the divine form of poetry; and we read it, we confess, with a feeling of hatred and loathing, which was in some degree transferred from the book to its author. In the present work, however, he has made us ample amends, and we are now disposed to give him equally our hearts and our admiration. He has, indeed, in his time, "supped so full with horrors," that it would be too much to expect him to change his hand entirely, and to acquire at once a shape perfectly humane and conversable,—but his darker spirits are now under the control of the magician, and while he moves among them, like the poet Dante, in his Inferno, we still feel that his understanding is quite clear, and his sympathies, with every thing human, most fresh and unimpaired. We are really at a loss to say, whether this work is more remarkable for poetical fancy, or intense feeling, or profound reflection. There is much poetry in the invention of the characters, and in the situations in which they are placed. There is an agonizing dissection of the human heart, which unveils many of its most painful sensibilities; and there is withal a depth and a variety of thought on the most interesting of all inquiries, which, in its different results, has had so powerful an influence on the character and happiness of every age, and of none more than the present. We shall make ourselves better understood, however, when we have given a slight sketch of the story, and made our readers somewhat acquainted with the characters of this novel.

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Charles de Courcy, a young Irishman of genius, great personal attractions and fortune, had scarcely entered Dublin, where, in his 17th year, he was placed at the University, than by a singular adventure he rescued from the hovel of an old crazy woman a beautiful young girl, who had been carried there by force, and lay concealed. He put her into the hands of her relations, but entirely lost sight of her for some time afterwards; till one night, he found himself placed beside her in a Methodist chapel, whither he had accompanied a serious youth of his acquaintance. She was so much occupied with her devotions, that she did not recognize him till the service was over, when she looked upon him with a smile of so much sweetness, that he immediately addressed her as an acquaintance; and an elderly lady who was with her, begged him to visit at their house. This lady was a Mrs. Wentworth, one of the Evangelical class, and married to a gentleman of much less understanding or heart than herself, and much narrower and more bigoted in his opinions. The society at their house was quite novel to the young man, and of a kind which certainly had no tendency to give him any good religious impressions. He was in the daily practice of hearing the most sacred subjects discussed in a spirit of controversial arrogance, or of the most revolting fanaticism; and were it not that he loved the fair Eva, he could never have submitted to such company. In her pure and gentle manners he found an attraction which nothing could overcome,—yet she seemed so heavenly a being, that he had not the vanity to think he could inspire her with a mutual passion. The agitation of his mind ultimately impaired his health, and brought him to the brink of the grave, when the cause of his malady was accidently discovered, and he was permitted to approach Eva as her destined husband.

Unfortunately, this young man was no less volatile than passionate, and as obstacles to the success of his wishes were removed, he began to be less ardent for the attainment of their object. Several circumstances gradually occurred to cool him a little towards the lovely Eva,—the tedious pertinacity of the family to make him a convert to their own peculiar opinions,—her apparent coldness, which arose merely from her previous ignorance of passion, and the dread of its sinfulness;—all this wearied and

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wore him out, and prepared him for the fatal change in his affections which was speedily to happen. A most facinating opera-singer appeared on the Dublin stage, a woman of the greatest beauty and accomplishments, quite a Corinne in short, admitted into the first circles, or rather one whose society was courted as the highest distinction. De Courcy became constant at her parties, and she soon took a warm interest in him. Zaira (so she was named) deceived herself so far as to imagine, that her attachment to him was pure friendship, and she even pleased herself with the idea, that she would be delighted with forming the minds of him and his young wife, an object which, after a severe disappointment she had just met with, seemed necessary to give her an interest in existence. This most delightful and amiable woman (for she *really* was very amiable) had the effect, however, of gradaully estranging him from Eva, who suffered wofully in comparison with her. The contrast is admirably exhibited between the shrinking timidity and inefficiency of the one, and the fine ease and splendid genius of the other. It was scarcely possible for De Courcy not to be captivated,—though there were occasions when his soul was again Eva's, and with a little more force of character she might have fixed him hers for ever; but she was too holy and retiring to comprehend his ardours,—yet her affection for him was deeper and more powerful than she herself knew or could tell. It was preying secretly on her vitals, indeed, under the feeling of his inconstancy. Zaira was at last to depart, and De Courcy came to her to take his last farewell,—but they found it impossible to separate when the sad moment arrived, and in a frenzy of passion he entreated to accompany her. She yielded,—but would not immediately accept of his offered hand. She would try him for a year,—they were to travel together like brother and sister, and if he continued to love her, they were then to marry. In this manner they went to Paris together,—where new objects attracted the wandering mind of De Courcy,—and [illegible] ried of the constant restraint under which the exactions Zaira's love kept him. Her eye for ever pursued him,—she seemed for ever fearful of the distraction of his affections,—and she lost them the sooner from her constant dread of losing them. He formed the resolution to return home to Eva, who, he heard

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was dying;—and, although Zaira's attempts to detain him were very painful to him, he at last broke away. There is something very affecting in the detail of her despair, and of the fatal path into which it had nearly betrayed her. In the weakness of her mind, she listens to infidel arguments, which in her better days, she would have despised. She had the religion of warm feeling, and of intellectual glorying, and had believed also in Revelation, though without much knowledge of the grounds of her belief. All her natural bulwarks fell down in the hour of her misery,—she fluctuated for a time between superstition and doubt, and at last summoned all her resolution to the act of suicide. From this purpose, however, she is diverted by a strong impulse to return to Ireland;—she does so,—and remains in the neighbourhood of De Courcy without his knowing of it. She at last accidentally discovers in the old mad woman, from whom, in the beginning of the book, De Courcy had rescued Eva,—her own mother,—and, more wonderful still, that she herself is the mother of Eva. She rushes to the house of the Wentworths,—but barely in time to see the eyes of her daughter Eva closed. She and De Courcy again meet at the funeral, but, as is most strikingly stated, without the slightest emotion from each other's presence. The thoughts of each were now absorbed in the sad coffin before them. The young man, not long after, was buried by the side of his lost bride, and, at the early age of nineteen, finished his tumultuous course of disordered passion. Zaira continued to live, but a monument of despondency and wo, and was ever after heard to utter the melancholy words, "My child, I have murdered my child."

The catastrophe of this tale may seem very strained and unnatural; but it is really less so than our bare and imperfect sketch makes it appear to be. There is something, no doubt, radically extravagant in its conception, but it is much better coloured over than could well be looked for; and it is, perhaps, a piece of artifice in our author to make the outset of his story singularly blundering and confused, like a man writing on without knowing what he is to say next, that we may be the more satisfied with its final winding up.

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Non fumum ex fulgore, sed ex fumo dare lucem
Cogitat: ut speciosa dehinc miracula promat.

The tale, indeed, abounds with "miracula;" and we are not sure that they can always be called "*speciosa*." There are in it visions, dreams, and impulses, in abundance,—besides the mad woman, who is a kind of prophetess in her lunes, and starts up every now and then, dancing before us in a way to make us giddy. She is not a very happy invention, but is a sort of decoction of Meg Merrilies, the old wicked woman in the Antiquary, and all Miss Edgworth's wild Irish women distilled together into one "hell broth." Indeed, we like our author least when he does not draw from his own stores. It is true he has not disfigured Corinne, but has given a new and edifying view of a mind like hers under the terrible feeling of religious desertion. Zaira is thus original, though an imitation; and is, we conceive, not greatly inferior to her model. The evangelical characters are all admirably imagined,—the pure Eva,—the conscientious Mrs. Wentworth,—her controversial husband,—and all the gang of preachers and elect who assemble within his doors. Indeed, we cannot well conceive any thing better than the temperate and discriminating manner in which our author has walked over this delicate ground. He exposes, with a powerful hand, the follies of the methodistical system, and its bad effects on the minds both of its professors and of those who are merely lookers on;—yet his best characters are all among this order,—and, although their faculties are cramped and depressed by the narrowness of their creed, they are still eminent examples of the power of genuine piety. Take the instance of Mrs. Wentworth.

"She appeared about fifty years of age; her person was plain, but her clear commanding eye, the severe simplicity of her manners, and consciousness of perfect sincerity accompanying every word she uttered, and communicating itself irresistibly to her hearers, made one respect her the moment they beheld her, and love her a very few moments afterwards. Withdrawn and recollected from the embarrassment of the preceding night, her manner appeared comparatively cold, but it was rather the coldness of habit than of character; there was more, too, of the measured and limited phraseology of the Evangelical people in her conversation, but when she

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continued to speak for any time, one easily saw that the range of her mind was far more extensive than that of the objects to which it was confined. She herself appeared to feel this self-imposed constraint, and to escape from it, from time to time, but soon returned again, and the final impression which she left was that of strong sense, rigid rectitude of principle and conduct, and a temper and heart naturally warm, but subdued by the power of religion."

Her husband is an admirable contrast.

"Calvinism, Calvinism was every thing with him; his expertness in the five points would have foiled even their redoubtable refuter Dr. Whitby himself; but his theology, having obtained full possession of his head, seemed so satisfied with its conquest, that it never ventured to invade his heart. His mind was completely filled with a system of doctrines, and his conversation with a connexion of phrases, which he often uttered mechanically, but sometimes with a force that imposed not only on others, but on himself. In this state he was perhaps as happy as he could be, for he had a gratifying sense of his own importance, and his conscience was kept tranquil by listening to or repeating sounds, which to him had all the effect of things. Never was Mirabeau's acute remark, that 'words are things,' more strongly verified, than in the case of Mr. Wentworth's religion."

The death-bed of the sainted Eva made him at last feel the distinction. She entreated her aunt that she might die in private, and not surrounded by preachers.

"Wentworth, who was in the room, did not like her last sentiments; he could not bear that *a niece of his*, brought up in the very strictest sect of Evangelical religion, should thus depart without leaving a memorable article for the obituary of an Evangelical Magazine. He had expected this at least from her. He had (unconsciously in his own mind) dramatized her whole dying scene, and made a valuable addition to the testimony of those who die in all the orthodoxy of genuine Calvinism. 'My dear Eva,' said he, approaching her bed, and softening his voice to its softest tones, 'I trust that I am not to discover, in your last words, a failure from the faith for which the saints are desired to contend earnestly, and to resist even unto blood. I trust that your approach to the valley of the shadow of death does not darken your view of the *five points*, those immutable foundations on which the foundation of the gospel rests, namely,'—and Wentworth began reckoning on his fingers; Mrs. Wentworth in vain made signs to him,—he went on as far as 'imputed right-

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cousness,' when Eva, lifting her wasted hand, he became involuntarily silent. 'My dear uncle,' said the dying Christian, 'the language of man is as the dust in the balance' to me now. I am on the verge of the grave, and all the wretched distinctions that have kept men at war for centuries, seem to me as nothing. I know that 'salvation is of grace through faith,' and knowing that, I am satisfied. Man may disfigure divine truth, but can never make it more plain. Oh, my dear uncle, I am fast approaching that place where there is neither Jew nor Greek, barbarian or Scythian, bondman, or free, but Christ is all in all. Speak no more of points which I cannot understand; but feel that the religion of Christ is a religion of the soul,—that its various denominations, which I have heard so often discussed, and with so little profit, are of light avail, compared with its vital predominance over our hearts and lives. I call,' said she, collecting her hollow voice to utter the words strongly, 'I call two awful witnesses to my appeal, the hour of death, and the day of judgment;—they are witnesses against all the souls. Oh, my dear uncle, how will you stand their testimony? You have heard much of the language of religion, but I fear you have yet to learn its power.' She paused; for dim as her eyes were hourly growing, she could see the tears running fast down Wentworth's rugged cheeks," &c.

Nothing can be more beautiful and affecting than all this scene, and the whole character, indeed, of this amiable girl,—yet there is a fine moral in the representation of the bad effects, even upon her mind, of the contracted system in which she had been educated. With a little more play of thought, and indulgence of affection, she would have fixed her lover,—become a valuable and beloved wife,—and none of the misery which followed from his wandering would ever have befallen!

While our author is thus at home in all the bad and the good of *evangelical religion*, (our readers, we trust, will see that we are using the term according to the cant acceptation of the age, not in its original sense, for in that sense it can include nothing but what is good,) he no less admirably represents the philosophical religion of Zaira in her best days,—the atheism of some of her Parisian associates,—and the sad depression of her spirit amidst doubts and misery. In all this nothing is overstrained, but all is most naturally and candidly exhibited. Her bursts of natural piety are beautiful, but they float upon the surface of the soul;—even the arguments of infidelity are given fairly and without any

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attempt to distort them;—but how fine is the result of the whole! With all Zaira's powers of mind and her shining virtues, she has, in the hour of misfortune and disappointment, no anchor upon which her soul can steady itself,—while the simple Eva, educated in the darkest and most contracted views of Christianity, yet finds its blessed consolations smoothing her passage to the grave! In this representation, we really think our author has done an invaluable service to the cause of true religion. He keenly satirizes the follies which disfigure it. He portrays, in all their most dazzling and brilliant colours, those qualities of mind which seem able to stand without its support, and upon their own strength and enduring stability;—yet, in the hour of trial, all these meteor glories vanish, and Religion is left alone to support the trembling soul as it is sinking in the waves of darkness and of death. We must now, however, give a specimen or two of the fascinating Zaira. Take her first appearance.

"The curtain rose, and a few moments after she entered. She rushed so rapidly on the stage, and burst with such an overwhelming cataract of sound on the ear, in a bravura that seemed composed apparently not to task, but to defy the human voice, that all eyes were dazzled, and all ears stunned, and several minutes elapsed before a thunder of applause testified the astonishment from which the audience appeared scarcely then to respire. She was in the character of a princess, alternately reproaching and supplicating a tyrant for the fate of her lover; and such was the perfect self-possession, or rather the force with which she entered into the character, that she no more noticed the applauses that thundered round her, than if she had been the individual she represented; and such was the illusion of her figure, her costume, her voice, and her attitudes, that in a few moments the inspiration with which she was agitated was communicated to every spectator. The sublime and sculptor-like perfection of her form,—the classical yet unstudied undulation of her attitudes, almost conveying the idea of a Sybil or a prophetess, under the force of ancient inspiration,—the resplendent and almost overpowering lustre of her beauty, her sunlike eyes, her snowy arms, her drapery blazing with diamonds, yet falling round her figure in folds as light as if the zephyrs had flung it there, and delighted to sport among its wavings,—her imperial loveliness, at once attractive and commanding, and her voice developing all that nature could give, or art could teach,—maddening the ignorant with the discovery of a new sense, and daring the scientific beyond the bounds of expectation or of experience, mocking their amazement, and leaving

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the ear breathless. All these burst at once on Charles, whose heart, and senses, and mind reeled in intoxication, and felt pleasure annihilated by its own excess."

Poor Eva, too, was a musician, but in a different way. One night, after leaving the theatre, De Courcy wandered into the Evangelical meeting-house, where a hymn was in recitation.

"The congregation had dispersed, (all but the private singers, who remained to practice;) the lights too, except a very few near the organ where the singers stood, were all extinguished, so that the building was very dark. Round the organ there was a strong blaze of light, stronger from the contrast. Charles could see all the figures distinctly, though quite invisible to them from the darkness that filled the body of the chapel. They sung some hymns, and their solemn quiet harmony, *without applause*, the echoes dying through the empty aisles, soothed and solemnized him. It was like a fine twilight after a burning day. The music suddenly changed; they sung the Hallelujah chorus from the Messiah. The solemnity of the well selected words, the sublimity of the harmony, the awful repetition of the sounds 'for ever and ever—Hallelujah, Hallelujah!' forcing the idea of eternity on the mind by their endless recurrence, thrilled through De Courcy's heart. And when the sweet and powerful voice of Eva sustaining the upper part, dwelt on the ascending notes, repeating 'King of Kings, and Lord of Lords,' while all the other parts continued the ceaseless solemn iteration, 'for ever and ever,' De Courcy felt as if he listened to the songs of angels. There was nothing around him to disturb or divide the impression on his senses or his mind; no crowds, no bravos, no glare of lights, no stifling, and yet intoxicating heat. He was alone, almost in darkness, and the figures so far above him, the light falling on them alone, and the unearthly music, exalted him for some moments beyond himself. He saw Eva separated from him high in a region of light and harmony, uttering in these awful words a last farewell, and returning to that God from whom her rash and unhappy love had divided her for a season. 'Am I then losing her?' he exclaimed with horror. 'For ever and ever,' repeated the voices, 'for ever and ever."

We are quoting, we are well aware, too much; and we have run off from Zaira without intending it. We have seen her in her glory, take her in her wretchedness.

"She was found stretched on the earth, drenched in her cold tears, colder than the dew that drenched her garments from head to foot. They bore her to her apartment, but for several days she was very ill, and even

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deranged. Her intellects (those intellects so powerful, so worshipped) were sunk below infancy, even as wild and weak as dotage. The struggle of religion and love was obviously predominant in the wanderings of her intellect. Strange and rich fragments might be picked up amid the burning ruin, as the conflagration of Corinth produced the extraordinary metallic amalgamation known by the name of Corinthian brass. She called for the cross, and Madam St. Maur, who, since the return of the Bourbons, had become *une tres bonne Catholique*, inquired for a crucifix among the servants. One was produced. 'Hold it near me,' cried Zaira, 'let the blood drop on me; one drop will purify my heart.' They held it close to her,—then she mistook the figure on the cross for that of De Courcy; she kissed it in that agony of devotion which love produces when mingled with the sentiments of religion. It was frightful to see her. At one time she implored it to pray for her as the representative of Christ,—at another time she prayed to it as the image of De Courcy."

We have now done, yet we are satisfied that we have given a very tame and imperfect view of this powerful and instructive novel. Mr. Maturin has at last found his great powers, and their legitimate use. He has still, no doubt, many excrescences and effervescences to remove and to work off, but these he will discover for himself. Let him continue to have in view, as we think he has in this work, the improvement of mankind in their highest capacity, as intellectual, moral, and religious beings,—let him still regulate his genius by the love and the spirit of truth, and he will find and keep his place among the genuine lights of our age!

FOR THE PORT FOLIO.

ACCOUNT OF BARTRAM'S GARDEN.

KINGSESS GARDEN was begun about 90 years since, by JOHN BARTRAM the elder, at a time when there were no establishments of this nature in Pennsylvania, if in any of the colonies, unless we may except that of Dr. Clayton, in Virginia, which, though inferior in extent, was furnished with a considerable variety. It is situated on the west bank of the Schuylkill, four miles S.W. from Philadelphia, and contains about eight acres of land. The mansion and green houses stand on an eminence, from which the garden descends by gentle slopes to the edge of the river; and on either side the ground rises into hills of moderate elevation, to the sum-

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mits of which its borders extend. From this scite are distinctly seen the winding course of the Schuylkill, its broad-spread meadows and cultivated farms, for many miles up and down; and the river Delaware, with the variety of vessels which it is constantly bearing to and from the metropolis of America. Beyond this there is an uninterrupted view of the Jersey shore, from the eastern to the southern horizon. The whole comprehends an extensive prospect, rich in the beauty of its scenery and endless in diversity.

The worthy founder of this garden, discovered in his early youth a love for philosophy, and natural history in general. He was, however, particularly drawn to the study of botany, from considering the importance of vegetables in the practice of medicine, and their indispensible use in the various departments of human economy. But at that time botany was but little attended to in America; and in the old world the works of the great Linnæus had not appeared; he had, therefore, no other aid in studying the great book of nature than his own persevering genius. His view in the establishment was to make it a deposite of the vegetables of these United States (then British colonies,) as well as those of Europe and other parts of the earth, that they might be the more convenient for investigation. He soon furnished his grounds with the curious and beautiful vegetables in the environs, and by degrees with those more distant, which were arranged according to their natural soil and situation, either in the garden, or on his plantation, which consisted of between 200 and 300 acres of land, the whole of which he termed his garden.

The novelty of this horticultural scene, attracted the notice of the ingenious and curious; and coming to the knowledge of Europeans, several scientific men in England, particularly of the Royal Society, united to encourage the founder to undertake journies towards the western frontiers, in order to discover and collect curious and nondescript productions in nature, particularly vegetables, that they might be sent to Europe.

Thus this extensive garden became the Seminary of American vegetables, from which they were distributed to Europe and other regions of the civilized world. It may with propriety and truth be called the *Botanical Academy of Pennsylvania*, since be-

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ing near Philadelphia, the former Professor of Botany, attended by his pupils, annually assembled here during the Floral season.

The founder lived to see his garden flourish beyond his most sanguine expectations, and extend its reputation both at home and abroad, as the Botanic Garden of America. In this condition it descended to his son, and finally to his grand-daughter, whose husband, Mr. *Robert Carr*, now superintends it. By this gentleman any persons may be supplied with boxes of seed, and with living American plants, or prepared specimens of them—with descriptions and accurate delineations, &c. His address is, Mr. *Robert Carr, Kingsess Garden, near Philadelphia.*

POR THE PORT FOLIO.—OBITUARY.

MR. LEMUEL WILSON.

It is not the practice of this Journal to give an indiscriminate obituary, merely as a memorandum of ordinary occurrences. Nor is it our business, professionally, to remind our readers, that "there is an appointed time to men upon earth"—but rather to admonish them—that, "to every thing there is a season; a time for every purpose and for every work." But when those who were preeminently "lovely in their lives" are cut off—when the hope, or the stay of the community falls—when the world is bereaved of the sage who had erected a temple to science; or of the youth who had bowed with ardour at its vestibule—we gratify our personal feelings, while we redeem our pledge to society, to "give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's."

Since the publication of our last number, we have been called to weep over the grave of a youth, whose personal merit, and uncommonly early attainments, forbid that he should perish unhonoured and forgotten. He was the eldest son of the Rev. James P. Wilson, the pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in this city.

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He was not blessed with a constitution to authorize any sanguine expectation of long life; yet his health was such, as to admit of a reasonable hope, until some few months ago, when the eruption of a blood vessel excited considerable apprehensions. He recovered, however, and hope revived for a time. But in the beginning of June, as he sat reading, another rupture occurred—the discharge was not great—but a fever and cough immediately ensued, and terminated his life on the first day of July, and the first day of his entrance on the eighteenth year of his age.

Never was the flattering vision of future eminence indulged on more authentic grounds. The manners of young Wilson, resulting from an excellent disposition, matured into permanent principle, were so invariably correct, that since the days of his childhood, his parents had found no occasion to reprove him. Their fond anticipations beheld in him the exemplar, the guide, and the guardian, of his younger brothers. Particularly happy in being the son of a profound scholar, he improved the precious opportunities thus bestowed on him by Providence, for the cultivation of his mind, until his moral and intellectual acquirements had far transcended his years.

At the time when he was seized with his last illness, he was sedulously engaged in preparing for his examination previously to his ensuing commencement in the University of Pennsylvania, where he had been educated. Here too, it is believed, his probation was passed without a single reproof, for he was always docile, and always studious. His capacity was comprehensive, and his application inflexible. He was not merely acquainted with the branches usually comprised in a collegiate course;—he was accurate in them all. He was an accomplished scholar in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages—excelling particularly in the Greek. As a mathematician, he was far beyond the early age of seventeen; and had he been spared, would soon have reached the very highest ground. Yet, with these rich attainments, he was so modest—so unassuming, that few, beside those who had the pleasure to instruct him, were aware of what he knew. How loved, how valued—he was, both by them, and his associates—several affecting incidents, which lately occurred, sufficiently declare.

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It is the order of the University to exercise their pupils in public speaking every morning immediately after prayers. In the course of the last few days of young *Wilson's* attendance at school, he was accidentally absent when it came to his turn to deliver an oration. The omission was considered immaterial at that particular juncture, and would have passed without notice—but scrupulously attentive to his duties, he came voluntarily, on a subsequent day, and with more than common energy and pathos, delivered an address on the Uncertainty of Life.

There was something, on that memorable occasion, in his manner, and sentiments, remarkably impressive. The effect on his audience was striking!—both pupils and preceptors were affected—insomuch, that the provost was prompted to improve the circumstance to the permanent advantage of his charge, while he gave vent to his own feelings and those of his colleagues, in a few very pertinent sentences. He spoke of the amiable deportment of the young orator generally, and particularly the diligence and zeal with which he performed every duty; an instance of which he had just exhibited, when he might have been excused, and affectionately proposed him as an example for their honourable emulation.

This was indeed the valedictory address of the excellent youth, and probably contributed to hasten his end. The bursting of a blood vessel immediately confined him, and in about a month the members of his college paid another tribute—the last, sad tribute to his worth—they attended him to his grave!—the senior class having resolved to wear mourning until the ensuing commencement.

It is painful to state the irresistible supposition, that his devotion to his books, was injurious to his health. He shut them with reluctance when the sacrifice was demanded, and returned to them with pleasure as soon as it was possible. He constantly rose very early in the morning, and took his first lesson from his Bible. The passages found marked in the margin evince the discriminating and happy complexion of his mind.

When such a youth as LEMUEL WILSON is taken away from his family—from society—there is reason to mourn; but there is

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also solid consolation. The unquestionable evidences of genuine piety, which had regularly and steadily appeared in his whole character, allow us to say, that instead of the fleeting honours of a temporal institution, he now possesses a brighter crown of everlasting glory!

SNOW IN PHILADELPHIA.

During the whole of Saturday the 16th May, and the following day, a cold northeast wind prevailed, a part of the time blowing a perfect gale, accompanied with much rain. It is remarkable, considering the advanced state of the season, that on Saturday the rain was occasionally intermixed with snow. About seventeen or eighteen years since, we witnessed a fall of snow in this city on the eighth of May, which was considered as very extraordinary. But snow on the sixteenth of May is, so far as our information extends, without example. *Union.*

A WARNING TO QUACKS.

Worcester, June 10.—Before the supreme court now sitting in this town, a verdict for the sum of two hundred and fifty dollars damage, has been obtained against Richard Ranton Smith, professing himself a physician and surgeon, for mal-practice. A boy of fourteen having wounded his eye with a penknife, application was made to Smith. An ointment, composed, as nearly as could be ascertained, of precipitate and spirits of turpentine, was the ingenious composition applied for its cure, but in consequence of which it was irreparably injured. It appears that the defendant had practised for a considerable time upon the credulity of the public. Among other impositions was that of selling, at an enormous price, a recipe for the cure of cancers, taken, verbatim, from Motherby's Medical Dictionary.

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FOR THE PORT FOLIO.

AN EPISTLE

From Philip Fudge, men's mercer, now at Ballston, to his partner in Philadelphia.

And so I'm delighted, you are pleased to suppose,
'Cause Polly goes with me wherever I goes;
Two hundred hard dollars I stowed in my purse,
When I took the dear maiden for better for worse;
But since we are off, and have left you behind,
What a marvellous change on a sudden I find!
You said I should ne'er feel the least melancholy,
When I stepp'd in my gig with our runaway Molly!

All a'n't money that passes—you know my dear Bill,
I was cursedly bit when I swallowed that pill;
Instead of a girl, blushing, tender, and coy,
I've married a vixen, and pay for my toy.
Ah! Billy, you thought we should both be so glad
When you help'd us to 'scape from her cross-grained old dad.
Between you and I, I would give our best goose
If I once from the bargain could see myself loose.

The scissors that wont to run smoothly along,
And danced to soft clicking the broadcloth among;
Thou knowest, my partner, if she wert but there,
It was pleasant to look at, 'twas music to hear.
But now she is altered: she sits by my side,
And still as I clip she does nothing but chide.
Must scissors be happy, whilst I go in pain?
Cease, cease with your cutting, and hear me complain!

I thought we should ride in my neat little bugg',
As nice as two kittens wrapt up in a rug:
But as sure as we two get into't together,
We're certain to quarrel about something or other.
If slow I be driving, she gets in a passion,
And vows I know nothing of good taste or fashion;
And if I go faster, she makes such a clatter,
That the people who pass us ask "*what is the matter.*"

Will no pitying mortal that hears me complain,
Come and take my dear Molly, or soften my pain!
Of my nine lives, already full eight she has taken,
And no way seems left now of saving my bacon.
So if I should die in the midst of a groan,
Put, dear Billy, I pray you, these words on my stone:

"Farewell to his thimble, his needle, and goose,
"A victim he fell to the conjugal noose;
"To marriage, oh reader! if you e'er should incline,
"Trust not to your lives, though outnumbering nine;
"If your quiet you value, beware of a rattle,
"Or soon you will sink like this done over tattler."

SEDLEY.

FOR THE PORT FOLIO.

A DAY-DREAM.

I dream'd that the girl of my soul was untrue,
To the vows she so often had plighted to me,
And I thought that the least my torn bosom could do,
Was to seek for a fair one more constant than she.
And jealousy prompted the wish as it came,
And taught me, deceitful, to smile at my fate—
But though Delia's cold breast could not nourish the flame,
Mine, alas! was too fierce to be smother'd by hate.

I sought the gay circle of beauty and wealth,
For a fair like the one I had lost—but in vain;
While the demon of jealousy prey'd on my health,
And my heart's ease I ceas'd e'en to wish to regain.
'Twas then I saw Delia—pale, death-like, and sad,
Who upbraided my faithless and changeable heart,
And I learn'd the sad havoc my fancy had made,
When it told me my love from her vows could depart.

ADONIO.

FOR THE PORT FOLIO.

THOMAS MOORE.

When *Moore* in am'rous strains first sighed,
And felt the fond poetic glow;
Th' enraptured world, enamoured cried,
"Man wants but *Little* here below."

But, bursting from concealment's span,
He gave each heart Anacreon's store;
Though *Little* was the wish of man,
'Twas found that yet he wanted *Moore*.

ON A LADY,

Whose chamber the author entered by mistake.

Thus unadorn'd—was no new charm revealed,
No blemish undisguis'd?
O fool! can beauty ever be conceal'd,
Or innocence surprised!

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FOR THE PORT FOLIO.

ON THE DEATH OF MISS ———.

Ah who, when darkness rules the deep,
  Preserves the sea boy, tempest-tost?
Who dries the tears of those who weep,
  When all but hope and faith are lost?
'Tis He, the God that rules above,
That saints adore, and angels love!

Then weep no more—'twas He who gave
  The sainted soul that now has fled;
'Twas He prepar'd the awful grave,
  Around whose brink our tears were shed.
And He has ta'en that soul above,
To regions of eternal love.

No more harassed with worldly care,
  By worldly ills no more depress'd;
The friend we lov'd—so gentle—fair,
  So truly good—is truly blest'd.—
For now she dwells with Him above,
Whom saints adore, and angels love!

ORLANDO.

MELANCHOLY.

From the Edinburgh Magazine.

The sun of the morning,
  Unclouded and bright,
The landscape adorning
  With lustre and light,
To glory and gladness
  New bliss may impart—
But oh! give to sadness
  And softness of heart,
A moment to ponder, a season to grieve,
The light of the moon or the shadows of eve!

Then, soothing reflections
  Arise in the mind;
And sweet recollections
  Of friends who were kind;
Of love that was tender,
  And yet could decay;
Of visions whose splendour
  Time withered away;
In all that for brightness and beauty may seem
The painting of fancy, the work of a dream!

The soft cloud of whiteness,
  The stars beaming through,
The pure moon of brightness
  The deep sky of blue,
The rush of the river
  Through vales that are still,
The breezes that ever
  Sigh lone o'er the hill,
Are sounds that can soften, and sights that impart
A bliss to the eye and a balm to the heart.

DISAPPOINTMENT.

How can I forget thee, my youth's brightest star!
As, with liveliest thrill and tenderest emotion,
The heart of the mariner o'er the lone ocean,
  Beats high when the beacon is hailed from afar:
So I, when the shadows of fortune are dark,
When the lightnings sweep o'er with the flash of derision,
Look back to the summers, that fled like a vision,
  When thou wert my day-star, the dove of my ark!
How can I forget thee! alas! 'tis in vain:
Oh! kindliest, welcomed, and earliest chosen,
My thoughts must be changed, and my heart must be frozen,
  If the stamp of thy love they could cease to retain.
Once more could on earth such felicity be—
Then, all that employs, and ensnares, and bewitches,
Fame, and fortune, and power, and ambition, and riches,
  Were wanting, when weighed in the balance with thee!
Oh then there was scarcely a cloud in our clime;
Our bosoms were light, and the landscape was yellowed
  With beautiful sunshine, whose hues now are mellowed
By the delicate touch of the pencil of time.
Yet what are the pleasures of earth but a dream!
How short is their reign, and how few is their number;
They melt, like the bright woven visions of slumber,
  Or the bow that o'rearches the lapse of the stream.
Are delicate feelings a bliss or a curse?
I know not, I care not; but even from my childhood
I hated contention, and flew to the wild wood;
  They made me alive to vexation, no worse,
For they kept me from all that entices the young:
While others were social I wandered all lonely,
I loved but few friends, and of women—thee only,
  How well! hearts are dumb, and I trust not my tongue!
To tell thee my feelings *now*, words were in vain,
As I look on thy face, as I think of the blessings,
Gone, gone, when thou fondly wouldst chide my caressings:
  'Thou canst chide me no more, since we meet not again,
The darkest and brightest of life have been mine;
The latter is past and the former around me;
Like a leaf of the summer the canker hath found me;
  Farewell! oh may happiness ever be thine!

REASONS FOR DRINKING.

Good wine—good friends—or being dry
Or lest we should be by-and bye,
Or—any other reason why.

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MISCELLANEOUS PARAGRAPHS.

Declaration of Oliver Cromwell, published shortly after he had effected a dissolution of the British Parliament.

From the "Mercurius Politicus," a paper printed in London from March 1653 to March 1654.

"*Westmoreland, May* 3—Came abroad the following Declaration:

A Declaration of Oliver Cromwell, *Captain General of all the Forces of this Commonwealth.*

Whereas the Parliament being dissolved, persons of approved fidelity and honesty, are according to the late declaration of the 22d of April last to be called from the several parts of this commonwealth to the Supreme authority; and although efficient proceedings are, and have been had, for perfecting these resolutions; yet some convenient time being required for the assembling of those persons, it hath been found necessary, for preventing the mischiefs and inconveniences, which may arise in the mean while to the publick affairs, that a *Counsel of State* be constituted to take care of and extend the peace, safety, and the present management of the affairs of this commonwealth; which being settled accordingly, the same is hereby declared and published, to the end all persons may take notice thereof; and in their several places and stations, demeane themselves peaceably, giving obedience to the laws of the nation as heretofore. In the exercise and administration whereof, as endeavours shall be used that no oppression or wrong be done to the people; so a strict account will be requeired of all such as shall do any thing to endanger the Public Peace and Quiet, upon any pretence whatever.

O. CROMWELL.

April the last 1656.

—

Another extract from Paris, April 3d, Stilo Novo.—"The beast of the kind of tyger or panther, mentioned in my former letters, which hath come so much havock, having at last bin taken and kild in the forest of *Fontainbleau* by the Country people, they have sent her to the King. By a true account she hath devoured or torn to pieces above 140 persons, and some Fingers with Rings have been found in her belley."

The above is printed as in the original.

—

["'Sdeath I'll shame the rogues and print it," seems to be a proper motto for the following address.]

TO THE PUBLIC.

Having discovered a remedy against the cut worm, ants, birds, &c. and used it with success more than five years, I petitioned congress, praying that they would allow me any compensation they thought proper to make it public. It being presented to the committee of claims by Mr. Spangler, I was informed that the legislature of the state was the proper place to present it, which I did, through Mr. Rankin, who informed me that the committee only laughed at me. I therefore make a present of the receipt to the public, hoping that farmers may be benefited thereby, and enabled to judge whether the public good is consulted by our legislators.

Receipts against cut-worms, ants, birds, &c.

R.—Take 4 lbs. soot,
2 oz. Succotrine Aloes powdered
1-2 lb. Gunpowder.
4 quarts Plaster of Gypsum.

Soak one bushel corn in the soot and a sufficiency of water to make the corn sprout—then add the powdered aloes and gunpowder—then roll it in plaster and plant it moist. This not only prevents the worms, birds, ants, &c. but adds greatly to the vegetation and growth of the plant by a chemical decomposition of the atmosphere or grasses that surround the plants, by producing moisture of a nitrogene quality, whilst the hydrogene quality of the sulphur, carbone and nitre combines

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and acts in defending the plants from the coolness of the spring season; and when the weather becomes hot, a decomposition of an alkaline moisture is produced, that in good ground is nearly if not superior to a manuring of horse manure.

Sir, I hope you will print this for the good of our country, and desire every printer that meets with it to publish it. Yours with high respect, &c.

CORNELIUS DYSART, M. D.
Chanceford, York County, Penn.

—

MONROE POTATOES.

The last Kennebunk paper contains the following advertisement:—

"For sale, a few bushels Monroe Potatoes, at ten dollars per bushel. They are as superior to our common potatoes, as wheat is superior to barley, or as Mr. Monroe is superior to Mr. Jefferson—As witness my hand, JACOB FISHER,

"*Justice of the Peace and of the Quorum.*

"Note, they may be planted in all June."

—

MUSTY WHEAT.

The following is an extract from a letter from *Charles Hatchett, Esq.* who has the character of being one of the most eminent chemists in Europe. The directions which he gives for restoring wheat to its sweetness, may be followed, he thinks, with equal success with oats and other sorts of grain—and upon any quantity of grain however small. "I am inclined to believe, that must is a taint produced by damp upon the amylaceous part of the grain or starch; that the portion of starch nearest to the husk is that which is first tainted; and that the greater or less degree of must, is in proportion to the taint having penetrated more or less into the substance of the grain. In most cases, however, the taint is only superficial; but nevertheless, if not removed, it is sufficient to contaminate the odour and flavour of the whole, especially when converted into flour.

"After various experiments, I found the following method to be attended with success:—

"The wheat must be put into any convenient vessel capable of containing at least three times the quantity, and the vessel must be subsequently filled with boiling water; the grain should then be occasionally stirred, and the hollow and decayed grains (which will float) may be removed; when the water has become cold, or, in general, when about half an hour has elapsed, it is to be drawn off. It will be proper then to rince the corn with cold water, in order to remove any portion of the water which had taken up the must; after which, the corn being completely drained, is, without loss of time, to be thinly spread on the floor of a kiln, and thoroughly dried, care being taken to stir and to turn it frequently during this part of the process.

"This is all that is required; and I have constantly found that even the most musty corn (on which ordinary kiln-drying had been tried without effect) thus became completely purified whilst the diminution of weight caused by the solution of the tainted part was very inconsiderable.

—

A RECEIPT FOR MAKING MANURE FROM CLAY.

On a spot of clay ground take half a cord of good dry wood, cut it of different lengths, from two to four feet, and pile it up in the manner of setting wood in a coal pit, with kindlers in the centre, then dig or cut up the sods around it, and cover over the pile of wood one thickness; next make a channel from the centre of the wood to the outward edge of the circle intended to be occupied by the body of clay. This channel must be formed of sods or turf, and a foot in height by a foot in breadth, in form of an arch—it is for the pur-

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pose of setting fire to the pile and keeping up a current of air to the centre.

Thus prepared, dig up the clay round about, and throw it on the pile, covering the whole with an equal thickness—two, four, six, eight, ten, or more feet, and set the wood on fire, keeping the channel open to admit air; the mass becomes heated in a short time, and the whole body of clay burns until it decomposes and is reduced to ashes; the longer it burns the greater the heat, and the quantity may be increased at pleasure without any additional fuel—care must be taken night and day that the fire does not break forth, and some sods or clay should be kept constantly ready to prevent the heat from escaping until a sufficient quantity is obtained, (as long as it is fed it will never cease burning.) When enough is burned let it alone, the fire will break out and soon extinguish. When cool the ashes thus produced are fit for use, and may be put on clay land in the same manner as wood ashes, and will have an astonishing effect in producing prodigious crops of either grass, grain, or any vegetable substance. It is a cheap and very lasting manure, and was communicated from a Quaker in England to Mr. Merriott, near Hudson, from whom I learned this, and who, by actual experiment last year, proved its astonishing utility.

JAMES RILEY.

Elizabeth Town, Oct. 29, 1817.

—

The American Yeoman, printed at Brattleborough, Vt. gives an account of an abortive attempt to commit robbery on the highway in the vicinity of that place; and adds the information that this is *the FIRST foot-pad ever* known in *Vermont!*

—

BRUTALITY.

We have the authority of the Monitor, a paper printed in Franklin county, Tennessee, for stating, that a man *sold his wife* in that county a week or two ago, for *three hundred and twenty-five dollars!*

—

LIBERAL DONATION.

It is said that the hon. Israel Thorndike, of Boston, (unquestionably the most opulent man in the commonwealth,) is the liberal donor of the great *Ebeling Library* to the Harvard University. It does honour to the age in which we live, that there are men of wealth disposed to step forward in so conspicuous a point of view, to aid the cause of literature and science; and forms a striking contrast to the thousands in our country who have amassed princely fortunes, but whose reading and views extend no higher than to the *day-book*, *ledger*, and *price-current*. It would, perhaps, in this connexion be injustice to omit mentioning other gentlemen of wealth, in our own town, whose munificence has in a great degree contributed to the founding and endowing a college in this county, a few years past; the beneficial consequences of which begin to be witnessed in the religious as well as the pagan parts of the world. *Salem Gaz.*

—

A college has been instituted in Calcutta by the natives; the principal design of which is, the instruction of the sons of respectable Hindoos, in the English and Indian languages, and in the literature and science of Europe and Asia.

—

A late French paper mentions, that the whole number of books in the public libraries in France, is estimated to be about four millions of vols. Of these, 700,000 are in Paris. Besides Paris, there are but two cities whose libraries number more than 100,000 volumes, and those are Bordeaux and Lyons.

—

SUBSTITUTE FOR THE EYE-STONE.

The Harrisburgh Chronicle asserts that the valuable properties of the *eye-stone* are possessed in a grain of flax-seed.

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Fort Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain.

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THE PORT FOLIO,

FOR

SEPTEMBER, 1818.

Embellished with a VIEW of FORT TICONDEROGA.

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PHILADELPHIA:

PUBLISHED BY HARRISON HALL, 133, CHESNUT-STREET:

AND IN LONDON,

BY JOHN SOUTER, NO. 73, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH YARD,

Agent for the sale of American Publications in England, Ireland, and Scotland.

J. Maxwell, Printer.

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TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

THE *Lines to a Married Pair*, are tolerably ingenious; but they do not possess the attractions of novelty. The rules which the author prescribes for reviving the affections when the honey-moon is in her wane, we hope, are superfluous in this enlightened age; where every one knows that Love

—— being got, is a treasure sweet,
Which to defend is harder than to get,
And ought not to be profan'd on either part,
For though 'tis got by chance, 'tis kept by art.

To a different class of readers, whose Cupid resides not in any sphere of the firmament, but whose altars are erected in the mines of Pluto, it would be equally unnecessary to offer any advice.

—

Strictures on the Policy of a certain Monarch, are inadmissible. The writer is guilty of a misnomer when he talks of the policy of a thing

So pale, so lame, so lean, so ruinous.

—

We admire the zeal of *A Reformer*, and would rejoice in such a revolution in the female world as he predicts:

No more their little fluttering hearts confess
A passion for applause, or rage for dress;
No more they pant for public raree-shows,
Or lose one thought on monkies or on beaux.

—

Vindex is entitled to our thanks. The mendacious attack on this Journal, in a distant paper, did not escape our notice; nor were we surprised at observing how eagerly the falsehood was incorporated with the offensive trash of a pair of kindred libellers. We cannot consent to enter into any controversy with such persons:

————What Quixote of the age would care
To wage a war with *dirt*, and fight with *air?*

The writer is, no doubt, one of those miserable drudges who are kept in the garret to lie by wholesale on any given theme—who have no principles of their own—who alter their opinions oftener than they change their clothes—who hurt most when they commend—whose dulness is scarcely animated by their malignity; and whose dark recesses are never illuminated by a single ray of wit:—hireling vagabonds, to whom Conscience nightly whispers terrific tales, and Reflection produces her appalling glass—who, in short,

————holding honour at no price
Folly to folly add, and vice to vice;
Work sin with greediness, and seek for shame
With greater zeal than good men seek for fame

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THE PORT FOLIO.

FOURTH SERIES.

CONDUCTED BY OLIVER OLDSCHOOL, ESQ.

Various; that the mind
Of desultory man, studious of change
And pleased with novelty, may be indulged.—COWPER.

VOL. VI. SEPTEMBER, 1818. No. III.

FOR THE PORT FOLIO.

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF THE REV. WILLIAM JONES, *extracted from a letter directed to* THE EDITOR OF THE ANTI-JACOBIN REVIEW, FOR DECEMBER, 1808.

THE REV. WILLIAM JONES, was born at Lowick in Northamptonshire, on the 30th of July, in the year 1726. His father was Morgan Jones, a Welsh gentleman, a descendant of colonel Jones (but of very different principles), who married a sister of the usurper, and is mentioned in Noble's History of the House of Cromwell. Morgan Jones married Sarah, the daughter of the Rev. Mr. Lettin of Lowick, by whom he had this son.

He was remarkable, from his childhood, for unwearied industry, and *ingenium versatile*. Like the judicious Hooker, when a school-boy, he was an early questionist, why this was and that was not to be remembered; why this was granted and that was denied? As soon as he was of the proper age, he was admitted, on the nomination of the duke of Dorset, a scholar at the Charter-house, where he made a rapid progress in Greek and Latin, and laid the foundation of that knowledge, which has since been such a blessing to the christian world.

His turn for philosophical studies soon began to show itself; for meeting, when at the Charter-house, with Zachary Williams, (the father of Dr. Johnson's Mrs. Williams) author of a Magnetical Theory, which is now lost, he copied some of his tables and cal-

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culations, was shown the internal construction of his instrument for finding the variation of the compass in all parts of the world; and saw all the diagrams whereby his whole theory was demonstrated and explained. Here he commenced acquaintance with Mr. Jenkinson, now earl of Liverpool, who was his *chum*, which was farther cultivated at the university, where they were of the same college, and continued to the last. Their different pursuits leading them different ways in the journey through life, they did not often meet, but they ever retained a great regard for each other.

At about eighteen years of age, he left the school and went to University College, Oxford, on a Charter-house exhibition. There he pursued the usual course of study with unremitted diligence, till falling in with some gentlemen, who, having read Mr. Hutchinson's writings, were inclined to favour his opinions in theology and philosophy, he was induced to examine them himself, and found no reason to repent his labour.

Having taken the degree of bachelor of arts, in 1749 he was ordained a deacon by the bishop of Peterborough, and in 1751 he was ordained a priest, by the bishop of Lincoln, at Bugden. On leaving the university, his first situation was that of curate at Finedon in Northamptonshire. There he wrote *A full Answer to Bishop Clayton's Essay on Spirit*, which was published in 1753, and dedicated to the Rev. Sir John Dolben, to whom, as his rector, he considers himself, he says, in some measure accountable for the use he makes of his leisure hours: and a *full* answer it is to all the objections urged by his lordship, who, eating the bread of the church, did lift up his heel against her. Besides a complete confutation of the writer of the essay, in this tract, many curious and interesting questions are discussed, and several articles in the religion and learning of heathen antiquity explained; particularly the Hermetic, Pythagorean, and Platonic Trinities.

In 1754, he married Elizabeth, daughter of the Rev. Brook Bridges, and went to reside at Wadenhoe in Northamptonshire, as curate to his brother-in-law, the Rev. Brook Bridges, a gentleman of sound learning, singular piety, and amiable manners.

Here he drew up *the Catholic Doctrine of the Trinity*, which he had kept in his thoughts for some years, and to which he had a particular attention as often as the Scriptures, either of the Old or

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New Testament, were before him. It is an invaluable work, and admirably calculated to stop the mouths of gainsayers, "comparing spiritual things with spiritual," and making the Scripture its own interpreter. To the third edition, in 1767, was added *A Letter to the Common People in Answer to some Popular Arguments against the Trinity.* The society for promoting christian knowledge have since laudably admitted it into their list of books, and from the general distribution of it, there can be no doubt of its producing great and good effects.

And here it was he engaged in a work he had much at heart, for which he was eminently qualified, as the event proved, and which some of his friends had at heart likewise, who subscribed among them 300*l.* per ann. for three years (in which number was the present worthy dean of Hereford, now master, but then only fellow, of University College, who most generously put his name down for 50*l.* per ann.) to enable him to supply himself with an apparatus sufficient for the purpose of making the experiments necessary to his composing a Treatise on Philosophy. In 1762, he published *An Essay on the First Principles of Natural Philosophy*, in quarto, the design of which was to demonstrate the use of *natural means*, or *second causes*, in the economy of the material world from reason, experiments, and the testimony of antiquity; and, in 1781, he published a larger work in quarto, under the title of *Physiological Disquisitions, or Discourses on the Natural Philosophy of the Elements.* As it was ever his study to make philosophy the handmaid of religion, he has in this work embraced every opportunity of turning natural knowledge to the illustration of divine truth, and the advancement of virtue. When the first volume was published, the late earl of Bute, whom one may now without offence, it is presumed, stile the patron of learning and learned men, was so satisfied with it, that he desired the author not to be intimidated through fear of expense from pursuing his philosophical studies, but directed Mr. Adams, the mathematical instrument-maker, to supply him with such instruments as he might want for making experiments, and put them to his account; and he also handsomely offered him the use of any books he might have occasion for.

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It is said, that "no one remembered the poor wise man who saved the city;" but the author of *the Catholic Doctrine of the Trinity*, who did such eminent service to the church and city of God was not forgotten; he was remembered by archbishop Secker, who presented him, first to the vicarage of Bethersden in Kent, in the year 1764, and soon after to the more valuable Rectory of Pluckley in the same county, as some reward for his able defence of christian orthodoxy.

"By a constant unwearied diligence he attained unto a perfection in all the learned languages; by the help of which, and his unremitted studies he had made the subtilty of all the arts easy and familiar to himself. So that by these, added to his great reason, and his industry added to both, he did not only know more of causes and effects, but what he knew, he knew better than other men. And with this knowledge, he had a most blessed and clear method of demonstrating what he knew, to the great advantage of all his pupils."

In 1766, he preached the visitation sermon before archbishop Secker at Ashford, greatly to the satisfaction of his grace and the whole audience. Owing to some delicacy or other (perhaps false delicacy,) it was not printed at the time, though much wished; but in the year 1769 the substance of it was published in the form of *a letter to a young gentleman at Oxford, intended for Holy Orders, containing some seasonable cautions against errors in doctrine;* and may be read to great advantage by every candidate for the sacred profession.

In 1773, he collected together into a volume disquisitions on some select subjects of Scripture, which had been before printed in separate tracts, all in the highest degree instructing and edifying.

In 1776, in the character of a presbyter of the church of England, he published, *in a letter to a friend at Oxford*, which was reprinted in *the Scholar Armed, Reflections on the Growth of Heathenism among Modern Christians.* In an advertisement prefixed he says, "The reader may be shocked, when he is told that there is a disposition to heathenism in an age of so much improvement, and pronounce the accusation improbable and visionary; but he is requested to weigh impartially the facts here offered, and then to

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form his judgment." And when the facts are weighed, which he adduces, the conclusion must be, that the accusation is not visionary but just. In all the sciences, in poets, orators, artists, and natural philosophers, the tokens of this pagan infection are very observable—"Where at last (says he) will this taste for heathen learning, which hath been prevailing and increasing for so many years, from the days of Lord Herbert to the present time, lead us? Whither can it lead us but to indifference and atheism? A Christian corrupted with heathen affections degenerates into something worse than the original heathens of antiquity."

The good rector was induced to remove from Pluckley, and accepting the perpetual curacy of Nayland in Suffolk, he went thither to reside with his family. Soon after he effected an exchange of Pluckley for Paston in Northamptonshire, which he visited annually; but he set up his staff at Nayland for the remainder of his days, not being "led into temptation" ever to quit that post by any future offer of preferment.

The physiological disquisitions before alluded to, having received their last revise, they were added to the public stock of philosophical knowledge in 1781. Whatever prejudices might subsist against them at that time, it is to be supposed they soon died away; for the impression has long since been sold off, and the book is now in great request.

The figurative language of the Holy Scripture, having been always his favourite study; after revolving the subjects in his mind for many years, he drew up a course of lectures, which were delivered in the parish church of Nayland, in Suffolk, in the year 1786; and that they might not be confined to a corner, but that "other cities also" might have the benefit of them, in the year following, they were published for the edification of the christian church at large. The mode of interpretation here pursued is what Christians knew and taught above a thousand years ago; yet apprehensive it might seem to be "bringing many strange things to the ears of some people" in these days, he has been particularly careful to have the sanction of Scripture itself for every explanation he has adopted, that he might be able to say, "thus it is written." To complete his plan, he had a supplemental discourse in reserve, which, knowing how "unskilful some are in the word

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of righteousness, having need of milk and not of strong meat," he did not print till several years after, and then with a desire that it should fall into the hands of those only, who were prepared, by what they had already seen in the other lectures, to give it due consideration. The reflection, naturally suggested to the mind on reading this volume, is, that "as the author was diligent in all other branches of learning, so he seemed restless in searching the scope and intention of God's spirit revealed to mankind in the Scriptures. For the understanding of which, he seemed to be assisted by the same spirit with which they were written; he, that regardeth truth in the inward parts, making him to understand wisdom secretly."

On the death of Bishop Horne in 1792, this his afflicted chaplain, out of dutiful and affectionate regard to the memory of the venerable prelate, his dear friend and patron, undertook the task, I may add, the *painful* task, of recording his life; for the worthy biographer must have felt what another friend would have done, had it fallen to his lot, who having been amused with the life of Seth Ward, bishop of Salisbury, written by his intimate friend and companion, Walter Pope, used to say to him, "When you are a bishop, I shall like to be your Walter Pope in every particular except one, that of living to write your life."

Past scenes the fancy wanders o'er,
And sighs to think they are no more.

It was published in 1795, and the second edition in 1799, with an admirable new Preface, containing a concise, but luminous exposition of the leading opinions entertained by Mr. Hutchinson on certain interesting points on theology and philosophy.

In the year 1779, "the sorrows of his heart were (greatly) enlarged." It began with a severe trial, the irreparable loss of the careful manager of his family, and all his worldly affairs, his almoner, his counsellor, his example, his companion, his best friend, his beloved wife, with whom he had lived in sweet converse for near half a century.

——————— O the tender ties
Close twisted with the fibres of the heart!
Which broken, break them; and drain off the soul

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Of human joy; and make it pain to live—
And is it then to live? When *such* friends part,
'Tis the survivor dies.—

This affliction was soon accompanied by another, and was probably the cause of it. "The earthly tabernacle weigheth down the mind that museth upon many things," and the mind likewise hath its influence on the earthly tabernacle, nothing being more prejudicial to the health of the body than grief. "Heaviness in the heart of a man maketh it stoop, and a broken spirit drieth the bones." A paralytic stroke alas! deprived him of the use of one side. This indeed he so far recovered in a short time as to be able to walk with a stick and to write. By the mercy of God, his understanding was not in the least affected, which was a great happiness; his "wisdom remained with him." In this infirm state of body, he lived several months; "wearisome nights were appointed unto him," but his months were not altogether "months of vanity;" he passed the days in the employment of his thoughts, and the exercise of his pen, continuing "to do the work of God, to demonstrate his wisdom, and to defend his truth;"—till at last, as if he felt himself arrested by the hand of death, he suddenly quitted his study and retired to his chamber, from whence he came out no more, breaking off in the middle of a letter to a friend, which, after abrupt transition from the original subject, he left unfinished with these remarkable words, the last of which are written particularly strong and steady. "I begin to feel as well as understand, that there was no possible way of taking my poor broken heart from the fatal subject of the grief that was daily preying upon it to its destruction, but that which Providence hath been pleased to take of turning my thoughts from my mind, to most alarming *symptoms of approaching death.*" Like many other good and pious men before him, he had long very much dreaded the pains of death; but to his own great comfort, this dread he completely overcame. The sacrament had been frequently administered to him during his confinement; and he received it, for the last time, about a week prior to his death. A little while previous to his dissolution, as his curate was standing by his bedside, he requested him to read the 71st Psalm, which was no sooner done, than he took him by the hand, and said with great mildness and compo-

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sure, " If this be dying, Mr. Sims, I had no idea what dying was before;" and then added, in a somewhat stronger tone of voice, " *thank God, thank God*, that it is no worse " He continued sensible after this, just long enough to take leave of his children, (a son and daughter) who, being both settled at no great distance, had one or other been very much with him since the loss of his dear companion, and had done every thing in their power to alleviate his sorrows and to comfort him; and, on the morning of the Epiphany, he expired without a groan or a sigh. " And when Jacob had made an end of commanding his sons, he gathered up his feet into the bed, and yielded up the ghost."

What was said by the Pope to Dr. Stapleton, on reading four books of Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, may be applied to Mr. Jones by the reader of his works: " There is no learning that this man hath not searched into; nothing too hard for his understanding. This man indeed deserves the name of an author; his books will get reverence by age; for there are in them such seeds of eternity, they shall last till the last fire shall consume all learning."

Letter of Advice, from Mr. Godwin, to a young American, on the course of Studies it might be most advantageous for him to pursue.

[From the Edinburgh Magazine.]

None of the readers of the Port Folio, who have felt any desire to ascertain the opinions of the editor, will suppose that he would draw upon the exchequer of Mr. Godwin for any thing of permanent value. That gentleman's paper has long been far below *par* in consequence of its having been issued without any solid funds, though it still passes current with moon-struck declaimers, crack-brained philosophers and mountebank moralists. But as an article of mere curiosity the title of the following letter possessed some attraction; it was accordingly *set up*, as the phrase runs, for insertion in our last No., and should have appeared then, but for an accident. By a coincidence which we could not foresee and certainly did not expect, it was also selected for insertion, by the eminent gentlemen who

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conduct a cotemporary journal in this city. This we regret, because, as few magazines can be supported in this country, the editors of these pioneers of literature should study variety, and in resorting to foreign sources for materials, the ground is so extensive that we need not jostle each other. It was not, however, our intention to confine ourselves to the gratification of the curiosity of those who wished to know what course of reading Mr. Godwin might recommend to a young American. These courses of study are pretty often very ridiculous performances, in which the author makes a great parade of profound investigation and extensive reading, with no more knowledge of books than can be gathered from a *catalogue raisonné*, or a few prefaces, indexes and reviews. We had something to add to Mr. Godwin's letter by way of commentary, because it is not long since his writings were recommended to the young men of this country, as a suitable companion for their Bible.

In the very first paragraph of Mr. Godwin's letter, there is an acknowledgment of a resolution, deliberately formed, to violate a promise which was perfectly well understood by both parties. This is quite in the fashion of the philosophy of that school, which laughs at every thing like moral obligation. The remainder of the letter is in character with this avowal of a determination to commit a falsehood; for although it professes to be a model of education, no higher foundation of duty is indicated than *the dignity of human nature*:—those "words of sound," "signifying nothing." With this adviser the histories of Greece and Rome are of more value in the inculcation of moral sentiments upon the minds of youth, than all the lessons with which our libraries are stored. If the intellectual character is formed he seems to be quite indifferent about the moral education. To trace moral principles, to examine their connections, to weigh their dependencies, and contemplate in one view, all their extent and consequences, did not enter into his scheme; but without some discipline of this sort, the moral sense will seldom decide correctly; it will be blind to results, and dash the purest counsels. The affections of a man thus erroneously educated, will be founded like those of our philosopher, on the "countenance, voice, figure, &c." and nothing but the dread of a pillory will deter him from "prescribing secret conditions" to the obligations of good faith.

Mr. Godwin never "dedicated" himself to the acquisition of science, and therefore he does not impose the pursuit on his student. To the knowledge of things he prefers "something a little generous and elevated." "It is his" opinion that the imagination is to be "cultivated" in education, more than "the dry accumulation of science and natural facts," and the large portion of reading which he prescribes in works of fiction and fancy, which never were intended to illustrate the application of moral principles, shows very plainly that his pupil is not intended to be made either a learn-

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ed or a useful man, but that he is to become truly chivalrous, such as we presume the philosopher to be in his own proper person. In due time, perhaps he may take one of those walks of a man of genius between, Temple Bar and Hyde Park, which Mr. Godwin has described in one of his writings.

Mr. Godwin is right when he recommends classical learning, though his reasons are very weak. The experience of centuries has shown that nothing so effectually improves and strengthens the memory, and produces habits of application as the study of languages. A boy who has learned to construe Homer and Horace with facility, will acquire sciences with half the labour, which would be required without this discipline of the understanding. The dead languages are to be preferred, because without a knowledge of them, no man is considered as qualified for a learned profession; because they contribute to the accurate discernment of the sense of modern words, and for many other reasons. The late Dr. Rush of this city published an essay on this subject in which he endeavoured to demonstrate the inutility of these studies, but we believe that he failed in convincing himself, as we know that he did not reduce the theory to practice when it was fully in his power to try the experiment. The annual commencements at our public seminaries exhibit a deplorable indifference to this branch of education, and the apathy of some trustees, who shall be nameless, countenance the pupils in a favourite notion that all learning is useless.

The advice to read history is no less salutary, if it were for no other reason, than that some knowledge of that description is rendered necessary by the conversation of every circle. It is no less evident that we should be familiar with English story, since we draw our jurisprudence from that country; and our titles to real estate, perpetually lead to things, which originated in the feudal system and can only be explained by a recurrence to the rules of that part of jurisprudence. This knowledge, however, is more peculiarly calculated for the lawyer and the politician, to which description of persons in this country, Mr. Godwin could give little instruction, until after much personal observation. The peculiar nature of our government and the insulated position of the United States, require from the American politician an acquaintance with man in a state not a little different from any view which has hitherto been taken of society in books. Our lawyers combine in one individual almost every branch of the profession. They do not serve the writ, nor do they decide the cause, but they draught the legal instrument—they give opinions on points that require elucidation—in some states, they issue their own writs, they go through all the drudgery of pleading and finally argue the cause. We are sorry to observe among them, of late years, a strong disposition to dabble in pursuits which have an inevitable tendency to degrade their profession and destroy their public

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usefulness. We allude to the practice of usury and other tricks in violation of laws to which it is more especially their duty to furnish examples of exemplary obedience. They should bear in mind that

> Thieves for their robberies have authority
> When judges steal themselves.—

In an ordinary education it will be found to be advantageous to adopt some chronological chart, which shall include the successive epochs, and exhibit the rise and decline of empires, with the kingdoms and states of which they are composed; to be able to take a clear view of the whole, with their geographical boundaries, to pass through the successive histories of the nations, reading them together as they descend through the centuries of time, referring every thing to its own time and place.—Such knowledge as this would be of far more importance than the remembrance of a few anecdotes picked up from "the age of feudality and chivalry."

Mr. Godwin's opposition to the common prejudice against metaphysics is correct; and his observation that it would be strange, if the science of the human mind was the only one not worth studying, is just and striking. But his own recommendation of Hume and Hartley in this department, and his omission of several other writers, who have never been equalled in any age, is not a little surprizing. A smattering of metaphysical scepticism, rather than "science and facts" seemed necessary, we suppose, in the formation of the chivalrous character which our philosopher had contemplated. If the ground work of logic had been so well laid and adopted in practice in mathematical science, that both a fondness for demonstration and a facility in the arrangement of arguments had been acquired; and these advances had been carried forward by the prosecution of metaphysical learning,—the pupil would have been formed to a model very little in unison with the views of Mr. Philosopher Godwin.

We do not see what right he has to sneer at the boarding school misses for devouring "every novel that is spawned forth from the press of the season," when we find how little is effected in this letter towards the formation of a practical member of society; and observe that Cervantes, and Ariosto and Shakspeare, Ben Johnson, Beaumont and Fletcher, Burton, Sir Thomas Browne, and what is termed, dramatic literature, are seriously enumerated as necessary parts of a course of studies. But instead of the advice of Mr. Godwin, which tends to no one good object, but would lead us into an interminable labyrinth of superficial acquirements, it will be found much more advantageous in the end, if young men would place themselves early in life, under a rigid restriction with regard to books. Many have imperceptibly contracted such licentious habits in their reading, that

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they avoid the profitable and the substantial, derive a meagre subsistence from the froth of the day, and finally become mere cyphers in society, alike useless to themselves and to the world. Rules should be adopted and persevered in with respect to books and subjects; and authors, however pleasant, should not be permitted to steal away those precious moments, which belong to classical learning, scientific pursuits, and professional acquisitions. We are aware that these suggestions are perfectly common-place, but we desire the reader to reflect that it is no less true that those who neglect such advice, never become conspicuous or useful in the world. Instead of cultivating the imagination, as Mr. Godwin advises, by giving it full scope in the perusal of the romantic tales of chivalry, it is more important to repress its aerial efforts and subject it to the dominion of reason. To cultivate this faculty, is the great object; and to store the mind with useful knowledge, is the first duty of every one who assumes the duty of teaching. To accomplish these purposes—and they must hereafter account for the neglect of them,—every parent should constantly present new subjects of inquiry to the youthful mind of his children, and establish it as a rule, to be practiced from their infancy, to pursue whatever topic is presented until they arrive at satisfactory conclusions or at least have gone as far as they could in the investigation.

With these remarks, which might be extended much further, we are willing to submit the letter of Mr. Godwin, to the consideration of our readers.

My dear Sir—I have thought, at least twenty times since you left London, of that promise I made you; and was at first inclined to consider it, as you appear to have done, as wholly unconditional, and to be performed out of hand. And I should, perhaps, have proceeded in that way, but that my situation often draws me, with an imperious summons, in a thousand different directions; and thus the heat of my engagement subsided. I then altered my mind, and made a resolution, that you should never have the thing you asked for, unless you wrote to remind me of my promise. I thought within myself, that, if the advice was not worth that, it was not worth my trouble in digesting. From the first moment I saw you in this house, I conceived a partiality for you, founded on physiognomy in an extensive sense, as comprehending countenance, voice, figure, gesture, and demeanour; but if you forgot me, as soon as I was out of your

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sight, I determined that this partiality should not prove a source of trouble to me.

And, now that you have discharged your part of the condition I secretly prescribed, I am very apprehensive that you have formed an exaggerated idea of what I can do for you in this respect. I am a man of very limited observation and inquiry, and know little but of such things as lie within those limits. If I wished to form a universal library, I should feel myself in conscience obliged to resort to those persons who knew more in one and another class of literature than I did, and to lay their knowledge in whatever they understood best under contribution. *But* this I do not mean to undertake for you; I will reason *but of* what I know; and shall leave you to learn of the professors themselves, as to the things to which I have never dedicated myself.

You will find many of my ideas of the studies to be pursued, and the books to be read, by young persons, in the Enquirer, and more to the same purpose in the preface to a small book for children, entitled, "Scripture Histories, given in the words of the original, in two vols. 18mo."

It is my opinion that the imagination is to be cultivated in education, more than the dry accumulation of science and natural facts. The noblest part of man is his moral nature: and I hold morality principally to depend, agreeably to the admirable maxim of Jesus, upon our putting ourselves in the place of another, feeling his feelings, and apprehending his desires: in a word, doing to others, as we would wish, were we they, to be done unto.

Another thing that may be a great and most essential aid to our cultivating moral sentiments, will consist in our studying the best models, and figuring to ourselves the most excellent things of which human nature is capable. For this purpose, there is nothing so valuable as the histories of Greece and Rome. There are certain cold-blooded reasoners who say, that the ancients were *in nothing* better than ourselves—that their stature of mind was no *taller*, and their feelings in nothing more elevated—and that human nature, in all ages and countries, is the same. I do not

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myself believe this. But, if it is so, certainly ancient history is the bravest and sublimest fiction that it ever entered into the mind of man to create. No poets, or romance writers, or story tellers, have ever been able to feign such models of an erect, and generous, and public-spirited, and self-postponing mind, as are to be found in Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. If the story be a falsehood, the emotions, and, in many readers, the never-to-be-destroyed impressions it produces, are real: and I am firmly of opinion, that the man that has not been imbued with these tales in his earliest youth, can never be so noble a creature, as the man with whom they have made a part of his education stands a chance to be

To study the Greek and Roman History, it were undoubtedly best to read it in their own historians. To do this, we must have a competent mastery of the Greek and Latin languages. But it would be a dangerous delusion to put off the study long, under the idea that a few years hence we will read these things in the originals. You will find the story told, with a decent portion of congenial feeling, in Rollin's Ancient History, and Vertot's Revolutions of Rome. You should also read Plutarch's Lives, and a translation into English or French of Dionysius's Antiquities, Mitford for the History of Greece, and Hooke for that of Rome, are writers of some degree of critical judgment; but Hooke has a baleful scepticism about, and a pernicious lust to dispute, the virtues of illustrious men; and Mitford is almost frantic with the love of despotism and oppression. Middleton's Life of Cicero, and Blackwell's Court of Augustus, are books written in the right spirit. And, if you do not soon read Thucydides in the original, you will soon feel yourself disposed to read Sallust and Livy, and perhaps Tacitus, in the genuine language in which these glorious men have clothed their thoughts.

The aim of my meditation at this moment, is to devise that course of study that shall make him who pursues it independent and generous. For a similar reason, therefore, to that which has induced me to recommend the histories of Greece and Rome, I would next call the attention of my pupil to the age of chivalry. This, also, is a generous age, though of a very different cast from

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that of the best period of ancient history. Each has its beauty. Considered in relation to man as a species of being divided into two sexes, the age of chivalry has greatly the advantage over the purest ages of antiquity. How far their several excellencies may be united and blended together in future time, may be a matter for after consideration. You may begin your acquaintance with the age of chivalry with St. Palaye's *Memoirs sur l'Ancienne Chevalerie*, and Southey's Chronicle of the Cid. Cervantes's admirable Romance of Don Quixote, if read with a deep feeling of its contents, and that high veneration for, and strong sympathy with, its hero, which it is calculated to excite in every ingenuous mind, is one of the noblest records of the principles of chivalry. I am not anxious to recommend a complete cycle of the best writers on any subject. You cannot do better perhaps in that respect, than I have done before you. I always found one writer in his occasional remembrances and references leading to another, till I might, if I had chosen it, have collected a complete library of the best books on any given topic, without almost being obliged to recur to any one living counsellor for his advice.

We can never get at the sort of man that I am contemplating, and that I would, if I could, create, without making him also a reader and lover of poetry. I require from him the glow of intellect and sentiment, as well as the glow of a social being—I would have him have his occasional moods of sublimity, and, if I may so call it, literary tenderness; as well as a constant determination of mind to habits of philanthropy. You will find some good ideas on the value of poetry in Sir Philip Sidney's Defence of Poesy, and the last part of Sir William Temple's Miscellanies.

The subject of poetry is intimately connected with the last subject I mentioned, the age of chivalry. It is in the institutions of chivalry that the great distinctive characteristics of modern from ancient poetry originate. The soul of modern poetry, separately considered, lies in the importance which the spirit of chivalry has given to the female sex. The ancients pitted a man against a man, and thought much of his thews and sinews, and the graces and energy which nature has given to his corporeal frame. This was the state of things in the time of Homer. In a more refined

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age, they added all those excellencies which grow out of the most fervid and entire love of country. Antiquity taught her natives to love women, and that not in the purest sense; the age of chivalry taught her subjects to adore them. I think, quite contrary to the vulgar maxim on the subject, that love is never love in its best spirit, but among unequals. The love of parent to child is its best model, and its most permanent effect. It is, therefore, an excellent invention of modern times, that, while woman, by the nature of things, must look up to man, teaches us, in our turn, to regard woman not merely as a convenience to be made use of, but as a being to be treated with courtship, and consideration, and deference.

Agreeably to the difference between what we call the heroic times, and the times of chivalry, are the characteristic features of ancient and modern poetry. The ancient is simple, and manly, and distinct, full of severe graces, and heroic enthusiasm. The modern excels more in tenderness, and the indulgence of a tone of magnificent obscurity. The ancients, upon the whole, had more energy; we have more of the wantoning of the imagination, and the conjuring up a fairy vision

> Of some gay creatures of the element
> That in the colours of the rainbow live,
> And play in the plighted clouds.

It is not necessary to decide whether the ancient or the modern poetry is best; both are above all price; but it is certain, that the excellencies that are all our own, have a magnificence, and a beauty, and a thrilling character, that nothing can surpass. The best English poets are Shakspeare, and Milton, and Chaucer, and Spenser. Ariosto is, above all others, the poet of chivalry. The Greek and Latin poets it is hardly necessary to enumerate. There is one book of criticism, and perhaps only one, that I would recommend to you, Schlegel's Lectures on Dramatic Literature. The book is deformed, indeed, with a pretty copious sprinkling of German mysticism, but it is fraught with a great multitude of admirable observations.

The mention of criticism leads me to a thought, which I will immediately put down. I would advise a young person to be very moderate in his attention to new books. In all the world, I

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think, there is scarcely any thing more despicable, than the man that confines his reading to the publications of the day; he is next in rank to the boarding-school Miss, who devours every novel that is spawned forth from the press of the season. If you look into reviews, let it be principally to wonder at the stolidity of your contemporaries, who regard them as the oracles of learning.

One other course of reading I would earnestly recommend to you; and many persons would vehemently exclaim against me for doing so—metaphysics. It excels, perhaps, all other studies in the world, in the character of a practical logic, a disciplining and subtilising of the rational faculties. Metaphysics, we are told, is a mere jargon, where men dispute for ever, without gaining a single step; it is nothing but specious obscurity and ignorance. This is not my opinion. In the first place metaphysics is the theoretical science of the human mind; and it would be strange if mind was the only science not worth studying, or the only science in which real knowledge could not be acquired. Secondly, It is the theoretical science of the universe, and of causation, and must settle, if ever they can be settled, the first principles of natural religion. As to its uncertainty, I cannot conceive that any one with an unprejudiced mind, can read what has been best written on free-will and necessity, on self-love and benevolence, and other grand questions, and then say that nothing has been attained, and that all this is impertinent and senseless waste of words. I would particularly recommend Bishop Berkeley; especially his Principles of Human Knowledge, and Hume's Treatise of Human Nature, and Hartley's Observations on Man. Your own Jonathan Edwards has written excellently on Free-will; and Hutchinson and Hazlitt on Self-love and Benevolence. The title of Hutchinson's book is, An Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and Affections, and of Hazlitt's, An Enquiry into the Principles of Human Action. No young man can read Andrew Baxter's Enquiry into the nature of the Human Soul without being the better for it.

It is time that I should now come to the consideration of language. Language is as necessary an instrument for conducting the operations of the mind, as the hands are for conducting the operations of the body; and the most obvious way of acquiring the

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power of weighing and judging words aright, is by enabling ourselves to compare the words and forms of different languages. I, therefore, highly approve of classical education. It has often been said by the wise men of the world, What a miserable waste of time it is, that boys should be occupied for successive year after year in acquiring the Greek and Latin tongues! How much more usefully would these years be employed in learning the knowledge of things, and making a substantial acquaintance with the studies of men! I totally dissent from this. As to the knowledge of things, young men will soon enough be plunged in the mire of cold and sordid realities, such things as it is the calamity of man that he should be condemned to consume so much of his mature life upon; and I should wish that those who can afford the leisure of education, should begin with acquiring something a little generous and elevated. As to the studies of men, if boys begin with them before they are capable of weighing them, they will acquire nothing but prejudices, which it will be their greatest interest and highest happiness, with infinite labour, to unlearn. Words are happily a knowledge, to the acquisition of which the faculties of boys are perfectly competent, and which can do them nothing but good. Nature has decreed that human beings should be so long in a state of nonage, that it demands some ingenuity to discover how the years of boys of a certain condition in life may be employed innocently in acquiring good habits, and none of that appearance of reason and wisdom which, in boys, surpasses in nothing the instructions we bestow on monkies and parrots. One of the best maxims of the eloquent Rousseau is where he says, The master-piece of a good education is to know how to lose time profitably.

Every man has a language that is peculiarly his own; and it should be a great object with him to learn whatever may give illustration to the genius of that. Our language is the English. For this purpose, then, I would recommend to every young man who has leisure, to acquire some knowledge of the Saxon, and one or two other northern languages. Horne Tooke, in his Diversions of Purley, is the only man that has done much towards analysing the elements of the English tongue. But another, and perhaps still more important way, to acquire a knowledge and true relish of

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the genius of the English tongue, is, by studying its successive authors from age to age. It is an eminent happiness we possess, that our authors from generation to generation are so much worth studying. The first resplendent genius in our literary annals is Chaucer. From this age to that of Elizabeth we have not much; but it will be good not entirely to drop any of the links of the chain. The period of Elizabeth is perfectly admirable. Roger Ascham, and Goldin's translation of Mornay's Trewnesse of Christian Religion, are among the best canonical books of genuine English. Next come the translators of that age, who are worthy to be studied day and night by those who would perfectly feel the genius of our language. Among these, Phaer's Virgil, Chapman's Homer, and Sir Thomas North's Plutarch, are, perhaps, the best, and are, in my opinion, incomparably superior to the later translations of those authors. Of course, I hardly need say, that Lord Bacon is one of the first writers that has appeared in the catalogue of human creatures, and one of those who is most worthy to be studied. I might have brought him in among the metaphysicians, but I preferred putting him here. Nothing can be more magnificent and impressive than his language: it is rather that of a god than a man. I would also specially recommend Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy, and the writings of Sir Thomas Browne. No man, I suppose, is to be told, that the dramatic writers of the age of Elizabeth are among the most astonishing specimens of human intellect. Shakspeare is the greatest, and stands at an immense distance from all the rest; but, though he outshines them, he does not put out their light. Ben Jonson is himself a host; of Beaumont and Fletcher I cannot think without enthusiasm; and Ford and Massinger well deserve to be studied. Even French literature was worthy of some notice in these times; and Montaigne is entitled to rank with some of the best English prose-writers, his contemporaries.

In looking over what I have written, I think I have not said enough on the subject of modern history. Your language is English, the frame of your laws and your law-courts is essentially English; therefore, and because the English moral and intellectual character ranks the first of modern times, I think English

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history is entitled to your preference. Whoever reads English history must take Hume for his text. The subtlety of his mind, the depth of his conceptions; and the surpassing graces of his composition, must always place him in the first class of writers. His work is tarnished with a worthless partiality to the race of kings that Scotland sent to reign over us; and is wofully destitute of that energetic moral and public feeling that distinguishes the Latin historians. Yet we have nothing else on the subject that deserves the name of composition. I have already spoken of the emphatic attention that is due to the age of chivalry. The feudal system is one of the most extraordinary productions of the human mind. It is a great mistake to say, that these were dark ages. It was about this period that logic was invented; for I will venture to assert, that the ancients knew nothing about close reasoning and an unbroken chain of argumentative deduction, in comparison with the moderns. For all the excellence we possess in this art we are indebted to the schoolmen, the monks and friars in the solitude of their cloisters. It is true that they were too proud of their new acquisitions, and subtilized and refined, till occasionally they became truly ridiculous. This does not extinguish their claim to our applause, though it has dreadfully tarnished the lustre of their memory in the vulgar eye. Hume passes over the feudal system and the age of chivalry as if it were a dishonour to his pen to be employed on these subjects, while he enlarges with endless copiousness on the proofs of the sincerity of Charles the First, and the execrable public and private profligacies of Charles the Second.

Next to the age of feudality and chivalry, the period of English history most worthy of our attention, lies between the accession of Elizabeth and the Restoration. But let no man think that he learns any thing, particularly of modern history, by reading a single book. It fortunately happens, as far as the civil wars are concerned, that we have two excellent writers of the two opposite parties, Clarendon and Ludlow, beside many others worthy to be consulted. You should also have recourse to as many lives of eminent persons connected with the period then under your consideration, as you can conveniently procure. Letters of State

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memorials, and public papers, are, in this respect, of inestimable value. They are to a considerable degree, the principal actors in the scene, writing their own history. He that would really understand history, should proceed in some degree as if he were writing history. He should be surrounded with chronological tables and maps. He should compare one authority with another, and not put himself under the guidance of any. This is the difference I make between reading and study. He that confines himself to one book at a time, may be amused, but is no student. In order to study, I must sit in some measure in the middle of a library. Nor can any one truly study, without the perpetual use of a pen, to make notes, and abstracts, and arrangements of dates. The shorter the notes, and the more they can be looked through at a glance, the better. The only limit in this respect is, that they should be so constructed, that if I do not look at them again till after an interval of seven years, I should understand them. Learn to read slow—if you keep to your point, and do not suffer your thoughts, according to an old phrase, to go a wool-gathering, you will be in little danger of excess in this direction.

Accept in good part, my young friend, this attempt to answer your expectation, and be assured, that if I could have done better it should not have been less at your service. Your dispositions, appear to me to be excellent; and, as you will probably be enabled to make some figure, and what is much better, to act the part of the real patriot and the friend of man, in your own country, you should resolve to bestow on your mind an assiduous cultivation. It is the truly enlightened man that is best qualified to be truly useful; and, as Lord Bacon says, "It is almost without instance contradictory, that ever any government was disastrous, that was in the hands of learned governors. The wit of one man can no more countervail learning, than one man's means can hold way with a common purse." My best wishes attend you.

12th February 1818.

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FOR THE PORT FOLIO—CRITICISM.

Ausgewœhlte Briefe von C. M. Wieland &c.—Select Letters from C. M. Wieland to some of his friends, between the years 1751 and 1810; arranged in chronological order, 4 vols 8vo. pp. 1500. Zurich. Translated from the Journal de Savans.

The letters of Wieland will not have the misfortune of interrupting the literary peace of his country. The principal editor, one of his sons-in-law, appears to have taken care to expunge every thing from them, that might produce such an effect. But what alarms us, is the number of volumes to which this correspondence may hereafter extend. In fact the four that we announce, though composed of letters written at every period of the author's life, contain but a very small part of what he must have indited. Though they are addressed to thirty different persons, the chain of correspondence is incomplete except with regard to six at most. It is in the two first volumes solely, that these correspondences are found, and these two volumes include only nineteen years; in short, they have almost all been collected in Switzerland by the same editors. What would the consequence be if new editors should spring up in the differents parts of Germany, where Wieland had connections, and if they should undertake to complete his correspondence during the last forty years of his life, in which undoubtedly his letters greatly increased, both from the number and importance of his correspondences! The collection of the letters of Wieland might then equal Voltaire's in the number of volumes.

The four volumes which have just appeared, are not very interesting. The author having passed forty years in a city, which was the residence of a court, where he was always received in a distinguished manner, it might be expected that his letters would contain some of those anecdotes, which circulate even in the smallest cities, and which give a key to the most important political events. Such expectations would be disappointed. Whether Wieland has always lived more with books than with men; more with poetical beings of his own creation, than with the real beings that surrounded him, whether he has always been too prudent to confide secret anecdotes to paper, in short, whether his editors have had discretion enough to suppress them, the truth is, we shall

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find nothing in his letters which can serve to throw light on the history of his time, although that comprehends the American and Seven Years' wars, and the whole of the Revolution.

What will appear still more surprising is that these four volumes contain but little of importance to the literary history of Germany. We may perceive that when Wieland began to write, Gottsched had just been dethroned by the Swiss critics—(Bodmer and Breilinger) who were not long in experiencing opposition themselves from the Berlin writers,—Lessing, Nicolai and others. We perceive the division which took place, between the poets of blank verse and rhyme more lately. A letter of M. Voss acquaints us of another quarrel, on account of the liberties permitted or forbidden to the poet, who translates Latin or Greek into German, but the subject is known to every one a little versed in the history of German literature, and other readers, would not understand it. It may be added, that the philosophy of Kant, and his successors is not mentioned in this correspondence, though M. Reinbold, Wieland's son-in-law, was one of the disciples of this philosopher.

It is not by their own merit, nor their intrinsic value, if we may so express ourselves, that these letters become valuable. Wieland several times accuses himself of a reluctance to write letters, which he pleasantly denominates an *epistolophobia*, and for which, several causes might be given, the chief of which may be ascribed perhaps to the belief, that his epistolary talent did not exceed mediocrity. It was, in fact, when his reputation had been well established that the epistolophobia seized him, because then he had more reason than ever to fear the indiscretion of those who print the least scrap from the pen of a celebrated man, that may fall into their hands. Whatever may be the cause, if some letters to the famous Dr. Zimmerman are excepted, this collection hardly ever presents to us the enlightened, the ingenious, the mischievous Wieland, the author of *Agathon*, *of Musarion*, and of *The Graces*. It is in a quite different light, that they become interesting, that is, by the knowledge they convey to us of the life, the character and opinions of the author. To consider them in this manner, will undoubtedly give them much reputation in Germany, where Wieland has been celebrated for sixty years, and may even furnish us with some results worthy of the attention of our readers.

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Wieland was born in 1733 at Biberach, a small imperial city of Swabia. His relations were respectable citizens, in middling circumstances, who, for centuries had taken a part in the government of the city. From his childhood they remarked in him a certain gravity, and an extreme sensibility. Much pains was taken with his education, and his intelligence surpassed his years; he studied at an early age under his paternal roof, not only ancient languages, but history, logic and mathematics. His taste for writing verse manifested itself, by a great number of small poetical compositions, at ten years of age. At eleven he made Latin verses with facility. He had the good sense to condemn these juvenile productions to the flames, and to prepare better by study and reflection. At fourteen he was sent to one of the best colleges in Germany near Magdebourg; but while there, the works of Wolf and Bayle induced him to abandon every thing for the study of philosophy. He read Fontenelle, Voltaire and d'Argens, and wished to make a system of his own, which, founded on such reading, could not be very religious. He even went so far as to entertain doubts of the existence of a God, which made him pass many nights in tears. He fluctuated from one opinion to another, until the age of sixteen. The *Theodicea* of Leibnitz then produced a happy change in his views. Poetry, which cannot be excellent without religious ideas, induced him to think better of religion, and he was reconciled to it at last, by the love which he conceived for one of his cousins,—Sophia de Guttermann, who was afterwards Madame la Roche, but who, though married to another, remained his best friend to the end of his days.

It is at this period of our author's life, that his printed correspondence commences. His first letters are addressed to the pious Bodmer, author of the *Noachide*, and other poems taken from scripture. Wieland, then not less religious, selected him for his literary patron, and in fact, Bodmer enjoyed in Germany all the consideration necessary to justify our young author's confidence. When the works of the most brilliant period of Wieland's life are known, the letters to his first protector become very curious; in these letters he appears nearly as humble and as awkward as Rousseau in his first letter to Voltaire. He loads Bodmer with eulogium, he decrys all his enemies, and he speaks of himself

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with the greatest modesty: but in other places he expresses the most severe opinions of deceased and living poets. Without ceremony he ranks Virgil much above Homer, and Klopstock above Milton. He admires Young so much that he cannot find expressions to praise him sufficiently, but on the other hand he professes the greatest contempt for Bocace, La Fontaine, Crebillon the younger, and all the libertine writers. This is the zeal, the presumption, and the intolerance of a young enthusiast; and this very gentleman lived to write tales, less licentious, but more voluptuous than those of Bocace or La Fontaine; to imitate Crebillon the younger in the *Golden Mirror*, to translate Lucian, and to carry the freedom of religious opinions to the highest pitch.

It may easily be supposed that a change so extraordinary could not be suddenly effected. Wieland invited by Bodmer, to come and live with him at Zurich, and treated in some measure as his son for several years, ought to remain a long time faithful to the first influence, which his protector had exercised over him. His platonic passion for Sophia still existed; after his cousin was married, it was perceived, that another passion of the same kind occupied him at Zurich, and afterwards a third at Berne. All the works which he composed, or at least that he published during this interval, which was about eight years, are what would be called in a painter his first manner. They are, an Anti-Lucretius on *the nature of things;* an Anti-Ovid in opposition to the Art of Love; Moral Tales, Moral Letters, Letters from the Dead to their Friends, &c. all compositions more or less dictated by a spirit of Platonism and mysticism.

At the commencement of his correspondence with the illustrious Dr. Zimmerman, viz. in the year 1756, some symptoms were perceived of that revolution which was gradually to be effected in the ideas of our author. Nothing could be more dangerous for the actual mysticism of our future sceptic, than his connections with a writer almost as much a Frenchman as a German, already in correspondence with the Encyclopedists, as much a man of the world as of letters, and who, a doctor by profession, was not likely to be much infatuated with spiritualism. Besides, though Wieland might have had the advantage over his new friend in poetry, especially German poetry, it may be perceived that in every thing

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relative to the world and to men, Zimmerman exercised a marked superiority, and that he would consequently acquire much influence over the mind of a young man, who had led only a college life, and indulged himself in the reveries of platonic love, and the society of the patriarch Bodmer at Zurich. The first effects of it are seen in 1758. In a letter of the 12th of March, Wieland defends himself from being too much of a Platonist; he joins, he says, the love of the agreeable and handsome, to the beautiful and sublime. He esteems talents of every kind. Two months after he abjures his admiration for Young; he believes the works of that poet are calculated to turn the heads of young people, and to corrupt the taste of young authors. In the month of November of the same year, he judges the poem of the *Messiah* very severely, the author of which he had placed above all the epic poets that ever existed, and while he gives him praise for the work, he finishes by entitling it an enchanting monster. In the month of February of the following year he admires d'Alembert, Diderot and their co-operators in the Encyclopedia; and in short, in the month of April, he suddenly returns to Bodmer and his *Noachide*, pardons that good old man for being a poet in spite of nature—and does justice to his intentions, his character and his real merit: but what proves that the revolution is completed, is, that he already prepares the manner in which he shall withdraw from the cloud that covers him, to make the Bodmerian and the fanatic disappear, (these are his own words,) and to show himself to the world as he is.

This complete recantation is dated at Zurich, a year after Wieland went to reside at Berne. He lived there among people who were occupied more with business, than with opinions. He was engaged on an epic poem called *Cyrus*, which was to be free from mysticism and platonism; but it was written in hexameter verse, after the example of Klopstock and Bodmer, which nearly embroiled him with Zimmerman. The fact is, neither epic poetry nor hexameter verse, was the vocation of our poet; but after the first, in which he failed, it was difficult to find the true one, and Wieland was not in a favourable situation to seek it. Born almost without fortune, he had supported himself at Zurich by giving lessons to some young people. At Berne he was at first en-

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trusted with private tuition; but being disgusted with this plan, he commenced a school in his own house, which proved only a feeble resource. His first works though well received by the public, produced very little profit; his platonic attachments had not conducted him to an establishment; he would be still more pressed to select a situation than a poetical vocation, and for the latter, even if he had nothing else to do, he would have been still much embarrassed—awakened from his first illusions, descended as he says, from heaven to earth, he believed no longer in the poetical beings that his imagination had formerly created. He was ignorant of those which alone remained for him to paint. Full of new ideas and sentiments, in what manner should he display them?

Fortune came to his assistance. An unexpected event decided for him, the choice of a situation, and far from extinguishing his talents, as might have been supposed, this very event also determined his literary vocation. In the little republic of which he was born a citizen, an important and advantageous office had just become vacant: he was called to fill it, and thought, in accepting it, to bid an eternal adieu to the muses. The kind of despair which this reflection occasioned, and the grotesque pictures which he draws of his occupations, among the archives of his little city, may be seen in his letters, but, afterwards he admits the salutary effects it produced on his mind. Two years stay at Biberach initiated him, he says, into practical life. Daily intercourse, and, if we may so express ourselves, a continual rubbing against men, gave him a better knowledge of mankind than he had learned from reading, and all the meditation of his youth. Instead of considering them only under an ideal point of view, as formerly, he also accustomed himself to observe them on their ridiculous side. In the eight years, during which he remained in this little remote city, he composed some of his best works, and established his reputation on a solid basis. The first fruits of the leisure hours of the recorder of Biberach, were the celebrated romance of *Agathon*, his *Musarion* and the *Comic Tales*. The first part of the *New Amadis*, the least decent of his works, *Idris*, an unfinished poem, but full of imagination, and *Don Sylvio de Rosalva*, came out of the same office. It was during these eight years also that he produced his translation of Shakspeare.

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Though man may be studied every where, and even in a narrow sphere, it must be acknowledged however, that Wieland's stay at Biberach would not have been sufficient to form the author of *Agathon* and the *Comic Tales*. In the neighbourhood of that town, there was a country seat belonging to count de Stadion, a man of sense and a courtier, who had collected a select society. Here our author was received with affection, and it was in this circle that he learnt to know the world.

Now that we have conducted Wieland to the period when his genius was developed, and in which his literary vocation was fixed, it is useless to follow him farther. It will be sufficient to point out, in a summary manner, the principal events of his life.

In 1769 Baron de Groschlag, prime minister of the elector of Mentz, who had known Wieland at count Stadion's, called him to the University of Erfurth, in quality of first professor of philosophy. Our author passed three years very agreeably there, and it was then, he says, he reconciled himself to the course of German literature, which during his stay at Biberach, he had somewhat neglected for the French and Italian.

In 1772 his reputation had increased so much, that the dutchess regent of Saxe Weimar, neice of Frederick the Great, called him to her court for the purpose of conducting the education of her son, Charles Augustus, who was then reigning sovereign. At the end of three years, he obtained leave to withdraw with a considerable pension. The *German Mercury*, which he established, still contributed to enrich him; he began to draw considerable sums from his works: the complete edition of them, which was begun in 1794, and published by Goeden, put him in a condition to purchase a small estate near Wiemar, and it was there he finished his career peaceably in a state of ease, which he was far from expecting, when he made his appearance before the world.

But it is well known that riches alone do not confer happiness: it is chiefly founded on the disposition. In this respect, the letters of Wieland also paint him to us, as much more happy in the second than in the first half of his life, with the exception, however, of two or three years of his youthful illusions and first attachments, of which he speaks afterwards as of pleasant dreams. As long as he lived in that solitude so dear to enthusiasts, we remark

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a degree of sensibility so great as even to degenerate into irritability. His friendships are almost as exalted as love, they are accompanied by all the quarrels of lovers, the friend to whom he writes is always an incomparable man, his mind is always the most refined, his talents the most perfect. Zimmerman, Gleim, George Jacobi, furnish his imagination by turns, with the moralist and poet in perfection. But the more he expects from his friends, the more he is irritated, when he finds them failing in what he conceives to be their duty. Negligence or a harsh criticism, appears to him as a crime against friendship. On the other hand, his natural goodness soon removes the cause of offence; a certain degree of diffidence induces him to believe he was himself wrong, and his petitions for pardon are as humble, as his reproaches were haughty. This diffidence was carried so far at the period of which we speak, that he somewhere says, there are moments, when I doubt whether I am a man of genius, or a wretched scribbler. That vivacity of imagination, which is so apt to inflate and depress us, can hardly exist without levity. Wieland was not exempt from it, for we see him neglect during many years and even entirely forget men, to whom he had said a hundred times, that he would be happy to pass his whole life with them. The defects that we have just mentioned, are corrected by years. Experience of men teaches us to see them as they are; success lulls that uneasiness which tortures the literary man, who contrasts his own merit with the cold neglect of the public. But another cause contributed still more powerfully to give repose to the heart of Wieland, and to fix his character: this was his marriage, of which on that account, we have forborn to speak until now. After having adored platonically three women, whom his imagination converted into goddesses, after having in vain sought perfection in friendship, Wieland in 1766 married, at Biberach, a plain mortal, who had never read one of his works, but who appears to have been one of the most worthy of mothers, and the best of wives. The tender and real affection with which she inspired him, the happiness not less real which she enabled him to enjoy, put an end to all his imaginary attachments, to all his dreams of chimerical happiness. She bore him many children, to whom he was an excellent father. All his desires were satisfied, his reputation established, and his fortune

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made. He purchased the estate of Osmanstœdt, and retired to rural scenes, where he occupied himself with agriculture, and became a good man among his ploughs and his children. He did not, however, discontinue his literary labours, for it is known that the translation of Cicero's Epistles, occupied his attention to his death, which took place in the night between the 20th and 21st January, 1813. But the susceptibility of the author was considerably weakened, for he was able to behold without affliction, the progress of that school of Weimar, who, in his endeavours to destroy every literary reputation of Germany, with a single exception, did not respect the name of Wieland more than those of Lessing or Klopstock.

His wife's death was the only misfortune which clouded the serenity of the latter part of his life; he lost her in 1801. The letter which he wrote on that subject to Madame Gessner, his second daughter, is truly affecting. He has written nothing which does so much honour to his heart, or is a better proof of his sensibility. If that article were shorter, we should take pleasure in translating it.

Before that loss, he had experienced several month's uneasiness, during the invasion of Switzerland by the French; but his family suffered no injury. He very happily escaped himself in 1806, from the catastrophe at Jena. He says very little of it, and does not even hint at the conference of considerable length, which he had with the imperial conqueror, which excited great curiosity at the time in Germany.*

Generally, in these four volumes of letters, there is hardly any thing relative to the French revolution, though they are written by a man who has spoken so frequently of it in his printed works. It is true, the fourth volume, is the only one written after the commencement of the revolution, and contains but little except family letters. The principal persons to whom these letters are addressed, are Bodmer,—from 1751 to 1770. Zimmerman,—from 1756 to 1784; but complete only to 1768. Gleim,—from 1755 to 1800; but complete only from 1769 to 1777. George Ja-

* An account of this interview will be found in our work for May, 1817. Ed. P. F.

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cobi—during the latter interval. Herder and his wife—from 1782 to 1803: in short the family of Gessner at Zurich, of which his second daughter had become a member from 1795 to 1802. Several of his letters to Zimmerman are written in French, in an easy, natural and animated style, but with inaccuracies which are always the same, in using the tenses of the verbs.

To a part of our readers, this article may appear long, others perhaps may think it too short. We reply to the first, that Wieland was one of the most illustrious writers of his age and country; that he not only distinguished himself as a romance writer and poet, but that in his translations of Lucian, Horace and Cicero, in his labours upon Aristophanes, and even in his romances, he has displayed a fund of learning, a knowledge of Grecian and Roman antiquity, very rare even among authors, who employ all their lives in accumulating the stores of erudition. He has been compared to Voltaire, but he is as superior to him in the extent, and profoundness of his literary knowledge as he is perhaps inferior to him in other respects.

As to those who would have desired that certain particulars relative to the life of our author, should have been dwelt upon more at length, we agree with them that the study of a mind like that of Wieland, would indeed be interesting; that it would perhaps be curious to show that, without mysticism, and even the fanaticism of his early years, he could never have painted his Agathon with colours so true, nor resolved the psychological problem that the character and life of the Peregrinus of Lucian presented. In short, it may be observed with profit and with pleasure, how he, as bold in his opinions as Voltaire, has at least preserved himself from the cynicism with which the French poet is reproached: how he has always retained something religious in his sentiments, in the midst of his anti-religious opinions, and a just candour, a great goodness of character along with that levity, which we have thought it our duty to describe, and which has perhaps a little too much influenced the tone of this piece—but such a development would require more room than we can devote to any single subject.

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WHISTLECRAFT'S PROSPECTUS.

Prospectus and Specimen of an intended National Work. By William and Robert Whistlecraft, of Stow-Market, in Suffolk, Harness and Collar-makers. Intended to comprise the most interesting Particulars relating to King Arthur and his Round Table. Second Edition. 8vo. pp. 55. 5s. 6d. stitched.

From the Monthly Review.

Our readers will perhaps be surprised to hear that this is a poem;—moreover, that it is a comic poem;—and farther, that it has much merit and drollery. We say surprised, because there is truly nothing very attractive in the title-page; and it is also a complete blind, the humour of which we acknowledge that we cannot fathom.

The first eleven stanzas, as the author says, "make a proem;" the intent of which it is rather difficult to unravel: but the farther he proceeds the more comprehensible he becomes. He appears to have begun almost without a plan, and after a time to have hit on it, and then to have proceeded with greater facility. His intention is asserted in the first stanza:

"I've often wish'd that I could write a book,
Such as all English people might peruse;
I never should regret the pains it took,
That's just the sort of fame that I should chuse:
To sail about the world like Captain Cook,
I'd sling a cot up for my favourite Muse,
And we'd take verses out to Demarara,
To New South Wales, and up to Niagara."

He therefore determines "to paint the famous actions" of King Arthur and the Knights of his Round Table; and because "it grieves him much" that "persons of such mark" should lie neglected,

"Just like old portraits lumbering in the dark,"

he resolves to correct this error, and thus continues:

"I'll air them all, and rub down the Round Table,
And wash the canvas clean and scour the frames,
And put a coat of varnish on the fable,
And try to puzzle out the dates and names;
Then (as I said before) I'll heave my cable,
And take a pilot, and drop down the Thames."

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The "*Poem*" is then commenced in due form:—

"THE GREAT KING ARTHUR made a sumptuous feast,
And held his Royal Christmas at Carlisle."

The "bill of fare," the author says,

"Was suited to those plentiful old times,
Before our modern luxuries arose,
With truffles and ragouts, and various crimes;
And therefore, from the original in prose
I shall arrange the catalogue in rhymes:
They serv'd up salmon, venison, and wild boars
By hundreds, and by dozens, and by scores."

We shall not, however, copy this "*carte*," nor give the list of the "illiterate, low-bred throng" who attended on the occasion, but proceed to

——"show the higher orders of society,
Behaving with politeness and propriety."

The following is a part of the author's summary of their character.

"And certainly they say, for fine behaving
King Arthur's court has never had its match;
True point of honour, without pride or braving,
Strict etiquette for ever on the watch:
Their manners were refin'd and perfect—saving
Some modern graces, which they could not catch,
As spitting through the teeth, and driving stages,
Accomplishments reserv'd for distant ages."

The picture of the ladies is a good sketch; but, when the author calls "Their dresses partly silk, and partly woolen," does he not give them, in the former substance, a luxury with which they were unacquainted?

We have next the portraits of three of these favourite knights of romance: of whom

"Sir LAUNCELOT was chief among the train."

Yet, though he is introduced as "far above the rest," he occupies no part in the action of the poem; and the following stanza excites an interest in him similar to that of some of Lord Byron's heroes, which is not even attempted to be sustained in any future page: while it seems to clothe him with a character rather for-

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eign from that admired delineation which Sir Bohort gives of him in "Morte Arthur." *—But we forget,—this is only a *Specimen*.

"Yet oftentimes his courteous cheer forsook
His countenance, and then return'd again,
As if some secret recollection shook
His inward heart with unacknowledged pain;
And something haggard in his eyes and look
(More than his years or hardships could explain)
Made him appear, in person and in mind,
Less perfect than what nature had design'd."

The various excellences in the characters of Sir Tristram and Sir Gawain are next depicted with discrimination and effect. That of the former seems a favourite with the author, and we shall extract it as a fair continuous specimen of his style:

Of noble presence, but of different mien,
Alert and lively, voluble and gay,
Sir Tristram at Carlise was rarely seen,
But ever was regretted while away;
With easy mirth, an enemy to spleen,
His ready converse charm'd the wintry day;
No tales he told of sieges or of fights,
Or foreign marvels, like the foolish knights,

"But with a playful imitative tone
(That merely seem'd a voucher for the truth)
Recounted strange adventures of his own,
The chances of his childhood and his youth,
Of churlish giants he had seen and known,
The rustic phrase and courtesies uncouth,

* As our readers may not recollect the passage, we extract it from Mr. Ellis's "Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances."

"And now I dare say that, Sir Lancelot, ther thou lyest, thou were never matched of none earthly knight's hands. And thou were the curtiest knight that ever bare shielde. And thou were the truest friende to thy lover that ever bestrode horse; and thou were the truest lover, of a sinful man, that ever loved woman. And thou were the kindest man that ever stroke with swerde. And thou were the goodliest person that ever came amonge prece (press) of knyghtes. And thou were the meekest man and the gentillest that ever eate in hal among ladies. And thou were the sternest knight to thy mortall foe that ever put spere in the rest!"

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The dwellings, and the diet, and the lives
Of savage monarchs and their monstrous wives:

" Songs, music, languages, and many a lay
Asturian or Armoric, Irish, Basque,
His ready memory seiz'd and bore away;
And ever when the ladies chose to ask,
Sir Tristram was prepar'd to sing and play,
Not like a minstrel earnest at his task,
But with a sportive, careless, easy style,
As if he seem'd to mock himself the while.

" His ready wit and rambling education,
With the congenial influence of his stars,
Had taught him all the arts of conversation,
All games of skill and stratagems of wars;
His birth, it seems, by Merlin's calculations,
Was under Venus, Mercury, and Mars;
His mind with all their attributes was mixt,
And, like those planets, wandering and unfixt;

" From realm to realm he ran—and never staid;
Kingdoms and crowns he wan—and gave away:
It seem'd as if his labours were repaid
By the mere noise and movement of the fray:
No conquests nor acquirements had he made:
His chief delight was on some festive day
To ride triumphant, prodigal, and proud,
And shower his wealth amidst the shouting crowd.

" His schemes of war were sudden, unforeseen,
Inexplicable both to friend and foe;
It seem'd as if some momentary spleen
Inspir'd the project and impell'd the blow;
And most his fortune and success were seen
With means the most inadequate and low;
Most master of himself, and least encumber'd
When overmatch'd, entangled, and outnumber'd.

" Strange instruments and engines he contriv'd
For sieges, and constructions for defence,
Inventions some of them that have surviv'd,
Others were deem'd too cumbrous and immense:
Minstrels he lov'd, and cheris'd while he liv'd,
And patronized them both with praise and pence;

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Somewhat more learned than became a knight,
It was reported he could read and write."

Canto the second brings us into action and relates that

" Before the feast was ended, a report
Fill'd every soul with horror and dismay;
Some ladies, on their journey to the court,
Had been surpris'd, and were convey'd away
By the Aboriginal giants, to their fort—
An unknown fort—for government, they say,
Had ascertain'd its actual existence,
But knew not its direction, nor its distance."

Sir Gawain and Sir Tristram immediately set off in quest of these enemies of knights and virgins; the latter cavalier with " the poor mis-shapen damsel" who brought the news

" Behind him on a pillion, pan, or pannel:
He took, besides his falcon and his spaniel."

She, poor soul, forgets the way, and they wander two days and nights till they arrive at a glen, where they find " the remains of mules and horses roasted."

" Sir Tristram understood the giants' courses—
He felt the embers, but the heat was out—
He stood contemplating the roasted horses,
And all at once, without suspense or doubt,
His own decided judgment thus enforces—
" The giants must be somewhere here about!"
Demonstrating the carcases, he shows
That they remain'd untouch'd by kites or crows."

His conjecture is verified, and they find the giants' castle on a rock in a neighbouring valley. Sir Gawain assails the castle, but is driven back by a " cataract of stones;" when he calls in succours from the country round, and the people work

" Till all the fort was thoroughly blockaded."

Sir Tristram, who had seceded on a fowling expedition, now returns with a beautiful bird which he had caught, and which he triumphantly displays.

" Sir Gawain rarely ventur'd on a jest,
But here his heart with indignation burn'd;—

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"Good cousin, yonder stands an eagle's nest!
—A prize for fowlers such as you and me."—
Sir Tristram answer'd mildly, "We shall see."

"Good humour was Sir Tristram's leading quality,
And in the present case he prov'd it such;
If he forbore, it was that in reality
His conscience smote him with a secret touch,
For having shock'd his worthy friend's formality—
He thought Sir Gawain had not said too much;
He walks apart with him—and he discourses
About their preparation and their forces—

"Approving every thing that had been done—
"It serves to put the giants off their guard—
Less hazard and less danger will be run—
I doubt not we shall find them unprepar'd—
The castle will more easily be won,
And many valuable lives be spar'd;*
The ladies else, while we blockade and threaten,
Will most infallibly be kill'd and eaten."

"Sir Tristram talk'd incomparably well;
His reasons were irrefragably strong.
As Tristram spoke Sir Gawain's spirits fell,
For he discover'd clearly before long
(What Tristram never would presume to tell),
That his whole system was entirely wrong.—
In fine, this tedious conference to shorten,
Sir Gawain trusted to Sir Tristram's fortune."

Sir Tristram accordingly proceeds by

"A secret track which he descried before,"

at the time, as it is hinted, when he pretended to be following the bird; and, surprizing the fort, he defeats the giants, rescues the ladies, and

"By supreme good luck it so befell
That when the castle's capture was effected,
When those vile cannibals were overpower'd,
Only two fat duennas were devour'd."

* One of the few *lines of prose* which occur in this poem.

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The successful Knight allows Sir Gawain to take the honour of the victory for himself

——" he made nothing of it
Either for reputation or for profit,"

but

——" remain'd loitering at the fort;
He thought the building and the scenery striking,
And a poor captive giant took his liking."

The poem concludes with a promise of the history of this giant's education " in a succeeding page."

We shall be glad to see another " sample" of this gentleman's muse, who has not much reason " to tremble at our cavils." Indeed, she carries us so pleasantly forwards that we cannot be cynical. There is a glibness in the verse which seldom knows a halt: the author seems to have more humour than he has ventured to display; and we doubt not that this facility of versification will increase, and that his dormant drollery will be roused as he proceeds. We might have given many other favourable extracts, but we refer our readers to the work; assuring them that, notwithstanding the assumed trade of the pretended authors, they will not find

" That all the rest is *leather*."

Frankenstein; or the Modern Prometheus. 3 vols. 12 mo. 16s. 6d.

FROM THE BRITISH CRITIC.

This is another anomalous story of the same race and family as Mandeville; and if we are not misinformed, it is intimately connected with that strange performance, by more ties than one. In the present instance, it is true, we are presented with the mysteries of equivocal generation, instead of the metaphysics of a bedlamite; but he who runs as he reads, might pronounce both novels to be *similis farinæ*. We are in doubt to what class we shall refer writings of this extravagant character; that they bear marks of considerable power, it is impossible to deny, but

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this power is so abused and perverted, that we should almost prefer imbecility; however much, of late years, we have been wearied and ennuied by the languid whispers of gentle sentimentality, they at least had the comfortable property of provoking no uneasy slumber; but we must protest against the waking dreams of horror excited by the unnatural stimulants of this later school; and we feel ourselves as much harassed, after rising from the perusal of these three spirit-wearing volumes, as if we had been over-dosed with laudanum, or hag-ridden by the night-mare.

No one can love a real good ghost story more heartily than we do; and we will toil through many a tedious duodecimo to get half a dozen pages of rational terror, provided always, that we keep company with spectres and skeletons, no longer than they maintain the just dignity of their spiritual character. Now and then too, we can tolerate a goule, so it be not at his dinner-time; and altogether, we profess to entertain a very due respect for the whole anierarchy of the dæmoniacal establishment. Our prejudices in favour of legitimacy, of course, are proportionably shocked by the pretensions of any pseudo-diabolism; and all our best feelings of ghostly loyalty are excited by the usurpation of an unauthorized hobgoblin, or a non-descript fee-fa-fum.

It will be better, however, to say what little we mean to add on this point, by and by, when our readers are fairly put in possession of the subject, and enabled to form their own estimate of our opinions. In a sort of introduction, which precedes the main story of this novel, and has nothing else to do with it, we are introduced to a Mr. Walton, the Christopher Sly of the piece; with whose credulity the hero of the tale is afterwards to amuse himself. This gentleman, it seems, has had his imagination fired by an anticipation of the last number of the Quarterly Review, and is gone out to the North Pole, in quest of lost Greenland, magnetism and the parliamentary reward. In justice to our author, we must admit that this part is well done, and we doubt whether Mr. Barrow, in plain prose, or Miss Porden herself, in more ambitious rhyme, can exceed our novelist in the description of frozen deserts and colliding ice-bergs. While employed in this pursuit, and advancing into a very high latitude, one day,

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"About two o'clock the mist cleared away, and we beheld, stretched out in every direction, vast and irregular plains of ice, which seemed to have no end. Some of my comrades groaned, and my own mind began to grow watchful with anxious thoughts, when a strange sight suddenly attracted our attention, and diverted our solicitude from our own situation. We perceived a low carriage, fixed on a sledge and drawn by dogs, pass on towards the north, at the distance of half a mile; a being which had the shape of a man, but apparently of gigantic stature, sat in the sledge, and guided the dogs. We watched the rapid progress of the traveller with our telescopes, until he was lost among the distant inequalities of the ice.

"This appearance excited our unqualified wonder! We were, as we believed, many hundred miles from any land; but this apparition seemed to denote that it was not, in reality, so distant as we had supposed. Shut in, however, by ice, it was impossible to follow his track, which we had observed with the greatest attention.

"About two hours after this occurrence, we heard the ground sea, and before night the ice broke, and freed our ship. We, however, lay to until the morning, fearing to encounter in the dark those large loose masses which float about after the breaking up of the ice. I profited of this time to rest for a few hours.

"In the morning, however, as soon as it was light, I went upon deck, and found all the sailors busy on one side of the vessel, apparently talking to some one in the sea. It was, in fact, a sledge, like that we had seen before, which had drifted towards us in the night, on a large fragment of ice. Only one dog remained alive; but there was a human being within it, whom the sailors were persuading to enter the vessel. He was not, as the other traveller seemed to be, a savage inhabitant of some undiscovered island, but an European. When I appeared on deck, the master said, 'Here is our captain, and he will not allow you to perish on the open sea.'

"On perceiving me, the stranger addressed me in English, although with a foreign accent. 'Before I come on board your vessel,' said he, 'will you have the kindness to inform me whither you are bound?'

"You may conceive my astonishment on hearing such a question addressed to me from a man on the brink of destruction, and to whom I should have supposed that my vessel would have been a recourse which he would not have exchanged for the most precious wealth the earth can afford. I replied, however, that we were on a voyage of discovery towards the northern pole.

"Upon hearing this he appeared satisfied, and consented to come on board." Vol. I. p. 22.

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After proper applications, the stranger is recovered, and of course a strong attachment, takes place between him and his preserver; and, in due season, after much struggling with melancholy and sullenness, he prevails upon himself to tell his own story.

Frankenstein was a Genevese by birth, of honorable parentage, and betrothed, from his earliest years, to an orphan cousin, with whom he had been brought up, Elizabeth Lavenza. In his youth he manifested a strong bent for natural philosophy, at first, indeed, a little perverted by an accidental acquaintance with the early masters of this science, and an initiation into the mystical fancies of Cornelius Agrippa, Albertus Magnus, and Paracelsus; a short residence at the University of Ingolstadt, however, corrected this bias, and he soon distinguished himself among the students, by his extraordinary proficiency in the various branches of chymical knowledge. One of the phenomena which particularly engrossed his attention, was no less than "the principle of life;" to examine this, he had recourse to death, he studied anatomy, and watched the progress of decay and corruption in the human body, in dissecting rooms and charnel houses; at length, "after days and nights of incredible labour and fatigue, I succeeded in discovering the cause of generation or life; nay, more, I became myself capable of bestowing animation upon lifeless matter."

When once in possession of this power, it is not to be supposed that he could long leave it unemployed; and, as the minuteness of the parts formed a great hindrance to the speedy execution of his design, he determined to make the being which he was to endow with life, of a gigantic stature, "that is to say, about eight feet in height, and proportionably large.' We pass over the months which he employed in this horrible process, and hasten to the grand period of consummation.

"It was on a dreary night of November, that I beheld the accomplishment of my toils. With an anxiety that almost amounted to agony, I collected the instruments of life around me, that I might infuse a spark of being into the lifeless thing that lay at my feet. It was already one in the morning; the rain pattered dismally against the panes, and my candle was nearly burnt out, when by the glimmer of the half-extinguished light, I saw the

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dull yellow eye of the creature open; it breathed hard, and a convulsive motion agitated its limbs.

"How can I describe my emotions at this catastrophe, or how delineate the wretch whom with such infinite pains and care I had endeavoured to form? His limbs were in proportion, and I had selected his features as beautiful. Beautiful!—Great God! His yellow skin scarcely covered the work of muscles and arteries beneath; his hair was of a lustrous black, and flowing; his teeth of a pearly whiteness; but these luxuriances only formed a more horrid contrast with his watery eyes, that seemed almost of the same colour as the dun white sockets in which they were set, his shrivelled complexion and straight black lips.

"The different accidents of life are not so changeable as the feelings of human nature. I had worked hard for nearly two years, for the sole purpose of infusing life into an inanimate body. For this I had deprived myself of rest and health. I had desired it with an ardour that far exceeded moderation; but now that I had finished, the beauty of the dream vanished, and breathless horror and disgust filled my heart. Unable to endure the aspect of the being I had created, I rushed out of the room, and continued a long time traversing my bed-chamber, unable to compose my mind to sleep. At length lassitude succeeded to the tumult I had before endured; and I threw myself on the bed in my clothes, endeavouring to seek a few moments of forgetfulness. But it was in vain; I slept indeed, but I was disturbed by the wildest dreams. I thought I saw Elizabeth, in the bloom of health, walking in the streets of Ingolstadt. Delighted and surprised, I embraced her; but as I imprinted the first kiss on her lips, they became livid with the hue of death; her features appeared to change, and I thought that I held the corpse of my dead mother in my arms; a shroud enveloped her form, and I saw the grave-worms crawling in the folds of the flannel. I started from my sleep with horror; a cold dew covered my forehead, my teeth chattered, and every limb became convulsed; when by the dim and yellow light of the moon, as it forced its way through the window-shutters, I beheld the wretch—the miserable monster whom I had created. He held up the curtain of the bed; and his eyes, if eyes they may be called, were fixed on me. His jaws opened, and he muttered some inarticulate sounds, while a grin wrinkled his cheeks. He might have spoken, but I did not hear; one hand was stretched out, seemingly to detain me, but I escaped, and rushed down stairs. I took refuge in the court-yard belonging to the house which I inhabited; where I remained during the rest of the night, walking up and down in the greatest agitation, listening attentively, catching and fearing each sound as if it were to announce the approach of the demoniacal corpse to which I had so miserably given life." Vol. I. P. 97.

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While in this state of horror, he is agreeably surprized by the arrival of the friend of his youth, Henry Clerval, who had been despatched by his family, under some alarm at the long silence which his genethliacal studies had occasioned. We shall not pretend to trace this story through the remainder of its course; suffice it to say, that the being whom he has created, pursues his steps, and operates, like his evil genius, upon every subsequent event of his life. His infant brother is murdered by the hands of this anonymous androdæmon; the servant girl, who attended the child, is executed upon circumstantial evidence; and Frankenstein himself, suspecting the real author of this foul deed, and stung with remorse, that he should have been its primary cause, commences a life of wandering, to throw off, if possible, the agony which haunts him. In the glacier of Montauvert, he has an interview with his persecutor, who succeeds by threats, promises, and intreaties, in obtaining a hearing. The narrative which he relates, has some ingenuity in it; it is the account of a being springing at one bound into the full maturity of physical power, but whose understanding is yet to be awakened by degrees; this manhood of body, and infancy of mind, is occasionally well contrasted. Some of the steps in his intellectual progress, we confess, made us smile. He learns to read by accidentally finding *Paradise Lost*, a volume of *Plutarch's Lives*, *the Sorrows of Werter*, and *Volney's Ruins;* and his code of ethics is formed on this extraordinary stock of poetical theology, pagan biography, adulterous sentimentality, and atheistical jacobinism: yet, in spite of all his enormities, we think the monster, a very pitiable and ill-used monster, and are much inclined to join in his request, and ask Frankenstein to make him a wife; it is on the promise of this alone, that he consents to quit Europe for ever, and relieve his undutiful father from the horrors of an interminable pursuit.

In order to perform this promise, our hero is under the necessity of making a journey to England, for he "has heard of some discoveries made by an English philosopher," (and we wish he had revealed his name,) "the knowledge of which was material"; accordingly, in company with Harry Clerval, he sets off for London. By the way, they saw Tilbury Fort, and remembered the Spanish Armada," (how came they to forget Whiskerandos?)

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"Gravesend, Woolwich, and Greenwich, places which they had heard of, even in their own country." After collecting such information as could be obtained at Surgeon's Hall, the Royal Institution, and the new drop, on the subject of his inquiry, he determines to fix his workshop of vivification in the Orkneys, picking up all the medical skill that was to be learnt at Edinburgh, *en passant*. Here he labours many months, not very agreeable it seems, on what he tells us is but, at best, a "filthy work;" the woman is almost completed, and wants only the last Promethean spark to enliven her, when, one evening, as he is moulding the body to its final shape, he is suddenly struck by the thought, that he may be assisting in the propagation of a race of dæmons; and, shuddering at his own fiendish work, he destroys the creature upon which he is employed. The monster is at hand, and, fired by this unexpected breach of promise of marriage, "wrinkles his lip with a ghastly grin," and "howls devilish despair and revenge," bidding him remember that he will be with him on his wedding-night.

Henry Clerval is found dead on the coast of Ireland, to which we are next conveyed, with marks of violence. Frankenstein is thrown into prison on suspicion of the murder, and his knowledge of the perpetrator, joined to the inability of clearing himself, produces a paroxysm of lunacy. His father succeeds in proving his innocence; and they return in peace to Geneva, with no farther mishap by the way, than a fit of the night-mare at Holyhead. He is married to Elizabeth Lavenza; the monster is true to his promise, and murders her on their wedding-night; in his despair, Frankenstein devotes himself to revenge, and resolves to track the steps of the destroyer of his peace, for the remainder of his days; he pursues him successively through Germany, the Mediterranean, the Black Sea, Tartary, and Russia, and appears to have been gaining upon his flight, at the time the ground sea split the island of ice upon which both were travelling, and separated them for ever.

In a few days after he has finished his tale, Frankenstein dies, and Mr. Walton is surprized by a visit from the monster, who most unceremoniously climbs in at his cabin window. We fear

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it is too late to give our arctic explorers the benefit of his description; *mais le voila.*

"I entered the cabin, where lay the remains of my ill-fated and admirable friend. Over him hung a form which I cannot find words to describe: gigantic in stature, yet uncouth and distorted in its proportions. As he hung over the coffin, his face was concealed by long locks of ragged hair; but one vast hand was extended, in colour and apparent texture like that of a mummy. When he heard the sound of my approach, he ceased to utter exclamations of grief and horror, and sprung towards the window. Never did I behold a vision so horrible as his face, of such loathsome, yet appalling hideousness. I shut my eyes involuntarily, and endeavoured to recollect what were my duties with regard to this destroyer. I called on him to stay." P. 179.

After a short conversation, which Mr. Walton was not very anxious to protract, he takes his leave, with the very laudable resolution of seeking the northern extremity of the globe, where he means to collect his funeral pile, and consume his frame to ashes, that its remains may afford no light to any curious and unhallowed wretch who would create such another. We cannot help wishing, that our ships of discovery had carried out the whole impression of his history, for a similar purpose.

We need scarcely say, that these volumes have neither principle, object, nor moral; the horror which abounds in them is too grotesque and *bizarre* ever to approach near the sublime, and when we did not hurry over the pages in disgust, we sometimes paused to laugh outright: and yet we suspect, that the diseased and wandering imagination, which has stepped out of all legitimate bounds, to frame these disjointed combinations and unnatural adventures, might be disciplined into something better. We heartly wish it were so, for there are occasional symptoms of no common powers of mind, struggling through a mass of absurdity, which well nigh overwhelms them; but it is a sort of absurdity that approaches so often the confines of what is wicked and immoral, that we dare hardly trust ourselves to bestow even this qualified praise. The writer of it is, we understand, a female; this is an aggravation of that which is the prevailing fault of the novel; but if our authoress can forget the gentleness of her sex, it is no reason why we should; and we shall therefore dismiss the novel without further comment.

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GOLOWNIN'S NARRATIVE.

Narrative of my Captivity in Japan, during the Years 1811, 1812, and 1813; with Observations on the country and the People. By Captain Golownin, R. N. To which is added, an Account of Voyages to the Coasts of Japan, and of negotiations with the Japanese, for the release of the Author and his Companions. By Captain Rikord. 2 Vols. 8vo. 18s. Boards. Colburn. 1818.

From the Monthly Review.

From the generality of descriptions of the people of Japan that we have seen, they appear to be the most heroically civilized with respect to integrity, generosity, and disdain of sordid advantage, of any people in the world. Their persecution of the Christians was deemed by them necessary to their defence against usurpation, and to preserve them from falling under the dominion of the Spaniards and Portuguese: but their greatest present danger arises from the Russians, who have long been trenching on their territory, and from whom they have no small reason to apprehend farther encroachment. With these impressions, we sat down to our task of perusing the work before us, not less inclined to be advocates for the Japanese, the absent party in this cause, than to exercise our office as reviewers of Captain Golownin's narrative; and not forgetting that it is the account of Russian intercourse with the Japanese, written by a Russian naval officer.

In 1807, Capt. Golownin sailed from Cronstadt in command of the Russian sloop of war *Diana*, having orders "to explore the coasts of Eastern Russia." The coasts of Eastern Russia! The novelty of this title, the reasonableness of it, and the threats which it imports, awaken in our minds no alarm respecting any events in our own time, but do excite apprehensions as to what may, in the course of a century, be the increase of a power which has been so rapid in its growth, and is so gigantic in its present appearance. Western America may by that time have become Eastern Russia; and it may be the work of united Europe to keep Western Russia within its natural boundary.

What is the natural boundary? Difference of language is the primary and most obvious distinction of different nations, and appears to us to be on all accounts the most natural and legitimate mark for ascertaining just boundaries of dominion or jurisdiction.

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It is from the want of cultivating right sentiment that dishonesty so slowly loses countenance. We so far incline to the doctrine of perfectibility, that we hope and believe there will be a gradual and continual advance towards it; and we sometimes regard the present state of European civilization as little better than barbarism, in comparison of the civilization that is attainable by mankind. Violence and dishonesty are to be considered as marks of the lowest stage of barbarism. The highest degree of perfectibility, to which we conceive that mortals can aspire, is that their political institutions shall have only two main objects, security, and equitable legislation; whence it might follow that increase of territory would be deemed no advantage by any state that was naturally powerful. This is the civilization which we trust will in the end lay the spirit of usurpation, and render power honest, and consequently not merely harmless but protective. The prospect that this amelioration will happen, however, especially in the countries now forming the Russian empire, appears to be far distant; and in the meanwhile we must provide against the mischiefs to be apprehended from rapacious and increasing power.

At the same time, we regard it as an argument against the probability of the Russian empire ever obtaining solidity of power proportioned to its size, that it is composed of many nations, speaking various languages; being in fact a collection of so many conquered people, forcibly brought and held under one subjection. Sauer, in his history of Billing's Expedition, speaking of some small rivers which fall into the Amur, says; "I am induced to be particular with regard to these rivers, because they form a secure retreat to such Yakuti and Tungoose as are dissatisfied with their situations about Yakutsk and Ud. Here they enjoy the protection of the Chinese, and I am told have built several strong places; and, as they are very numerous, they form no inconsiderable advanced guard to the Chinese frontiers. In the year 1787, there migrated to China, from the districts of Olekma, Yakutsk, and the Vilui, more than 6000 Yakuti, with all their effects; which intelligence I obtained from the assessors in the Russian service."

We will no longer delay to enter on the narrative before us. In April 1811, the *Diana* was at Kamtschatka, and Captain Go-

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lownin received orders from the Minister of the Marine, directing him to survey the Shantarian and the Southern Kurile Islands, with the coast of Tartary between Ochotzk and the latitude of 53° 38′ N.; that is to say, from Ochotzk to near the entrance of the river Amur.

Laxman's voyage and embassy to Japan are generally known: but it may be satisfactory to repeat, from Captain Golownin's narrative, the result of that officer's negociation, which was a declaration issued by the Japanese government to the following effect:

"1st. Although the Japanese laws ordain that all foreigners who may land upon any part of the coasts of Japan, the harbour of Nangasaky excepted, shall be seized and condemned to perpetual imprisonment, the penalties inflicted by the said laws shall not be enforced against the Russians in the present instance, as they were ignorant of the existence of such statutes, and have brought with them Japanese subjects whom they had saved on their own coasts; and they shall be permitted, without let or molestation, to return immediately to their native country, on this condition, however, that they never again approach any part of Japan except Nangasaky, even though Japanese subjects should be driven on the coast of Russia, otherwise the law shall be executed in its fullest force.

"2d. The Japanese government returns thanks for the conveyance of its subjects to their native country; but at the same time informs the Russians that they may either leave them, or take them back again, as they shall think fit; for, according to the Japanese laws, such persons cannot be forcibly detained, since those laws declare that men belong to that country on which their destiny may cast them, and in which their lives have been protected.

"3d. With regard to negociations for commercial arrangements, the Japanese can admit of no relations of that sort any where except in the harbour of Nangasaky; for that reason they gave Laxman, for the present, merely a written certificate, on producing which a Russian vessel might enter that harbour, where would be found Japanese officers furnished with full powers to treat further with the Russians on this matter."

This declaration was given by the Japanese in 1793: but no use of it was made by Russia until the year 1803, when the Chamberlain Resanoff was sent as ambassador from the present reigning Emperor. Resanoff's bad manners and management procured a total dismission and prohibition of the Russians from Japan; and it was notified that, if any of the subjects of that empire should be driven by storms to the Russian coasts, they should

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be conveyed home in Dutch and not in Russian ships. After Resanoff's return to Kamtschatka, he sailed to America, in one of the Russian American Company's ships commanded by a Lieutenant Chwostoff.

"He returned to Okotzk with the same officer, and was travelling through Siberia on his way to St. Petersburg, when he fell ill and died. Chwostoff, however, put to sea again and attacked the Japanese villages, on the Kurile Islands. Further information on this subject may be found in Vice-Admiral Schiskhoff's preface to the voyages of Chwostoff and Davydoff. Were Resanoff, and Chwostoff still living, we should probably have ample explanations respecting the proceedings of the latter; but as it is, we ought, in obedience to the old rule, to say nothing but good of the dead! I must observe, however, that I have been informed our government was dissatisfied with the conduct of this officer."

Captain Golownin adds:

"I examined a pilot who had accompanied Chwostoff, and was convinced by his declaration, that the two attacks on the Japanese were unwarrantable arbitrary acts, but that the Japanese had not the slightest ground for supposing the hostilities of two insignificant vessels authorized by the sovereign of a country the power and greatness of which must have been known to them from the descriptions of their countrymen who had lived many years in Russia."

Here we differ from the author in opinion. The Japanese had forbidden the Russians to approach their territories, and this prohibition would give to the attacks of Chwostoff the appearance of national resentment. Capt. Golownin, however, notwithstanding the opinion which he had thus formed, resolved, unless superior orders should otherwise direct him, "to hold no intercourse with the Japanese. My determination was to sail without any flag in the neighbourhood of the islands belonging to them, in order to avoid exciting either fear or doubt in the minds of this distrustful people. But Providence was pleased to ordain otherwise, and probably for the better."

On the 4th of May, the *Diana* sailed from the bay of Awatscha, and the latter part of the month was spent among the Northern Kurile Islands. On the 17th of June, the author came to an island named Eetoorpoo: not knowing whether it was inhabited by Russian Kurilians, by independent native Kurilians, or by Kurilians subject to the Japanese. He relates;

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" I dispatched midshipman Moor, accompanied by the under-pilot Nawitzky in an armed boat of four oars, in order to make observations on the island and whatever they could discover. I soon observed a baidare sailing towards them from the shore, and not knowing what kind of reception they might meet with from the natives, I immediately ran the sloop close in the shore, and along with a midshipman, named Jakuschkin, got on board another armed boat, of four oars also, to hasten to their assistance. In the meanwhile the baidare had come up to our first boat, and having put about they both rowed towards the shore, which I likewise reached in a short time after them.

" On stepping ashore I beheld to my astonishment that Mr. Moor was engaged in conversation with some Japanese. He informed me that some of our Kuriles, belonging to the thirteenth island (Raschaua), who had been driven here by storms in the preceding summer, were still on this island; and that the Japanese having kept them prisoners for about a year, had at length resolved to liberate them and send them home. These Kuriles had been sent out by the Japanese to meet the boat, to inquire what induced us to approach their coasts, and likewise state to him that the Japanese were apprehensive of our designs, and to entreat that we would not set foot on shore. I was exceedingly astonished at hearing this, and asked Moor, with great dissatisfaction how he, after the Kuriles had stated this to him, could dare, of his own accord, and without any order from me, to go on shore with a handful of men among a people so hostile to us, and why he had not immediately turned back and communicated to me what the Kuriles had said to him. He justified himself by saying he was fearful I might have ascribed such conduct to cowardice, and have sent another officer to the island in his stead; adding, that such a disgrace would have been irretrievable and would have rendered his life a burden to him. Though this reason was far from being valid, yet I was convinced that the rash conduct of this officer arose solely from want of reflection and I did not say another word to him on the subject. Mr. Moor pointed out to me the Japanese commander, who was standing on the shore at some distance from his tent. He was surrounded by about eighteen or twenty men, in full military dress and armed with guns and sabres. Each of these men held the but ends of their muskets with the left hand, but without any kind of regularity: in the right hand they held two small lighted matches. I saluted the commander, after the manner of my own country, with a bow; which he returned by raising his right hand to his forehead and bending his whole body towards me. We conversed by means of two interpreters, namely, one of his soldiers, who understood the Kurile language, and one of our Kuriles who could speak a little Russian. The Japanese chief began by asking—" For what reason we had come among

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them?'—If a view to trade, with no base designs upon them, we might sail further till we got behind the volcano, where Oorbeetsh, the most productive part of the island, was situated."

The Captain endeavoured to make them comprehend that Chwostoff's attack on them took place without authority from the Sovereign of Russia. He calls the natives of the Southern Kuriles "the hairy Kurilians:" while the natives of the Northern Islands, subject to Russia, have in general no beard.

"I learnt that previous to the attack made by the Company's ships, the Kuriles had carried on a trade with the Japanese, as uninterrupted and regular as if it had been sanctioned by a duly ratified treaty. The Kuriles brought to Japan bears' and sea-dogs' skins, eagles' wings and tails, and fox skins; the latter, however, the Japanese seldom purchased, and never gave a high price for them; these articles they exchanged for rice, cotton manufactures, clothes (particularly night-dresses), tobacco-pipes, domestic utensils of varnished wood, and other things. The Japanese sell their rice in large and small bags. The large bag is equal to three small ones, and, according to our Kurile's account, is so heavy that a man can scarcely lift it; it may, perhaps, contain about four poods. The barter was conducted according to a convention made by both parties, and without the least attempt at undue advantage on either side. The value of the merchandise scarcely ever varied; the Kuriles usually received from the Japanese:—

"For the skin of a beaver which had attained its full growth, ten large bags of rice.

"For a sea-dog's skin, seven small bags.

"For ten eagles' tails, twenty small bags, or a silk dress.

"For three eagles' tails, a cotton dress, lined with the same material, and wadded.

"For ten eagles' wings, a bundle of leaf-tobacco, which the Kuriles are extremely fond of."

The complaint that the sea-beavers are becoming exceedingly scarce is general at the Kuriles, at the Aleutian Isles, and at all the Russian settlements on the American coast.

The *Diana* proceeded in the examination of the Southern Kuriles to the island Kunaschier; which seems to be the land marked in Janson's chart of the voyage of the *Kastrikom* and *Breskens* by the name of Staten Eylant, and is the island next to the land of Eso or Yesso, but which Captain Golownin calls by the name of its capital, Matsmai.

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As the ship entered the harbour of Kunaschier, guns were fired at her from the castle: but the shot fell short, and she anchored at something more than a mile distance. "The works of the castle were hung round with dark striped cloth, so that neither walls nor palisades could be perceived." A boat from the *Diana* then went towards the shore, but was obliged to return, the Japanese firing at it from different points. Captain Golownin then weighed anchor and stood off to a small distance.

"I imagined," he says, "I could make myself understood by means of signs. For this purpose, on the 6th of July, I caused a cask to be sawed in two, and set both parts afloat in the water in front of the town. In the inside of one half of the cask were placed a glass containing fresh water, a piece of wood, and a handful of rice, to denote that we were in want of these articles; the other half contained a few piastres, a piece of yellow cloth, and some crystal beads and pearls, meaning thereby to intimate that we would give them either money or other articles in exchange for provisions. Upon this half of the cask we fixed a drawing of the harbour, the fortress and the sloop; which was very skilfully executed by the Midshipman, Moor. In this drawing the sloop's guns were very distinctly marked, but fixed in the ports with their tompkins in; but the guns of the garrison were represented as firing, and the balls flying over the sloop. By this means I wished, if possible, to make the Japanese sensible of their perfidy. No sooner had we set the cask afloat and rowed away, than the Japanese immediately seized it, and carried it into their fortress. On the following day we approached within gun-shot of the castle, for the purpose of receiving an answer; having, however, previously made every preparation for an engagement; but the Japanese did not seem to notice us. No one appeared near the works, which were still hung round with cloth.—

"On the 8th of July we observed a cask floating before the town: I immediately weighed anchor in order to take it up. We found that it contained a little box wrapped up in several pieces of oil-cloth. The box contained three papers; one of which was a Japanese letter which we could not read, and the other two were drawings. Both these sketches represented the harbour, the castle, our sloop, the cask with a boat rowing towards it, and the rising sun, but with this difference, that in one the guns of the castle were firing, whilst in the other the muzzles of the cannon were turned backwards. We were a long time occupied in considering these hieroglyphics, and each explained them after his own way; but this will not be thought wonderful, as the same thing frequently happens among greater scholars. We all, however, agreed in one thing, namely, that the Japanese declined holding intercourse with us."

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The Russians, however, were afterward allowed to obtain fresh water from the shore, at a fishing village: whence they also took wood, rice, and dried fish, leaving in their stead as payment some European articles: but these, with the things that had been placed in the cask by which the Russians made their first communication, were put into another cask by the Japanese; after the vessel had completed her water, and thrown into the sea, signs being made to the Russians to send for it.

"I wished, however," says the Captain, "to communicate with the Japanese for other reasons; to assure them that our government had taken no part in the outrages committed by the vessels of the American Company; and that his Imperial Majesty had ever entertained a wish to establish friendly compacts and commercial relations between Russia and Japan. I reflected that my duty to my native country required that I should, in such a case, lay aside all consideration of personal danger. I therefore ordered the sailors, of whom I took four with me, to conceal their arms by wrapping sail-cloth about them, but to be careful to have them in readiness in case of an attack, and we landed at a distance of from sixty to eighty fathoms from the gates of the castle."

Captain G. was met by a Japanese officer, and requested to partake of refreshments, which invitation he accepted: but the treatment manifested towards him had in it at least as much of reserve as of civility. He was asked to go into the castle to have a conference with the Governor, which he answered by proposing that a Japanese of distinction should at the same time go on board the Russian ship. This was declined, and the visit terminated: but, on the morning of the 11th, Captain Golownin again landed, taking with him two of his officers and four seamen. To make a shew of confidence in the Japanese, he ordered the boat to be hauled up dry on the shore, and with his companions walked to the castle.

"On entering the castle-gate, I was astonished at the number of men I saw assembled there. Of soldiers alone, I observed from three to four hundred, armed with muskets, bows and arrows, and spears, sitting in a circle, in an open space to the right of the gate: on the left a countless multitude of Kuriles surrounded a tent of striped cotton cloth, erected about thirty paces from the gate, I never could have supposed this small insignificant place capable of containing so many men, and concluded that

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they must have been collected from all the neighbouring garrisons since we appeared in the harbour.

"We were soon introduced into the tent, on a seat opposite to the entrance of which the Governor had placed himself. He wore a rich silk dress, with a complete suit of armour, and had two sabres under his girdle. A long cord of white silk passed over his shoulder; at one end of this cord was a tassel of the same material, and at the other a steel baton which he held in his hand, and which was doubtless the symbol of his authority. His armour-bearers, one holding a spear, another a musket, and a third his helmet, sat behind him on the floor. The helmet resembled that of the second in command, with this difference that instead of the figure of the moon, it bore the image of the sun. This officer now sat on the left of the Governor, on a seat somewhat lower than that of his superior; he too had his armour-bearers behind him. Four officers were sitting cross-legged on the floor on each side of the tent; they wore black armour, and had each two sabres. On our entrance, the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor both rose up; we saluted them in our own manner, and they returned the compliment. They invited us to sit down on a bench which was placed directly opposite to themselves, but we chose to use the seats we had brought with us. Our sailors seated themselves on the bench behind us. After the introductory civilities were concluded, they entertained us with tea without sugar, in cups which, according to the Japanese fashion, were only half filled; the cups had no saucers, but were handed to us on small trays made of varnished wood. Before they gave us the tea they asked whether we would prefer any thing else. Pipes and tobacco were afterwards brought to us, and the conference commenced. They desired to know our names and rank, the name of our ship, whence we came, whither we were bound, why we had visited them, what had induced Russian ships to attack their villages, and further, whether we knew Resanoff and where he now was? Our answers to these questions were conformable to the statements we had previously made, and were written down by the Lieutenant-Governor. We were next told that to enable them to prepare the proper quantity of provisions we wanted, it was necessary they should know the exact number of our crew. Ridiculous as this question was, they had an object in putting it. On our part we thought it advisable to make our force appear more considerable than it was, and therefore doubled it, calling it 102 men. Alexei could neither understand nor express this number; and I was obliged to make an equal number of marks with a black-lead pencil on paper, which the Japanese counted off. We were further asked whether we had any other ships of the size of the *Diana* in their seas? We answered that we had many in Okotzk Kamtschatka, and America. Among their questions were several of a very in-

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significant nature relative to our dress, customs, &c. They also carefully examined the presents I had brought for the Governor, among which were maps of the globe, ivory-handled knives, burning-glasses and piastres, with which I intended to pay the Japanese for a supply of provisions, as soon as I could ascertain the number they required.

"While the conference was going on, Mr. Moor observed, that naked sabres had been distributed among the soldiers who were sitting in the open space."

Captain G. and his party now found it necessary to make a bold attempt to escape, and even reached the place at which they had landed: but they had left their boat dry on the land, the tide had ebbed, and they found her five fathoms distant from the water's edge. The Japanese soldiers then advanced to them with drawn sabres, obliged them to surrender, and conducted them back to the castle. In the way thither, a soldier struck Captain Golownin several times on the shoulder with a small iron rod, but one of the officers reprimanded him, and he immediately desisted.

We remark that the author has more than once reproached the Japanese with cowardice; for which we find no better foundation than that their slight acquaintance with European arms rendered them occasionally more liable to alarm, than they would have been if they had possessed equal knowledge in that respect with the Russians.

The prisoners were quickly bound, and led by cords from the castle. On their way, they saw the *Diana* under sail; Lieutenant Rikord, who had been left with the command, having weighed anchor on seeing what had passed on shore, not in order to quit the island, but to approach nearer to the castle; and afterward, as the prisoners were marched off, they heard a cannonade, and could distinguish between the firing of the vessel and the firing of the castle. After a journey of ten wersts, they arrived at a village on the shore of the strait which divides Kunaschier from Yesso, where boiled rice was offered to them.

"The ropes by which we were led," says the author, "were attached to iron hooks driven into the wall for that purpose. The cords were inspected every quarter of an hour. At this moment we regarded them [the Japanese] as the rudest barbarians on earth; but subsequent events proved there are worthy men among them."—"We observed that the Captain of our guard frequently received scraps of paper, which he read and handed

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to those about him. About midnight a broad plank was brought in, to the four corners of which ropes were attached; these ropes were fastened at the top, and slung across a pole, the ends of which were laid on men's shoulders, and thus the whole was suspended. The Japanese placed me upon this plank and immediately bore me away. We now concluded that we were to be separated for ever, and that we could entertain no hope of seeing each other again. Our farewell was like the parting of friends at the hour of death.

"The sailors wept aloud as they bade me adieu, and my heart was wrung on leaving them. I was conveyed to the sea-side and placed in a large boat, with a map beneath me."

The alarm of separation was of short continuance, the rest of the prisoners being soon brought to the sea-side, and the whole placed in two boats and transported to the land of Yesso, or, as the author calls it, Matsmai. On arriving at that land,

"The Japanese, assisted by the Kuriles, pulled the boats ashore, without desiring either us or our guards to get out, and having dragged us through several thickets and a little wood, they proceeded to ascend a hill, and as they advanced cleared the road out with hatchets and other implements. We were utterly unable to divine what could have induced them to drag boats of such extraordinary size up an acclivity: we suspected that they had caught a glimpse of the *Diana*, and were consequently fearful of being deprived of their booty. But we soon discovered the real cause, for when the boats had reached the summit of the hill, which was tolerably high, they dragged them down the other side into a little stream which had very much the appearance of an artificial canal."

This stream emptied itself into a large lake.

"We were regularly provided with meals three times a day; namely, breakfast in the morning before we set out on our journey, dinner about noon, and supper in the evening, in our night-quarters. There was, however, little variety in our diet; it consisted usually of boiled rice instead of bread, two pieces of pickled radish for seasoning, broth made of radishes or various wild roots and herbs, a kind of macaroni, and a piece of broiled or boiled fish. Sometimes they gave us stewed mushrooms, and each a hard-boiled egg. There was no limitation as to quantity, every one eat as much as he pleased. Our general beverage was very indifferent tea, without sugar; they seldom gave us sagi. Our guards fared as we did; and I suppose the expense of their provisions as well as ours was defrayed by the Government, for, at each station, the senior among our conductors paid for every thing."

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Not before the prisoners had nearly traversed Yesso from east to west, were the cords by which they were bound so loosened as not to give them torment. Yet much occurs in this journey which produces a favourable impression of the character of the Japanese: though the description of the escort, places their military discipline in no very advantageous light. "It consisted of soldiers who were all of equal rank, and generally directed by the oldest. In cases out of the common course they consulted together." At one place, an inhabitant begged that the guards would allow him to furnish the prisoners with breakfast, and he stood near the boats during the whole of the repast to see that nothing should be wanting. The guards were also in general forward to attend to their wants during the day, but were not pleased if disturbed with any demand in the night. "In every village, on our arrival and departure, we were surrounded with crowds of both sexes, young and old, whom curiosity to see us drew together, and yet on these occasions we never experienced the slightest insult or offence. All, particularly the women, contemplated us with an air of pity and compassion."—They often inquired respecting an European nation called Orando, and a country named Kabo, and expressed surprise and distrust when the Russians declared that they knew of no such people: but the latter some time afterward learnt that the Japanese called the Dutch, Orando, and the Cape of Good Hope, Kabo. The word *Orando* may be regarded as a defect in the powers of articulation of the Japanese; of which an instance occurs in the narrative, where we are told that the captain's name, *Golownin*, was pronounced *Choworin*.

As the Russians advanced in their journey, "the Japanese treated them with increasing kindness. Being informed that the drawing found in the cask was executed by Mr. Moor, they earnestly requested that he would make a sketch of a Russian ship. He set to work with alacrity, thinking he should only have to make one drawing; but having finished his task he was tormented by their importunities, and Mr. Chlebnickoff undertook to assist him." The Japanese were very inquisitive into the nature of the Russian writing, and showed some specimens which they had obtained from Russians twenty years before, and had preserved with great care. The author remarks that these people make use of two kinds of characters in writing; one, the same as the Chi-

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nese, which is adopted in works of the higher order, and by persons of rank. They have also an alphabet for common purposes which consists of forty-eight letters; and "every Japanese, however low his station, knows how to write in this last character. They were therefore greatly astonished that of four Russian sailors not one should be able to write. In our journey we made inscriptions for them on at least a hundred fans and sheets of paper. They never obliged us to write, but always made their requests with much politeness, and constantly thanked us by raising the writing to their foreheads and bending their bodies; and in return they usually gave us some refreshment, or presented us with tobacco."

In captain G.'s account of his approach to the city of Chakodade, we have a beautiful picture of Japanese cultivation:

"From the summit of an eminence," says he, "we beheld a vast plain, and the city of Chakodade before us. On descending, we reached the village of Onno, our last night's quarters, which was the largest, and from its situation by far the most beautiful of any that we had hitherto seen. It lies in the centre of a valley which is about twenty-five or thirty wersts in circumference, and is surrounded on three of its sides by high hills, which serve to shelter it against the cold winds. The harbour of Chakodade and the straits of Sangar lie to the south of the village. The valley is intersected by numerous rivulets and small streams. The village is, as it were, built within a garden, for every house is surrounded by a piece of cultivated ground, which is planted with kitchen roots and oriental trees. Besides the culinary vegetables common in Europe, we also observed apple, pear, and peach trees, and, in a regular order, hemp, tobacco, and rice. Onno is about seven wersts distance from Chakodade."

While reading captain Golownin's narrative, we are continually reminded of the voyage of the Dutch ships *Kastrikom* and *Breskens;* the interesting description of the people of Eso given in that voyage being here corroborated; and, by comparing the two accounts, we are led to conclude that a great increase has taken place in the population of Eso. In the journey of the Russians along the coast, they beheld "populous villages in every bay and creek."

At Chakodade, the prisoners underwent several examinations, on which the author remarks;

"Their doubts and extraordinary questions so irritated us, that we sometimes asked them, how they could suppose, that an insignificant spot

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like Japan, the existence of which was not even known to many of the inhabitants of Europe, could engross the attention of every enlightened nation; or that each minute circumstance attending the plundering of a few of their villages by two obscure merchant vessels, must necessarily be well known? adding, that they ought to be satisfied with our assurance, that the attack was made upon them contrary to the will of the Emperor. At this they usually laughed, instead of feeling in the least offended. They are endowed with a most extraordinary degree of patience. Every question was twice or thrice repeated, and the interpreter was incessantly desired to note every thing down with the utmost exactness: indeed, they were frequently occupied for more than an hour about a single question. But they never testified the slightest dissatisfaction."

We shall find, however, that it was not wonderful that the Japanese were minute and particular in their inquisitions; nor could they have appeared unreasonable even to captain Golownin, when the interpreter produced to him a paper of which the following is a copy:

"In the year 1806, the 12th (24) of October, Lieutenant Chwostoff, commander of the frigate *Juno*, distributed to the chief of the villages on the western coast of the Bay of Aniva, a silver medal and ribband of Wladimir, as a token of the Russian Emperor, Alexander I. having taken possession of the Island of Sagaleen, and placed its inhabitants under his gracious protection.—I therefore request the commanders of all vessels either Russian or foreign, which may hereafter visit Japan, to regard the said chief as a Russian subject.

(Signed) CHWOSTOFF,
Lieutenant of the Russian Fleet."

It may have been seen that, on some occasions, the author's reflections have appeared to us less philosophical than national; but his sentiments and feelings on his first imprisonment by the Japanese are such as every one must approve.

"I thought," he says, "that if shipwreck or any other misfortune had thrown me into the hands of the Japanese, I would never have murmured at my fate, but have born my sad imprisonment with resignation. I should then have cheerfully entered the fortress, willing to render myself useful to the Japanese, and regarding them as friends; or, had I, who was the sole cause of the misfortune, been the only one to suffer from it, I should not at least have been tormented by self-reproach; but seven of my crew were likewise doomed to pay the forfeit of my imprudence!

"My companions sought to banish these feelings of remorse from my mind. Mr. Moor, who perceived that I was harassed with vexation at having been over-reached by the Japanese, referred to several historical ex-

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amples to prove that men of higher rank than myself, such as Cook, De Langle, Prince Zizianoff and others had become the victims of similar accidents. Yet I thought their fate far preferable to my own. They suddenly perished, whilst I was doomed to live, the cause and the witness of the sufferings of my companions."

FOR THE PORT FOLIO.

FORT TICONDEROGA ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN.

(*With an Engraving.*)

For a view of this scene of daring enterprize we are indebted to the ingenious pencil of Mr. H. Reinagle, an artist, of this city. Another view of the same spot will be found in the *Analectic Magazine* for last April. As the military history of this fort is familiar to most readers, and is easy of access to all, we shall merely copy from General Wilkinson's "*Memoirs*," a description of the scite, refering to that work, (vol. I. ch. 2.) for further particulars—or to the journal above cited, where Wilkinson's account is liberally transcribed, though without acknowledgment to that strange and interesting performance.

"I will now resume my narrative with a short description of Ticonderoga, which is situate (situated) about fifteen miles south of Crown Point, and about thirty north of Skeenesborough, where Wood Creek falls into Lake Champlain. It is formed by a sharp angle in the narrow waters of the lake, and an arm of that lake stretching to the westward, which receives the waters of Lake George, at the foot of a precipitous fall of about twenty feet. The stream which connects these lakes makes a considerable curvature to the west, and in the distance of two miles tumbles over successive strata of rocks about 300 feet, the difference of the level between the surface of Lake George and that of Lake Champlain, furnishing a variety of mill sites, accessible to the navigable waters of Lake George, 40 miles, and to those of Champlain and the river Sorel, about 130 miles." *Wilkinson, p. 78. 80. and see p. 64, &c.*

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Laws of the Sea, with reference to Maritime Commerce, during peace and war. **From the German of Frederick J. Jacobsen, advocate; Altona, 1815. By William Frick, Counsellor at law. Baltimore, E. J. Coale, 1818. 8vo. pp. 636.**

THIS work commences with a common-place remark on the necessity of simple laws and an able administration. In stating the deplorable consequence arising from an "*ignorance of what was law at sea,*" the author refers to an illustration which is rather unfortunate. He says immense sums were lost by a single commercial house in Hamburg, during the blockade of the *Elbe and Weser*, because the parties had not informed themselves of *the doctrine of England* on this subject, as it had been previously settled (5 *Rob.* 78) by the earlier decisions of her courts. Thus America by the fate of the *Essex*, *Orme* master, lost several millions," &c. According to this language, *what is law at sea*, is to be learned, not in the great code of ethics, but in the English courts of justice;—in courts which proceed, confessedly not by those rules which prescribe what is right and forbid what is wrong, but according to the orders of the king's privy council. These orders are regulated by political exigencies and become law only because they are promulgated at the mouth of the cannon. The day of their dominion, we trust, has passed away; or if such arrogant claims be asserted we think a court of appeals will ere long be found to protect the rights of humanity, against the usurpations of power.

The object of the industrious compiler of these pages is to give a general view of commercial law. To this task he brings no ordinary advantages. He has studied the best practical jurists among the Italians, the French, English, Dutch, Danish and Germans. During several years he has maintained a correspondence with men conversant in narrative affairs, to which moreover he adds a professional experience of sixteen years. He represents himself as being anxious to contribute more effectually to the protection of private property, before the commencement of hostilities, (p. 31) of which providence Great Britain affords admirable examples—to induce stronger precautions against neutralizing

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and its dangerous consequences during foreign wars, (p. 32) and greater solicitude for the lives and comfort of seamen, (pp. 81. 124) as well as a more liberal education to masters of vessels; (p. 83)—economy as to those wages which are earned with so many perils and pains, (p. 157)—precautions against the frauds of bankrupts in the assignment of the bill of lading, (p. 173) together with a simplification of the ship's papers, (p. 310)—to procure for seamen the advantage of independent counsel (p. 380) —to extend general and correct principles of seizure at sea, securing equally the rights of belligerents and neutrals, (p. 394)— to procure a more certain definition of maritime territory, (p. 415) to afford to mariners a better security, that a deviation for the preservation and safety of others, might not be prejudicial in any respect, (p. 552)—to distinguish carefully between salvage and the mere cases of lighterage, (p. 553)—to procure the appointment of mariners and men learned in maritime law, in decisions on maritime causes, (p. 555)—to procure the grounds of decision to be incorporated with every maritime judgment, (p. 556) &c. Prefixed to each chapter there is a list of "books of general reference," to which the reader may have recourse, if he wish to pursue the subject more fully. These introductions present to an American lawyer, many names of some of which he would desire to know more. The *Consolato*, for instance, which is mentioned in the first chapter, has been translated into English, in this country, though not published, and there is a very minute bibliography of this venerable code, with specimens of the translation in one of the volumes of *Hall's Law Journal*. Our bar has likewise given to the profession, the first English translations of select parts of Pothier, Bynkershoeck, Emerigon, Roccus &c., which deserve notice in this volume, from the translator.

Of the manner in which the translation has been executed, we cannot speak fully, because we have never seen the original; but from an intimate acquaintance with the author, we are satisfied both as to his competency and his faithfulness. The style is very clear, and, with a few exceptions, correct. Like the *Rambler* in Italy whom we have elsewhere noticed, he too thinks he is *necessitated*, (p. 360) to use such vulgarisms as *progressed* (p.

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xxiii) and *obligated*, (pp. 4. 354.) He blunders in the first sentence of his own preface, when he says, that the *want* of a system is a *desideratum*, &c. It is the *system*, in this sentence which the learned have not been able, hitherto, to settle, and which, therefore, is the desideratum. These might be called trifling criticisms, were it not that such instances of carelessness have been neglected, until they are marked as characteristics of the American style. The profession is much indebted to Mr. Frick for so meritorious an employment of his leisure hours, and we recommend his labours to the attention of merchants, whose dealings require some knowledge of the usages and customs of foreign countries, in matters relating to maritime commerce.

Rambles in Italy; in the years 1816-17. By an American. Baltimore, N. G. Maxwell. 8vo. pp. 372.

"I was once in Italy myself," says the honest old Roger Ascham; "but I thank God, my abode was there but nine days." Our American traveller tarried somewhat longer in these classical regions, and he has made a more favourable report than the learned schoolmaster. Italy must always afford matter for profound reflection to the citizen of a republic, because in that nation he beholds an awful warning against those political abuses to which every institution purely human, is more or less liable. Liberty was extinguished in that fair portion of the globe, in the fifteenth century. The very name vanished from Lombardy and Naples; Rome had forgotten all her glory; Sienna, Genoa and Pisa, successively sought shelter from the madness of the multitude in the despotism of individual tyrants. Still the muses lingered in the groves that were once the resort of heroes, and eloquence endeavoured to revive the elevated sentiments of days that were gone. But all enthusiasm soon departed from that fertile soil, and the severe virtues by which ancient Rome had been upheld, could no longer flourish among a degenerate people. Painting is now extinct among them; engraving has become a mere trade; nor can it be expected that science and philosophy would be cultivated, where the manners are directly opposed to the nobler feelings of our nature. Music, which is common to all nations,

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is the only art which has not perished in these delightful climes. Our author feels all the charms and remembers the glories of this country, yet he will not give it the preference in a comparison with America.

'I can imagine a period equally remote from its origin, when the American nation looking backward into time, will feel all the moral interest, which an Italian now feels, who combines in one view the present and the past, and whose imagination associates with the soil he treads, those visions of glory, which will for ever live in the song of the poet, and the narratives of the historian. Italy, vain of the lustre of her acquired fame, timorous and slothful, in a state of inglorious indolence, contemplates her fading splendour. While America, active and daring, emulous of solid greatness is vigorously employing all her resources, moral and physical, in the construction of such a fabric of power and of social refinement, as shall surpass every masterpiece of political skill, that has hitherto existed; and when the creations of the muse shall have given to every section of our country the same charm which they have bestowed upon Italy, our soil, over which nature has profusely scattered her beauties, will possess an inspiring influence, equal, if not superior, to this favoured region, where poetry has gathered her choicest flowers.' p. 16.

Our travelled gentlemen are not wont to talk in this manner when they return from abroad. In order to acquire some character for taste and judgment, they seem to think it absolutely necessary to despise every thing at home, and they talk with the utmost flippancy of European courts and palaces, of which some of them can scarcely spell the names. We wish this book had been more of a ramble through the country, and less of a ramble through the libraries and galleries. The author's descriptions are extremely fresh and animated; and there is a purity in his style, which deserves particular remark. With the exception of the word *necessitate*, we met with no vulgarism, and we believe there is not a single gallicism in his pages. That he has given us so little information respecting the domestic habits and characteristic manners of the people, among whom he sojourned, may be accounted for in the extreme want of hospitality which prevails among the Italians. Their houses are indeed their castles, into which no one is admitted but on gala occasions; all their sociability is reserved for public parade. To this it may be added that they speak as many different languages

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as there are in Great Britain, and each province is offended if its own dialect is not preferred. In Great Britain they claim the exclusive honour of employing legitimate English, though it is difficult to pass from one county to another, without an interpreter. A cockney of the city is shocked at the gross dialect of a Yorkshireman, who in his turn is exceedingly amused with the *lingo* of the *Lunnunner*. The Italians might have an universal medium in the French, but the use of that idiom is confined to the fashionable circles.

A work of so desultory a nature as the "Rambles" defies analysis, and we dismiss it with an assurance that the reader may find something to amuse him in every page. The criticisms on the arts of painting and statuary, with which it is plentifully interspersed, evince that the taste of the writer has been formed from the best models, and the political speculations in which he sometimes indulges, indicate that he was no idle "looker-on." The name of the writer is not prefixed to this agreeable performance, but that circumstance need not prevent us from congratulating our friend on the accomplishment of a work, which induces us to wish, in the language of Dr. Johnson, that "to *relate* his travels had been more his business."

At the end of the volume there is a list of errata, which shows great carelessness somewhere.

ON THE INTRODUCTION OF THE ORGAN INTO THE SERVICE OF THE SCOTTISH CHURCH. *From the Edinburgh Magazine.*

MR. EDITOR,

THE delight which the clergy of Edinburgh seem to take in improving church-music, while it is exceedingly creditable to their taste and good sense, leads to a hope that they will at length sanction the introduction of the organ into our church service. The obstacles which have hitherto opposed this appear now to be reduced to a very small number. In former times, the Scottish Presbyterian ministers opposed instrumental music, for no other reason than because it was used by the Roman and Lutheran churches. More lately, when their own prejudices began to give way, the opposition was continued out of respect to the prejudices of the people; and, at this day, some difficulty may be found

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in any attempt to eradicate what was sown with so much care, and nourished until the root became too mighty to be moved. But the sturdiest oak at last yield to age; and time effects, without effort, what baffles the strength and ingenuity of man. We have had the good fortune to live to see the mighty stem of prejudice begin to decay, and we may hope soon to see the mouldering of the root.

An argument which I lately heard stated against the use of the organ, and which seems to be the last that is likely to have any weight with the strict Presbyterians, deserves, in my opinion, some more particular notice, than any of the foolish unmeaning cant which, in past times, was found sufficient to keep prejudice alive. It has been stated, that, when the human frame is so constituted as to derive pleasure from music; the gratification of the ear becomes more important than the duty to that being to whom praises are sung. I must confess that, at first, this argument felt somewhat weighty; and I was rather at a loss how to answer it, although I was at once satisfied that it could be answered. It appears to me that much, if not the whole, of its force may be neutralized, and perhaps overcome, by attempting to resolve these simple questions, Are we to praise God in a manner agreeable or disagreeable to ourselves? and, Are we to believe that the Supreme Being is better pleased with what we dislike than with what is gratifying to us?

The clergy of Edinburgh, and by far the greater number of the whole church, have distinctly allowed that it is proper to sing psalms *in parts;* and some of themselves are known to bear their parts extremely well. The object of the Institution for Sacred Music, and of all the subordinate psalm-singing societies, is to teach singing in parts. Now, this is undeniably for the gratification of our own ears, and a clear admission that we believe that which gratifies ourselves to be agreeable to Almighty God. Now, I would ask, Is there not as much risk, if not more, of the attention being called away from the object of devotion, by the care which is requisite to keep the voice in tune, (in whatever part it may be adapted to,) as in going along with the heavenly sounds of an organ? In the care which the clergy of all parties and persuasions have of late bestowed on the improvement of psalm-

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singing, there is a clear admission that we ought to sing in tune, in time, and in parts: or, in other words, in a manner *agreeable to ourselves*. It follows of course, that the admission must extend to the belief that the Supreme Being is best pleased when we sing according to those laws which *he has himself ordained for sound*. He has also so constituted us, that we are offended when any of those laws are broken.

I believe that it is very generally felt, by all who are devout and who have a musical ear, that their devotion is powerfully roused by the accompaniment of an organ. I humbly conceive that such is human nature, as to justify a parallel between worship and manual labour. The mind and the body are in such close connexion, that when the one is pleased the other is also pleased, and when the one is depressed and languid, the other feels oppressed. Some farmers in your vicinity take advantage of this fact; and it is easily observed, that the poor Highland reapers work more cheerily to the accompaniment of a bagpipe than when they are left to think on the distance they have travelled to earn their food, and a scanty pittance to maintain them on their dreary journey homewards. How lustily do boatmen row, when the cadence of a song regulates their strokes! How steadily the ploughboy, and his horses too, keep on a measured pace when he whistles! So I maintain it is with worship. The earnestness with which a psalm is sung when accompanied, far outstrips the languor and harshness of voices, each voice pitching it own key, and drawing out its tone in discord, to the often untuned voice of an unlearned precentor. How dull and sleepy a congregation becomes, when a sermon, however well composed, is delivered in a voice neither melodious nor impressive! How eagerly it is listened to when the intonation and emphases are skilfully and agreeably employed upon language properly adapted to the organs of pronunciation!

Every one is offended when a voice in church is out of time or tune; and this so frequently happened, that the clergy themselves were sensible that some remedy was necessary; and, accordingly, to be able to teach church music, is a qualification commonly required in parish schoolmasters. But it has never been stated as a reason for improving church music, that the improvement would

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be agreeable to the object of worship. The reason was, undeniably, that it was necessary to remove what was offensive to ourselves, and to substitute what was agreeable. How very short the next step is need not be demonstrated. To call in the aid of an organ, to direct our voices, and to add force and solemnity to the sound of the praise which we offer, cannot be less pleasing to our Maker than were the sounds of the harp, the dulcimer, the sackbut, psaltery, cymbals, &c. which his chosen people employed in their devotions.

It is no unfrequent argument in the pulpit, "You pay respect to the great men of the earth; how much more ought you to pay respect and give honour to Him, who is greater than the greatest?" If, when we entertain a great personage, we offer to him every thing which can gratify sense, why should we not add to the power of our voices the finest artificial sounds that can be produced, when we offer homage to Him on whom we all depend? Such sounds gratify no gross sense: they sooth and elevate the soul. We have ceased to think that the Almighty can be pleased with the fat of oxen and the blood of lambs; and mankind have now reached that eminence on the mountain of knowledge, from whence they look down with pity on the ignorance of man while in that state which required much ceremony to impress on him the awfulness of heavenly majesty. But still we consider melody as acceptable; and we now universally admit that harmony is proper. If an organ be objected to, because it is artificial, the same objection ought to have excluded harmony, which is also artificial. If harmony adds force and agreeableness to the voices of a congregation, the force and agreeableness are vastly increased by the accompaniment of an organ; and surely, if improvement be sought for at all, there can be neither reason nor sense in fixing a limit to it. The more agreeable church service can be made, the more will men be attracted, and the more earnestly will they perform it. Nay, I maintain, that, if a man can be attracted into a church by no other wish than to hear an organ, a most important object is gained; for, if a sinner be once tempted to behold the good assembled and joining in devotion, his heart may be turned, and he may repent. Can there be any thing bad in what may pro-

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duce such an effect as to draw the heart of a sinner towards the seat of mercy and forgiveness?

The performance of voluntaries, in the English service, has been objected to, and, I am disposed to think, justly. Lovers of music are apt to be employed, during the performance of such pieces, in judging of the merits of the composition, of the skill of the organist, and of the power and other qualities of the instrument. I must acknowledge, however, that I have heard voluntaries of a character which powerfully impressed on me a feeling of deep solemnity; and an organist of judgment may, unquestionably second the preacher in a very effectual manner. On the whole, however, I am against voluntaries, and every thing in which the congregation does not join.

I will not occupy your pages, nor the attention of your readers, longer at present. There may be objections to the introduction of the organ of which I am ignorant, and which I should be happy to see fairly and candidly stated. *Toleration* is all that is wanted; not that every Presbyterian church should have an organ. It is well known, that, in an extent of Scotland, nearly equal to one half, the gown and band dare not be worn, lest the wearer should be stoned; but it is tolerated elsewhere, and those who do not wear it find no fault with those who do. I trust that the time is at hand, when those congregations who may chose to have organs, will be as little molested as those whose pastors preach in the gown and band. I conclude by observing, that those of Scotland are the only Presbyterians, I believe, who have not organs in their churches. A very fine one, built under the direction of a Scotch minister, Mr. Liston, has been lately sent to the Scotch church at Calcutta.

—I am, Sir, yours, A PRESBYTERIAN.

Edinburgh, October 1817.

FOR THE PORT FOLIO.—OBITUARY.

On Tuesday the 23d of June 1818, departed this life, at his seat in *Charlotte county, Virginia*, Paul Carrington, Esq. in the 86th year of his age.

This venerable and highly respectable gentleman was perhaps the oldest of the few surviving patriots, who took an active part

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in the counsels of his country, in her first struggles for liberty and independence. It is remembered that he was a member of the house of Burgesses as early as the year 1772, and perhaps at an earlier date; and that he continued to represent the county of Charlotte, both in the general assembly, and in the several conventions, which the dissolution of the general assembly rendered necessary, until the period when a committee of safety was established for the protection of the *people of the colony*, from the tyrannical administration of their royal governor, lord Dunmore. Of this committee of safety, the late venerable Edmund Pendleton was president, and the late patriotic governor John Page, and colonel Carrington, the subject of this article, were two of its members. They continued to administer the government until the adoption of the constitution of the state, in May, 1779.' In October, 1777, he was chosen one of the judges of the general court, then first established, and incidentally, became one of the judges of the court of appeals, as organized by the act of May, 1779; which exalted station he continued to fill, until the constitution of the court of appeals was changed to its present form, about ten years after—of which he was then chosen a member. He continued to discharge the duties of this important office, until about eight years ago, when, apprehending that his health was in some degree injured by the labour and confinement attached to it, he resigned, and retired to his country seat, in Charlotte county, where he enjoyed a surprising degree of health, activity and cheerfulness, notwithstanding his very advanced age, until a few days before his death. The illness of which he died was not alarming, until the last two days. He met death, as might have been expected, after a life well spent, with the utmost composure and calmness; a circumstance highly consoling to his numerous descendants and friends, who were struck with the deepest anguish at the sudden approach of that awful event. His character, and services to his country entitle him to the grateful remembrance, and perfect respect of those who knew him, either in early life, or after he was advanced to the exalted station which he so long filled with the utmost fidelity to his country, and honour to himself.

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FOR THE PORT FOLIO.

SONG.—GENERAL MONTGOMERY.

[The following lines are ascribed to a private who fought under the banners of Montgomery while he lived, and who mourns his untimely fate, in strains, which though not very poetical, are "warm from the heart and faithful to its *griefs*."]

Come soldiers all in chorus join,
And pay a tribute at the shrine
Of brave Montgomery:
Which to the memory is due,
Of him who fought and died, that you
Might live and yet be free.

With cheerful and undaunted mind,
Domestic happiness resigned;
He with a chosen band,
Through deserts wild, with fixt intent,
Canada for to conquer went,
Or perish sword in hand.

Six weeks before St. John's we lay,
While cannon on us constant play,
On cold and marshy ground;
When Prescott, forced at length to yield,
Aloud proclaimed it in the field,
Virtue a friend had found.

To Montreal he wing'd his way,
Which seemed impatient to obey,
And open wide her gates;
Convinced no force could e'er repel,
Troops who had just behaved so well,
Under so hard a fate.

With scarce one-third part of their force,
Then to Quebec he bent his course,
That grave of heroes slain!
The pride of France, the great Montcalm,
And Wolf, the strength of Britain's arm,
Both fell on Abraham's plain.

Having no less of fame acquired,
There, too, Montgomery expired,
With Cheesemen by his side;
Carleton, 'tis said, his corse conveyed
To earth in all the grand parade
Of military pride.

—

FOR THE PORT FOLIO.

To ————.

Weep not my love!
Weep not, although we part for ever;
Our hearts shall prove,
Though fortune coldly frowns, oh never,
Shall time the cord of union sever!

The rose, my fair,
That glows upon thy breast to-day,
Will wither there,
And like the autumn leaves decay,
Forgotten soon and passed away!

But love will know,
No autumn in thy sunny breast,
But brightly glow,
'Till Heav'n to sooth a heart, so blest,
Shall take it to eternal rest!

ORLANDO.

FOR THE PORT FOLIO.

WRITTEN ON THE OCCASION OF VISITING MOUNT VERNON.

20th June, 1818.

Although no trophied arch sublimely rears
O'er him whose death drew forth a nation's tears;
Although no sculptur'd marble points the eyes
Where the great father of his country lies;
Yet to this spot, by gen'rous feeling led,
With sacred awe shall many a pilgrim tread,
And while his vows to freedom are address'd,
Feel purer virtue kindle in the breast!
The soldier pausing in this hallow'd scene,
Shall muse on martial fields that once have been,
Rouse as the squadrons glitter in the view,
Mix in the fight and vict'ry's shouts renew!
The statesman, studious of his country's weal,
Shall linger near, where Freedom loves to dwell,
Invoke the genius that preserv'd the state,
Guided her destinies and made her great!
Impassion'd youth be seen with silver age
Bending where sleeps the hero, patriot, sage!
Here virgin hands the flow'ry tribute bring,
And strew the sweets that earliest scent the spring;
And mothers teach to lisping lips the name
That virtue consecrates to endless fame!
Oh, Washington! there needs no storied urn,
No proud mausoleum, whence thy worth to learn:
Thy country is thy monument, impress
With each bright feature that can make it blest;
And the deep gratitude of ev'ry heart
Shall partial time to ev'ry age impart,
Thy verdant laurels triumph o'er decay,
And flourish still when time shall fade away!

A.

—

FOR THE PORT FOLIO.

TO A COQUETTE.

Imperious Fair, who long my mind hast swayed,
And long hast played th' unfeeling tyrant's part,
No more shalt thou my liberty invade,
Or hold, in abject bonds, my vassal heart.

No more I'll be a woman's pliant tool,
Rul'd by her airs, caprices, and distrust;
No more I'll act the easy, amorous fool,
Driven to and fro by every female gust.

The native freedom of the godlike mind,
Should never crouch in Cupid's servile chain:
To be the slave of love 'twas ne'er designed,
Or hear capricious beauty's flippant reign.

Wouldst thou thy arts, thy levities, forbear,
I'd pay sincerest homage at thy throne;
Wert thou as soft and kind as thou art fair,
This willing heart thy gentle sway should own.

But since, rejecting wisdom's sage control,
Thy actions speak thee frivolous and base;
Since ev'ry passion that infests the soul,
Finds, in thy changeful breast, a ready place;

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Since affectation claims thee for her child,
And coy Disdain sits haughty on thy brow;
Thy giddy heart since Fashion has beguil'd
At her gay shrine with fervent zeal to bow.

I from this hour thy empire will renounce,
And strive t'erase thy image from my breast;
Now to thy charms a long adieu pronounce,—
Those charms which once could cheat me of my rest.

But, while my long-lost heart I thus reveal,
From the fair object of its first desires,—
Some pangs I feel for one who caus'd my thrall,
For one who rais'd the flame that now expires.

I trace, with anxious thought, that early day,
When first thy form seduced my gazing eyes;
When first I bask'd in beauty's fervid ray,
And hail'd the prospect of a lovely prize.

Soon did those sweet but guileful moments glide;
Thy native folly soon assum'd the reign;
Soon adulation swell'd thy heart with pride;
Soon wert thou fickle, volatile and vain.

I'll now pursue a less inconstant fair,
Whose heart in unison with mine may beat;
Whose soothing voice may chase each rising care,
And who with fond return, my love may greet.

—

EPIGRAM.

ON THE NOMINATION OF A NEW MEMBER OF BONAPARTE'S LEGION OF HONOUR.

In ancient times—'twas no great loss,—
They hung the thief upon a cross;
But now, alas! I say't with grief,
We hang the cross upon the thief.

—

FOR THE PORT FOLIO.

EDGED TOOLS.

Cries *Bob* enrag'd—"you are the worst of liars!"
"Are you in earnest, sir?" *Will* quick inquires:
"I am;"—"'Tis well you are, if life has any worth—
I take such *jokes* from no man, sir, on earth!"

—

FOR THE PORT FOLIO.

REFLECTIONS OF A RECLUSE.

Days of my youth! ah! whither have ye fled!
Moments of innocence, of health and joy,
Unruffled by the thoughts of wordly care!
With throbs of sad delight how oft I sigh
When recollection paints thy scenes anew.
My steps ye led to halls where minstrels struck
The breathing lyre, to sing of beauty's charms,
Or chivalry's heroic deeds;
Not then I poured
The melancholy song of memory;
No solitary tale my idle hours could tell
Of sorrow; Hope departed, or Despair.
My dulcet harp was strung to rapture's notes;
Its jocund strings re-echoed themes of love,
Or careless carol'd what young joys could teach.
When twilight came I sought the mountain's brow
To mark her solemn grandeur hastening near.
Then, ah! then I woo'd the charm of silence,
Far from the pageant show of restless man,
The pomp of pride, the sneer of haughtiness;
Malice, with quivering lip, and gnawing care;
Envy, that blasts the buds whose perfume dyes
She feign would equal: green-eyed jealousy;
And spectres of despair, whom memory brings
To haunt the slumbering dreams of guilty men.
Of these yet ignorant, and their power unfelt,
I rioted in youth's unheeding dreams,
And quaffed the cup of roseate health and joy.
But I am changed now!
If e'er I smile, 'tis as the flower of spring
Whose tinctures blooms through drops of morning dew!
And when the once lov'd charms of Solitude
I woo, amid the valley's silence,
Or on the high hill top where thunders loud
Proclaim to man the majesty of God;
'Tis not to bathe in dreams of shadowy bliss,
Or fondly muse on dreams of wild romance:
To weave a sonnet for my mistress' brow,
Or con an artless lay to sooth her ear!
No cheerful thoughts like these my feet entice
Through tangled dells or o'er the mountain's height!
Hopeless and sad in gloomy nooks retired,
When silent moon-beams play upon the wave,
I muse on visions fled, of treacherous love,
Of joys departed, and deceitful hopes.
Me now no more the balmy breeze of spring,
Nor summer's streamlets murmuring through the grove,
Nor changeful winds that yellow autumn brings,
Can yield delight—stern winter's joyless gloom
Suits with my bosom's cold and cheerless state!
Life's purple tide no more salubrious flows;
The vernal glow of hope is fled: and joy
No more shall glad my once contented sot:
False, fickle woman drove her smiles away.
All hail December's chilling skies!
Come, darken more the anguish of my soul;
Bring with thy gloomy hour despair's sad shades—
Bring all the load that misery prepares
To gall us through the rainy road of life;
Bring silent Sorrow with her bitter bowl:
Bring lovely woman, with her syren smiles,
Like transient meteors to seduce our steps:
Bring care, with self-consuming wants oppress'd,
And doubt, to lead us from the onward path,
And sharp solicitude to vex our nights.
Let war, too, throw her lurid glare around,
And turn the savage from his hunter toils,
To raise the tomahawk and bend the bow.
In her funereal train attendant,
Let famine stalk, and with insatiate hand
Fell plunder, knowing neither friend nor foe;
And violence, to stain the soldier's name.
Let bloody slaughter loose to dye our soil
With gore, and teach the world what evils wait
On foolish counsels and ambitious schemes—
Accursed schemes! that saw no wrath denounced
On souls remorseless shedding human blood.
Detested plans! which bade the cymbal strike,
Roused the loud clarion, and made the cannon roar,
To drown the Saviour's voice, proclaiming loud
To God on high be glory given; on earth,
Let Peace among mankind for ever reign.

SEDLEY.

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Washing Machines in exchange for a Shrievalty.

We notice in the Adams Centinel, an advertisement by John Sweney, offering himself as a candidate for the shrievalty, and points out, to particular notice, the following:

"I have obtained an exclusive right from the president of the U. S. for an improvement on the Washing Machine;—if I am elected, this I give to the county of Adams, for every one to make, use, and sell, as they see proper. I ask for this your votes. J. S."

Certainly the good people of the county of Adams, will not a moment hesitate in giving their suffrages to one whose claims are strengthened by such *washing* recommendations. His advertisement breathes so manifest a spirit of generosity, in offering to barter a palpable and material substance, for that which is in itself impalpable and immaterial, that we feel fully convinced he cannot fail of the mark. *York Recorder.*

—

Newspaper Anniversary.

It is one hundred and fourteen years, this day, (observes the Boston Intelligencer of the 24th April,) since the first No. of the first newspaper printed in America was issued from the press. The Boston News-Letter was first printed 24th April, 1704. The American Weekly Mercury was first printed in Philadelphia 22d Dec. 1719. In New York, the New York Gazette was first printed 16th Oct. 1756. In Rhode Island, the Rhode Island Gazette, Oct. 1732. No paper was published in Connecticut till 1755—nor in New Hampshire till 1756—nor in Kentucky till 1787.—In 1790, the first paper was published in Tennessee.

Could the first publisher of the Boston News-Letter have beheld, in prophetic vision, the numberless gazettes which are now printed and circulated in every part of the U. S. his astonishment and pleasure would not have been less than that of the hero of the Lusiad, when Thetis gave him a prospect of his "nation's glories."

—

The following resolution of the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Virginia, lately assembled at Winchester, is furnished for publication by the secretary of the Convention, for the purpose of giving the earliest information upon the subject, which is considered interesting and important.

In Convention, 22d May, 1818.

Whereas differences of opinion prevail as to certain fashionable amusements; and it appears desirable to many, that the sense of the Convention should be expressed concerning them; the Convention does hereby declare its opinion, that gaming, attending on theatres, public balls, and horse racings, should be relinquished by all communicants of this church, as having the bad effects of staining the purity of the Christian character—of giving offence to their pious brethren—and of endangering their own salvation, by their rushing, voluntarily, into those temptations, against which they implore the protection of their Heavenly Father: and this Convention cherishes the hope, that this expression of its opinion will be sufficient to produce conformity of conduct, and unanimity of opinion among all members of our communion.

The above is a true extract from the proceedings.

WM. MUNFORD,
Secretary to the Convention.

Alexandria, 26th May, 1818.

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The Soldiers of the Revolution.—At the last session of Congress, an act was passed for the relief of those soldiers who had waded through the war by which our independence was achieved. In this appropriation of the revenue, we see more active virtue than was shown in all the expenses which have been lavished upon ridiculous experiments, and useless foreign embassies. The following letter from a gentleman of the bar in Yorktown, Pennsylvania, describes, with great feeling and effect, the appearance of a number of venerable clients, in whose behalf he claimed the benefit of this law.

"The act of congress for the relief of soldiers of the revolution, is of a singular character and effect. That class of people had seemed to have retired from the world. This age had not seen them at all; the last had scarcely seen them, or but seen them to bid them a final adieu. The lanes and back streets of our towns, or the sequestered vales of our country, it is true, were sometimes said to be favoured with here and there a solitary one. But like witches or ghosts, they were oftener heard or talked of, than seen. 'New lords and new laws,' rose up one upon the heels of another, but neither the deeds of the first, nor the effects of the last reached them. They seemed like extremities of the body politic, which remained cold, inactive, palsied, dead. Medicine after medicine might be administered to the vital parts, but the extremities remained useless and comfortless, and in a measure lifeless. But the vivifying act in question, was no sooner passed, than its effects seemed to thrill through every vein and nerve of the body politic, and these old stumps and broken bones, and rigid nerves, and fleshless sinews, began to move, and live, and grow. Here and there you might see them tottering in second childhood, with their old brows half relaxed from wrinkles, inquiring for those who would aid them in procuring their country's bounty Like infancy, they seemed instinctively to know there was nourishment at the breast, but were too helpless to reach it. They seemed to come forth in numbers not before supposed to exist, and indeed it was gladdening to see so many venerable heroes yet in being. We look upon them as we would upon the swords with which our fathers hewed their way to glory; the instruments with which our country's liberty was achieved. But these remarks may as well give place to the muster-roll of sergeant Thomas's squad. It contains the names of those who made application through the writer of this article for the relief provided by the act.

1	Sergt.	Francis Thomas,	aged	80.
2	Corporal	Michael Elly,	,,	61.
3	Music,	Thos. Burk,	,,	58.
4	Private	Joel Gray,	,,	75.
5	,,	James Hogg,	,,	63.
6	,,	Val. Hertzog,	,,	60.
7	,,	Phil. Wagoner,	,,	74.
8	,,	Thos. Randolph,	,,	71.
9	,,	John Brown,	,,	67.
10	,,	John Horn,	,,	72.
11	,,	John Deis,	,,	60.
12	,,	Con. Pudding,	,,	64.
13	,,	Joseph Wren,	,,	81.
14	,,	Samuel Spicer,	,,	81.
		Total years of age,		967.

Averaging 69 years of age each! It is to be questioned whether any sergeant in christendom, could produce such a command as this under sergeant Thomas. Old, shrivelled, needy, bowed down, shivering under the frost of seventy winters! Yet cheerful and ready to "shoulder the crutch, and show how fields were won."

Joel Gray—He may indeed be abdressed in the style of the old ballad, and make the same response;

"O why do you shiver and shake
Gaffer Gray?
And why does your nose look so
blue?—

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I am grown very old
And the weather 'tis cold,
And my doublet is not very new."

Thos. Randolph—Better known here as "Old Tommy Randals," the standing bug-bear of childhood, and likely to rival the most celebrated "Boog-a-hoos" of any past age. We sincerely hope his sooty notes of "sweep O"—"sweep O," will soon be exchanged for more cheerful ones. Indeed he has scarcely a *note* of any kind left, as he is now the tenant of the poor house, having been some time ago gathered to that promiscuous congregation of fatherless, motherless, sisterless, brotherless, houseless and friendless beings, each of whom is little less than *civiliter mortuus*.

Michael Elly.—This old winter beaten and woe-worn veteran, during the battle of Germantown, observed a cannon ball approaching his squad, bouncing on the ground from place to place, threatening the legs of his command with sudden destruction. With admirable presence of mind he wheeled his men on their right and left, to make a vacancy for it to pass, and wheeled into his place in the line again, with great regularity and composure. "Right, corporal Elly," said his officer, "always make way for gentlemen whose business requires such *despatch*."

Joseph Wren.—This old man's body and spirit seem to be equally light. He travels his thirty miles a day with ease. His appearance reminds you of the Egyptian mummies, so celebrated for their fresh and life-like appearance after the lapse of centuries. During the deluge (not Noah's flood nor yet Deucalion's, as you might have supposed from his ancient date, but the deluge which buried a third part of our town in ruins, on the ever memorable 9th Aug. 1817,) old Wren, like the lively bird of his own name, perched himself in a snug corner of the garret of a two story frame house and went to sleep. The house rose on the bosom of th deep, plunged all but the garret into the waves, and was dashed from surge to surge, till it lodged against a tree. Five persons were drowned! "side by side they lay," in a room of the second story of the house. *Joseph slept on.* At length when the God of Nature held out the olive branch of hope to the terror struck tenants of the roofs of the tottering houses and the flood subsided, so that the "dry land appeared,"—when the mighty ocean that had been, as it were, created in a moment and precipitated upon us, gathered itself into the mild and unassuming Codorus again, Joseph's abode of death, where youth and health and female excellence and manly virtue, had been buried in the waves, was visited—and *still he slept.* When he was awakened he rubbed his eyes, not certain they were his own, nor whether he was Joseph Wren any more; for he knew not where he was, unless it might be in some place on the other side of the grave. Thus, indeed, has Joseph Wren had "hair breadth escapes," in the "forest wild and city full," and is spared to be made glad by something very unlike the "ingratitude of republics." What a spectacle is sergeant Thomas's venerable, honourable and ancient squad!—Their history is all eventful. Poor, old, lame, blind, deaf and forgetful! They never looked to see this day. They have been bandied about from pillar to post, often without a home, or stated place of residence.* Almost every one has lost his discharge, and most of them, in the language of William Murphy's petition, have no evidence but their own words, their age, their poverty and their scars, of having faithfully served their country, and of being in need of its support.

THE SOLDIER'S FRIEND."

*So true is it that they, many of them, have no home, that on being asked where they reside, they often reply with a melancholy smile at the oddity of the thing, "almost any where."

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NEW INVENTIONS.

John Edwards, of Urbana, in the state of Ohio, has lately obtained letters patent from the United States for two valuable improvements. The one is a water-wheel to be used were only a small head of water can be had; but where there is sufficient body and current, as is frequently the case in the western country, the wheel must be peculiarly useful. It rises and falls in such a way as not to be obstructed by back water, being on a screw shaft. The other is for what he terms a suction pump: it is constructed on entirely new principles, not depending on producing a vacuum by valves, or by forcing with a piston; but by hollow cones made of leather passing through a tight tube. This pump can be used for raising water to any height, for mills, &c. and may be worked by the water-wheel.

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Congress.—It cannot have escaped the observation of those who have attended to the legislative history of our country, that, with the growth of our government, the complexion of Senate of the United States has gradually varied from that which it appears to have worn in the infancy of our political institutions; and that the character of its deliberations more and more nearly approaches that of the representative chamber. The senate, on its first organization under this constitution, secluded itself from the public eye, and appears to have been considered rather in the light of a privy council to the President, than as a co-ordinate branch of the legislature. Indeed, if we mistake not, it was so termed in conversation occasionally, if not in official proceedings of that day. There are not many, probably, of the present generation of readers, who remember the fact, that in the first session of the first Congress of the United States, president Washington personally came into the senate, when that body was engaged on what is called executive business, and took part in their deliberations. When he attended, he took the vice-president's chair, and the vice-president took that of the secretary of the senate; one or other of the secretaries occasionally accompanied the president on these visits. The president addressed the senate on the questions before them, and in many respects exercised a power in respect to their proceedings, which would now be deemed entirely incompatible with their rights and privileges. This practice, however, did not long continue. An occasion soon arose of collision of opinion between the president and the senate, on some nomination, and he did not afterwards attend, but communicated by message what he desired to lay before them. At this period the legislative as well as the executive proceedings of the senate were always transacted in secret session; and the public knew of the proceedings of that branch of the government only from its messages to the other house announcing its decisions. It became evident, however, that in practice, all responsibility to the constituent, under such circumstances, was ideal; but, it was not until the 20th of February, 1794, after a considerable struggle, that the senate came to a resolution that its legislative proceeding should, after the end of that session, be public, and that gallaries should be provided for the accommodation of auditors. On this question we find the yeas and nays registered, nineteen members having voted for it, and eight against it. The senate has gradually parted with the character of reserve, which appears to have belonged to it. By the increase of its numbers from the admission of new states into the Union, its legislative business has become so laborious, that its peculiar character of an executive council is almost overlooked, notwithstanding the great importance of this feature in our government;

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and the debates in the senate are of much greater length, at this day, in proportion to the numbers composing the body, than those of the house of representatives. *Nat. Int.*

—

POMPEII.

From Kotzebue's *Travels* in Italy.

A great rich town, that, after lying eighteen centuries in a deep grave, is again shone on by the sun, and stands amidst other cities, as much a stranger as any one of its former inhabitants would be among his posterity of the present day; such a town has not its equal in the world. The feelings which seized me at its gate may be very faintly expressed by words, but admit of no adequate representation. My foot now steps on the same pavement as was trodden on eighteen hundred years ago; the tracks of which are still visible which then rolled over it. An elevated path runs by the side of the houses, for foot passengers; and, that they might in rainy weather pass commodiously over to the opposite side, large flat stones, three of which take up the width of the road, were laid at a distance from each other. As the carriages, in order to avoid these stones, were obliged to use intermediate spaces, the tracks of the wheels are there most visible. The whole pavement is in good condition; it consists merely of considerable pieces of lava, which, however, are not cut (as at present) into squares, and may have been on that account the more durable.

What must have been the feelings of the Pompeians, when the roaring of the mountain and the quaking of the earth waked them from their first sleep. They attempted also to escape the wrath of the gods; and seizing the most valuable things they could lay their hands upon in the darkness and confusion, to seek their safety by flight. In this street, and before the house that is marked with the friendly salutation on its threshold, seven skeletons were found: the first carried a lamp, and the rest had still between the bones of their fingers something that they wished to save. On a sudden they were overtaken by the storm that descended from heaven, and sunk into the grave thus made for them. Before the above mentioned country house, was still a male skeleton standing with a dish in his hand; and as on his fingers he wore of those rings that were allowed to be worn only by the Roman knights, he is supposed to have been the master of the house, who had just opened the back garden gate with the intent of flying, when the shower overwhelmed him. Several skeletons were found in the very posture in which they had breathed their last, without being forced by the agonies of death to drop the things which they had in their hands.

—

Modern Eloquence.—Some of the good folks of Connecticut, tired of living in peace and quietness without a Constitution, have resolved to call a convention for the purpose of framing a scheme of government. The following are given as the very words of two of the most distinguished advocates of this important measure. The speeches appeared in a paper which is on the same side with the orators, and the editor never saw their absurdity, we suppose, until the whole state was in the full enjoyment of a hearty laugh, at the expense of these Ciceronian Solons.

Mr. Burrows—in a speech of considerable length, advocated the calling of a convention, to form a constitution of civil government. "Let us," said he, "form a constitution for to let the people know what it is. I am told by gentlemen that we have a constitution, consisting partly of the charter of Charles II. and partly of usages and customs. It is impossible for me, for to tell what it is in the main. I would have a constitution, Mr.

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Speaker, for to tell the people what the consitution is. The reason I would have a constitution is, for to make the constitution as simple as possible. The more simple a piece of machinery is, sir, the more easy it is for the beholder to understand the nature of it, sir. This constitution ought to be made for to secure the rights of the people—for to limit the power of the legislature—for to define and secure the rights of conscience.—Without a constitution, sir, it is easy for the legislature to oppress the poor people. I hope, sir, the bill upon your table will pass for to enable the people for to form a constitution of civil government for themselves."

"Mr. Channing: Mr. Speaker—I think, sir, the subject under the consideration of this house, is one of boundless magnitude. I have been so much engaged upon the committee of finance, that I have not been able to give to it that mature consideration which its unimmaginable importance demands of the members of the legislature of Connecticut. I am excessively sorry, sir, to see the least indication of opposition to the great, the important, the very important subject now under the consideration of the deliberation of the immediate representatives of the people of the state of Connecticut. I understand, Mr. Speaker, from the various parts of the whole state of Connecticut, assembled meetings of the numerous people were very generally and very universally attended. From this unequivocal elucidation of their deliberate reflection upon this unparalleled subject, we certainly, sir, learn their unbiassed opinion upon a subject which has, from the earliest ages of antiquity, down to the present very enlightened period of the world, occupied and overwhelmed the solemn consideration of the greatest statesmen——I hope the bill will pass" —

ANECDOTES.

Marshal Saxe.—It is notorious, says Marmontel in his incomparable biography, that with much nobleness and dignity of soul, the marshal was fond of mirth and jollity. By taste, as well as by system, he loved merriment in his armies, saying that the French never did so well as when they were led on gayly, and what they most feared, in war, was weary inactivity. He had always a comic opera in his camp. It was at the theatre that he gave the order of battle; and on those days the principal actress used to come forward and say: *Gentlemen, to-morrow there will be no play, on account of the battle the marshal gives; after to-morrow* the Cock of the Village, with the Merry Intrigues, &c.

—

Fredonia.—"What is the matter," said I to my friend Irritabilis, who was in the act of throwing upon the floor one of Mellish's beautiful maps, as I entered his study; "Matter!" quoth the angry student, "I am reading Dr. Mitchill's appendix to *Cuvier's Geology*, in which he says something about 'Fredonian writers.' Now, I have been these two hours hunting in every longitude and latitude for *Fredonia*, and this man has entirely omitted it." I told him that I supposed it was only to be found in the *Limbus patrum* or Limbo of *Milton*,* and assured him that among the American writers *Dr. Mitchill* was the only person who had ever mentioned it; and I gave him further satisfaction by assuring him that a certain 'John Cleves Symmes, of Ohio,' together with about 'twenty credible persons,' were about to proceed to that unknown region, under the auspices of the worthy Doctor, in search of '*thrifty* vegetables' for the Elgin garden; animals to stock the wilds of the western country, and men to dig the *great* New-York canal.

* —— a Limbo large and broad, since called
The Paradise of Fools. Par. Lost. III. 495.

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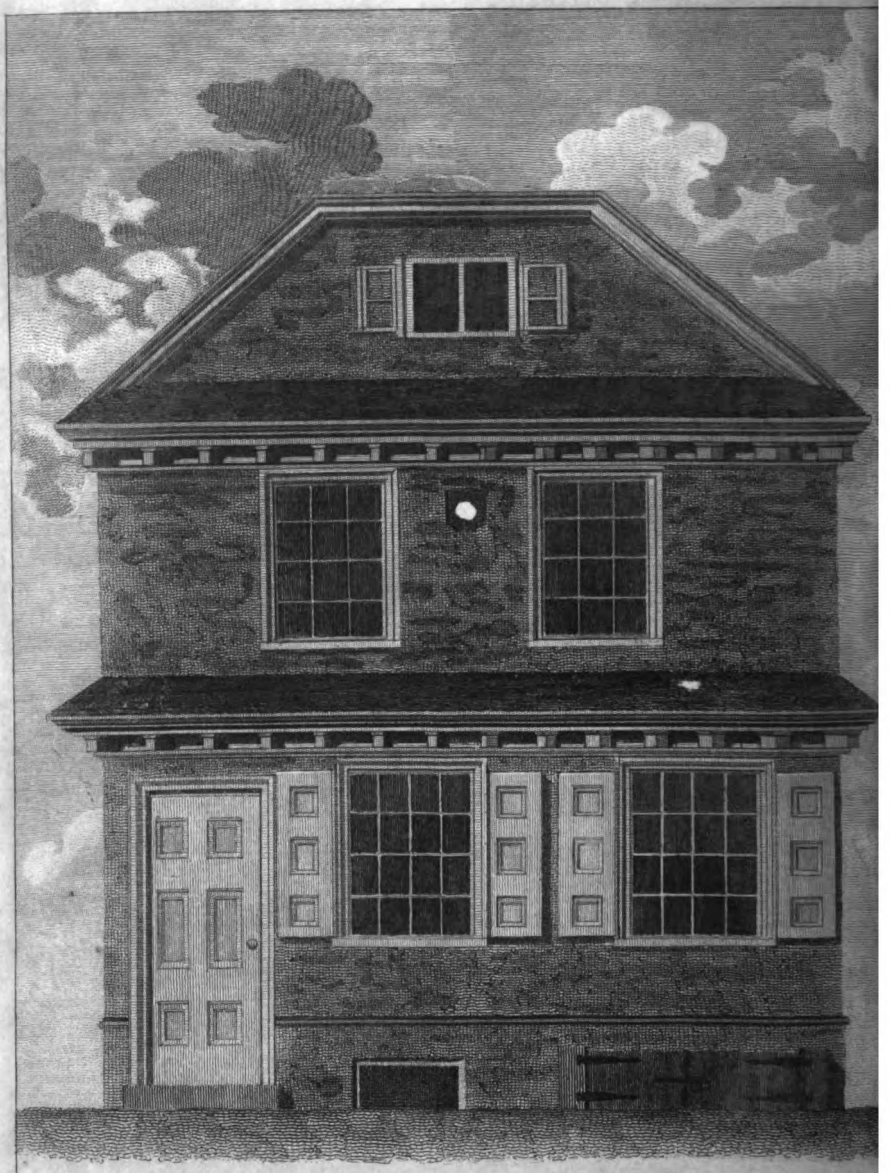

Residence of the late Anthony Benezet N? 115 Chesnut Street Philadelphia Drawn from the original for Roberts Vaux by William Strickland Arch.t *March 4.th 1818*

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THE PORT FOLIO,

FOR

OCTOBER, 1818.

Embellished with a VIEW of ANTHONY BENEZET'S Mansion.

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TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

THE author of a very interesting article on "the Soldiers of the Revolution," vide our last, page 236, informs us that when his clients call upon him to learn how many more days of poverty must be endured before they learn the result of their applications to government, he endeavours to atone for the delay, "telling them with exultation, that their names have appeared in the Port Folio; that they are enrolled among the Muses; that they have become the quarter-guard of Apollo and their rations in future will be nectar and ambrosia. To this fine talk," continues our correspondent, "they give no other heed, than to tell me with a great deal of indifference, as they bite off a quid of tobacco, that they *never heard of that* PORT *before, and as for that Apollo, if indeed he be any thing of a great man, he can't be better than the old general that they fought under*," &c. We wish we could give, as we are requested, such information respecting our "magnificoes," the "fire-rob'd god" and "the thrice three muses" as would compensate these veterans for the tardy steps of national gratitude. They who cannot barter "all their fame for a pot of porter and safety" must have something more substantial than nectar; and though "Apollo plays and twenty caged nightingales do sing," it is, after all, but lenten entertainment. Ours is "a golden care, that keeps the gates of slumber open wide to many a watchful night," and it is scarcely requited with the obolus of the war-worn soldier.

"D——r" arrived too late for this number. We hope our unknown correspondent does not mean to make use of these pages to convey any personal allusions? If he has no such intention, why alter the original? We shall cheerfully gratify him in a future number, if this suspicion be removed.

The communication from the author of the ode "To Time" is tardy; but very acceptable. The alterations which we ventured to make in his *MS.* and to which he is so candid as to submit, were rendered necessary, we trust, by the haste and inadvertency of the writer. He has the enthusiasm of the poet, but he must not disdain the labour of careful revision. In his *figures* we wish him to ask himself how they would look if they were represented by a painter. In plain words, he is often indistinct: he thinks more of words than things, and sometimes mistakes the jingle of bells for the sounds of "Apollo's lute."

The epitaph on "Major Francis" is a curious relick, and shall be preserved,—many such remains might be found throughout our country, which would reward the investigations of the antiquary, and fortify the statements of history.

The remarks on the *Episcopal Church* would lead us to forbidden grounds. Religion and politics are topics on which we promised to abstain. We dare not touch the ark with our hands, and the arena of political strife is filled with pidgeons from the haunts of ambition.

A Reader, who inquires about a letter from Mr. Moore, the poet, which has been stated in Mr. Bristed's work to have been addressed to the Editor of the Port Folio, may, perhaps, be answered in our next.

Communications on subjects connected with the *Useful Arts* will always be welcome.

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THE PORT FOLIO.

FOURTH SERIES.

CONDUCTED BY OLIVER OLDSCHOOL, ESQ.

Various; that the mind
Of desultory man, studious of change
And pleased with novelty, may be indulged.—COWPER.

VOL. VI. OCTOBER, 1818. No. IV.

FOR THE PORT FOLIO.

ANTHONY BENEZET'S MANSION.

It is not only praiseworthy to honour and imitate the virtues, and respect the manners and customs of our ancestors, but gratifying even to look upon the fields they have cultivated, the trees they have planted, and the buildings they have occupied.—In many parts of Pennsylvania, there yet remain some of the primitive dwellings, and substantial improvements, of the early emigrants from Europe; but in the city of Philadelphia, such has been the rapid career of its prosperity, so great the changes in the families of the original proprietors, such the appropriation of ground to the purposes of business, or for the accommodation of opulence and ease, as to afford scarcely a vestige of the style of architecture adopted by our goodly and adventurous predecessors. It is but a few months since one of the oldest, *if not the first brick house* erected in Philadelphia, was torn down, to give place to a more spacious structure, and we believe that edifice to have been the last *specimen* in this city, toward which the curious inquirer in these matters, might have been directed.—This building stood on the north side of Chesnut, between third and fourth streets, and for many years previous to its removal, was appropriated to the purposes of a currier. It was erected by David Brientnall at

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least a century ago, and it is said that when it was ready to be occupied, he thought it too *grand and costly to reside in*, and he was on that account induced to rent it to a governor of the Island of Bermuda, who came hither about that time, to reside for a season, with the hope of improving his declining health. More than fifty years since, this mansion was purchased by *Anthony Benezet*, who occupied it until his death in 1784. Having been the residence of that philanthropic person,* as well as in consequence of the antiquity of the building, Mr. Vaux had a drawing of it taken just before it was demolished, in the month of March last. From the original picture in the possession of that gentleman, we have had the plate engraved, which embellishes this number of the Port Folio.

FROM CAPTAIN GOLOWNIN'S NARRATIVE OF HIS CAPTIVITY IN JAPAN.

(*Concluded from p. 222.*)

In the account given by us, in our number for April last, of Capt. Golownin's narrative, we left him and his companions almost in the infancy of their captivity, at Chakodade, a city of Yesso, during the summer of 1811: but, in the latter part of September, they were removed to Matsmai, the principal city. The length of their detention, and the adventures which befel them in this land being of a different complexion from any which have happened in the intercourse between the Japanese and other Europeans, have brought us to a more familiar acquaintance with the character and genius of the Japanese, without causing a change of our opinion respecting them in any material particular.

In a savage state of society, men are little moved by curiosity, but generally see with apathy those things which have no relation to their immediate wants or to their amusements, and are

* *Vide* Memoirs of the Life of *Anthony Benezet* by *Roberts Vaux;* reviewed in our work for July 1817.—We are gratified to learn that this modest memorial, has been reprinted in London; an honour which is not often conferred upon our literature.

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very seldom excited by a desire of improvement. Curiosity and a thirst for knowledge, however, form a predominant feature in the character of the Japanese; and in all civilized communities it is seen that, in proportion as men are secluded from society, their wish to know what is passing abroad is increased. Many of our readers have, no doubt, experienced, or they may learn from Cowper, with what eager anxiety, when shut up in the country by winter, bad roads, and distance from the next market-town, the hour of the day is expected on which the butcher, the baker, or the newsman will arrive. The most remarkable instance of this kind of curiosity, which we remember, is that of Lieutenant John Macluer, a sea-officer, who was employed by the East-India Company to survey the Pelew Islands; and was extraordinarily well qualified in his profession. Captivated by the simplicity of manners of the Pelew Islanders, by the romantic descriptions of Keate, (than which few are more calculated to call forth sensibility,) and possibly by some object yet more attractive, he determined to give up the command of his vessel to the officer next in rank, in order to marry a young Pelew woman, and to settle among that people, intending to pass with them the remainder of his days in the enjoyment of tranquil happiness. He first completed, in a masterly manner, the survey of the islands, and then put his design in execution, was landed, and the vessel departed. At the end of fifteen months, however, he embarked in a canoe with some Indians to go to Ternate, one of the Molucca Islands, as he himself stated, "to hear the news!"—The curiosity and inquisitiveness of the Japanese respecting foreigners are in like manner whetted by their self-seclusion from the rest of the world; and this feeling has been augmented with regard to the Russians by apprehensions entertained of their designs, and of their power.

It was as much an habitual amusement as a business at Matsmai, for the governor to have his Russian prisoners brought daily before him for examination, till every question had been many times repeated and answered, and the impatience of the Russians under these interrogatories forms a diverting contrast with the mildness of the Japanese. The Captain says;

"From the 6th of October to the end of the month, we were conducted regularly every day, or every other day, to the Bunyo [the Governor],

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who usually detained us the greater part of the day, so that our attendants were obliged to carry our meals to the castle. The number of questions which the Bunyo asked was incalculable. If he put one interrogatory concerning any circumstance connected with our case, he asked fifty, which were unimportant, and many which were ludicrous. This so puzzled and tormented us, that we sometimes made very insolent replies. We once stated plainly, that we had rather they would put an end to our existence at once, than torture us in the way they did. Who would not have lost patience on being asked such questions as the following? When I was taken, I had ten or twelve keys of my bureau and drawers, and of the astronomical instruments belonging to the ship. The Bunyo wished to be informed of the contents of every drawer, and every box. When I pointed to my shirt, and told him that my drawers contained such things as these; he asked me how many I had? I told him, with some degree of ill-humour, that I did not know; and that it was my servant's business to keep that reckoning. Upon this he immediately inquired how many servants I had, and what were their names and ages? I lost all patience, and asked the Japanese why they teazed us with such questions, and what use such information could be to them, since neither my servants nor property were near me? The Governor then, with great mildness, observed that he hoped we were not offended by his curiosity; that he did not intend to force any answers from us, but merely questioned us like a friend. This kindness immediately calmed our irritation, and we reproached ourselves for the rude answers we had given."

Shortly afterward, the interpreter introduced to them a young man named Teske, to whom the Bunyo wished them to teach the Russian language; because, he said, the Japanese government required all foreign papers to be translated by two interpreters. After some hesitation, they resolved to give this new interpreter instructions until the Spring, by which time they would see whether or not the Japanese were inclined to grant them their liberty. The Bunyo also wished them to enable him to draw up a statistical account of the European countries: but, to avoid being troubled with innumerable questions, they remarked that persons who, like them, had spent almost the whole of their lives at sea, could not be expected to give all the particulars which the Japanese might wish to obtain. They were then politely told that the Japanese would be perfectly satisfied with such information as the Russian officers were capable of affording them. It is added that Teske showed extraordinary capacity even in the first

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lessons, had an excellent memory, and pronounced the Russian words with such facility that the gentlemen conjectured that he had previously acquired the language, and was purposely concealing his knowledge of it. He was soon able to read, and proceeded to enter in a vocabulary the words which he heard his instructors speak, spelt in the Russian alphabetic character; and he "learned more in a day than Kumaddschero (the other interpreter) in a fortnight."

Teske, moreover, was not contented with his own acquisitions, but carried his brother to the Russians, with a request from the Bunyo that he also should be taught. This occasioned sharp and angry words on both sides, and Teske left them in a violent passion.

"We expected," (says Captain G.) "that this affair would be followed with some disagreeable consequences, but we experienced none. Next morning Teske came to us with a very friendly air, and apologized for the angry manner in which he had expressed himself on the preceding day, and for having thus indiscreetly given us offence. He attributed his conduct to a passionate character which he inherited from nature, and prayed that we would forget what had passed, and again become friends. We, on our part, also thought it prudent to apologize, and a reconciliation was of course soon accomplished. Teske now brought his brother with him, but merely in the quality of a visitor."

When the prisoners were conducted to their examinations, if it rained, an attendant walked by the side of each, holding an umbrella over his head. Among the interpreters employed at the examinations, were the two Japanese who had been carried off by Chwostoff; and who, after having been detained during a winter at Kamtschatka, had been sent back, and landed on an island near Yesso.

One of the most interesting acquaintances made by the Russians during their imprisonment was with a Japanese geometrician and astronomer.

"This person, named Mamia-Rinso, had been sent from the Japanese capital. The first time he came to visit us, he was accompanied by our interpreter, who informed us that he had shortly before quitted Yeddo, from whence the government, by the advice of a physician, who was skilled in the European practice, had sent us some medicines to prevent the scurvy, a disorder which is extremely frequent and dangerous in Japan. These

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medicines consisted of two flasks of lemon-juice, a number of lemons and oranges, and a considerable quantity of dried herbs, of very fragrant smell, and which, according to the directions of the Japanese, we sprinkled in our soup. The Bunyo, besides, took this opportunity of sending us three or four pounds of brown sugar, and a box full of red pepper in husks, boiled in sugar, of which the Japanese are very fond. But we quickly discovered that these presents were intended to persuade, or rather to force us to communicate to the Japanese geometrician our methods of taking nautical and astronomical observations. To this end he was continually making solicitations. He showed us his instruments, which consisted of an English sector, and astrolabe, with a compass, a case of mathematical instruments, and quicksilver for forming the artificial horizon, and requested that we would show him how the Europeans employed these things. He visited us every day, and frequently remained with us from morning until evening, during which time he gave us an account of his travels, and produced his plans and sketches of the different countries he had visited. We inspected them with the greatest curiosity. The Japanese looked upon him as a very learned man. They always listened to him with the utmost attention, and wondered how he could have travelled to so many different places: he had visited all the Kurile Islands, as far as the seventeeth Sagaleen, and even the land of Mandshuren, and had sailed through the river Amur.—He had a small still with which he made spirits from rice, and which was kept constantly going. He drank freely of the liquor himself, and shared it as readily with us, to the no little satisfaction of our sailors. He could ascertain the sun's height, from the natural or artificial horizon, with his sector, and knew how to find the latitude of a place by observing the sun's altitude at noon. In his calculations he used some tables of declination, and other helps of that kind, which he said had been translated into Japanese from a Dutch book. As we had none of our tables in our possession, we could not well decide on the accuracy of those he employed."

Mamia-Rinso had also been a warrior, and had been wounded by the Russians when Chwostoff landed. "He declared that, after Chwostoff's attack, the Japanese had it in contemplation to send three ships to Okotzk, in order to raze that place to the ground. We used to laugh at this boast, observing, that we were sorry the Japanese had not sent thither thirty, or even three hundred ships instead of three, as we were certain none of them would ever have got back. He, on his part, appeared offended at this observation, and asserted that the Japanese were not inferior in war to other nations. I must here remark, that this was the first Japanese who ventured, in our presence, to swagger and assume importance on

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account of his military skill."—Though this man was decidedly inimical to the Russians, they conversed together on friendly terms. He maintained that the Japanese had well-founded reasons for believing that the Russian nation entertained evil designs on them; and the officers learned from Teske that he had declared to the governor that their arrival at Japan was not accidental, but that they had been sent thither for the express purpose of acting as spies. They were not informed of all the arguments which he adduced in support of his assertion, but those that were mentioned by Teske were highly ludicrous. This interpreter assured them that Mamia-Rinso had not succeeded in altering the good opinion which the Bunyo of Matsmai had entertained of their conduct; yet his representations had produced a considerable effect in the capital (Yeddo), where not only the government but the greater part of the people were prejudiced against them.

Let us examine the evidence which Captain Golownin himself has furnished of his intention, previously to his sailing from Kamtschatka:

"I will briefly state the plan I intended to follow. I resolved to sail direct from Kamtschatka to the Strait of Nadeschda between the Islands Matua and Rashaua, and to regulate my chronometer according to their situation in case I should find no opportunity for lunar observations. I then proposed to steer along the southern coasts of the Kurile Islands, and to commence my observations with the Island of Ketoi, which had not been seen by the Nadeschda, and so on with every island in succession until I arrived at Matsmai; next to sail between the Islands Eetooroop and Matsmai, and to explore the whole northern coasts of the latter until I should reach La Pérouse's Straits."—"I resolved to hold no intercourse with the Japanese, and to sail without any flag in the neighbourhood of the Islands belonging to them, in order to avoid exciting either fear or distrust in the minds of this distrustful people."

Here, in the outset, is plainly acknowledged the intention to examine the shores of the northern Japanese territories; and to go as it were in disguise, by carrying aloft no flag, that alarm might not be created. When with this circumstance is considered the progressive extension of the Russian dominion over all the northern Kurilian Islands, we think that Mamia-Rinso had reason to regard the coming of the Russians to their coasts as not accidental, but rather as a clandestine visit for the purpose of spying the

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land, to see whether it was good, and with a view to future enterprizes.

Many causes had contributed to prevent the most plain and obvious precepts of religion and morality from having, in any perceptible degree, corrected in mankind the pernicious love of dominion. In most of the European states, particularly, the religious establishments are so formed as to be subservient to the executive power; and consequently the morality of religious doctrine is rendered so flexible, that successful usurpation and conquest are sanctioned with a benediction. For more than two centuries, Christianity has been proscribed in Japan; which happened in consequence of the Europeans who visited that country being so much infected with this ambitious vice, and endeavouring to make their religion an instrument for the attainment of their interested purposes. We read that the first converts to Christianity in Japan, who were persecuted for their faith by the state, remonstrated to the following effect: "Before the coming of the Christians," said they, "there were twelve different religious sects in Japan, and the government took no offence at any one of them. It can be but of little consequence whether the number of religions is twelve or thirteen, and therefore why are we persecuted, and not like the rest allowed to choose for ourselves?" To this question the governor replied; "Before the coming of the Christians, every Japanese regarded his own religion without concerning himself about the religion of his neighbour or of any other man; but this new sect work continually to make proselytes, to make their own sect more powerful than all the rest."

If *The Wife of Bath's* Knight might justly say to the Queen,

"My Lady liege—
What all your sex desire is sovereignty,"

it would have been coming nearer to the whole truth if the Queen had retorted with the same compliment on the other sex: but the story did not well admit it.

The character of the Japanese is naturally far from distrustful. Formerly, they were, more than other inhabitants of the East, a maritime and commercial people: their ships were seen in almost every part of India; and their ports were open to vessels of any and every nation. In their dealings with each other, also, they are

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open and frank. To close the present argument, however, we acknowledge it must be admitted that, with respect to Europeans, the Japanese *are* a distrustful people; and captain Golownin, not to be behind hand with us in candour, may grant that they have sufficient reason for being so.

In order to show contempt for the Chinese, the Japanese have adopted particular customs merely for the sake of dissimilarity: but, in their deliberations on subjects of any moment, if the business be not of an urgent nature, their slowness of decision is equal to that of the Chinese. Their government would come to no determination on the measures to be observed with their Russian prisoners; and the imaginations of the latter dwelled on the horrors of perpetual imprisonment, or at least of never being permitted to return to their own country. Captain Golownin, therefore, on consulting with his officers and men, resolved on attempting to escape; the plan proposed being to look along the seacoast for some vessel which they might seize, and in her convey themselves to Ochotzk, or to Kamtschatka. Before they had finally arranged their operations, a defection happened in their party. Mr. Moor, a midshipman, whose father was not a Russian, was desirous of remaining in Japan: he accordingly refused to join in their scheme; and they had the additional difficulty to encounter of keeping their resolves secret from him. The narrative thus continues:

"On the 23d of April (1812) we were conducted to the outskirts of the city to walk. Under pretence of mere curiosity, we requested the Japanese to lead us to a pagodo, which stood near the cemetery, and which had recently been built after a fire. We had thus an opportunity of observing the footpaths which we might pursue in the course of our flight.

"It may be here observed, that the Island of Matsmai is entirely covered with hills. The ground is no where level, except on the coast, and at short distances from the base of the mountains, which raise their summits in every direction, and are separated from each other by deep ravines. This extraordinary chain of mountains, which is high and low by turns, extends over the whole island; the midland parts of which are uninhabited. All the Kurile and Japanese villages lie along the coast.

"As we passed through the fields, we gathered wild leeks and garlick, in such great quantities, that Mr. Moor, who thought we wanted it for present use, could have no idea that we were on the eve of making our escape-

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"On our return home, we felt extremely fatigued, and threw ourselves on our beds. During the twilight the sailors entered the kitchen, and carried off two knives, without being perceived. About half an hour before midnight, Simanoff and Schkajeff stole into the yard, and concealed themselves under the steps. When twelve o'clock struck, and the Sangar soldiers had gone their rounds, they began to make a hole under the fence through which we all (Mr. Moor and Alexei excepted) crept one after another. I stumbled in going out, slipped down, and struck my knee against a stake which was sunk in the ground close to the opening. The blow was extremely violent, but the pain soon diminished.

"We found ourselves on a very narrow path between the fence and the hollow, so that it was with the utmost difficulty we succeeded in gaining the high road. With hasty steps we then passed between the trees, crossed the mound, and the cemetery; and, in about half an hour, reached the foot of the first hill which we had to ascend."

The hurt in the captain's knee rendered this a most painful adventure to him; and more than a week passed without their being able to make themselves masters of any vessel. Generally in the day-time they concealed themselves in the woods: but they had been traced, and their progress carefully watched without its being opposed, till an opportunity offered for surrounding them in such a manner that resistance and escape were equally impossible, and they were again secured without any person being hurt. It was no doubt deemed important by the Japanese that they should be taken alive, because, if any of them were killed, this circumstance might throw obstacles in the way of negotiating afterward with the Russians. The prisoners were marched back to Matsmai. At their examination, the Bunyo asked, "Did you know that, if you had succeeded in your project, I and several other officers must have answered for your escape with our lives?—Is there any European law by which prisoners are justified in making their escape?" They answered, "there is no written law to that effect: but, when a prisoner has not pledged his parole of honour, he is never considered as culpable in making his escape." The Bunyo then made a long speech, the substance of which was as follows:

"Had you been natives of Japan, and secretly escaped from your prison, the consequence might have been fatal to you; but as your are foreigners and ignorant of the Japanese laws, and more particularly as you did not escape with a view to injure the Japanese, but for the sake of returning to

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your native country, which it is natural you should prefer to every other, our good opinion of you remains unaltered."

They were, however, now confined in a real prison, in which, though not in the same apartment was a Japanese criminal:

"The crime which this man had committed was that, at a public bathing house, he changed his old clothes, as if by mistake, for a better suit belonging to some other individual. He was several times conveyed before a judge, with his hands tied behind his back. At length, he received twenty-five stripes, and the same punishment was repeated after the lapse of three days. What instrument was used in the infliction of this chastisement we know not, but we distinctly heard the stripes, and the cries of the offender. He returned with his back naked and bloody to prison. The attendants spat on his shoulders and rubbed the saliva over the lacerated parts, and thus cured him. His hands were afterwards marked, to shew that he had been punished, and he was then sent to the northern Kurile Islands, in the possession of the Japanese.—

"On the same day," continues captain G., "an officer, with the criminal Judge, Matataro, and the interpreter Kumadschero, came, by order of the governor, to say, that we must not suppose, in consequence of the execution of the sentence on this criminal, that a similar fate awaited us; for, according to the Japanese laws, no foreigner could be condemned to suffer corporeal punishment. We looked upon this assurance as merely intended to console us; but we afterwards learnt, that a law to this effect really exists; and that the only foreigners to whom its protection does not extend, are those who attempt to induce Japanese subjects to embrace Christianity."

A change of governors took place at Matsmai about this time. It seems that some of the most important districts of the Japanese dominions have two appointed governors, one of whom resides at court, and the other in the province or district to be governed; and they relieve each other annually. On the present occasion, as the departing governor had treated the Russians with much kindness, it was proposed by them to address a letter of thanks to him previously to his removal. This was done in a style which the French would call *superbe*, and translated by their friend Teske into the Japanese language. "We observed in our letter," says the captain, "that fate, in ordaining we should become the prisoners of the Japanese, had, to our good fortune, singled out the period when Arrao-Madsimano-Kami was invested with the government of Metsmai." The Bunyo, on reading Teske's trans-

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lation laughed at this passage, and inquired whether we supposed that any other "Japanese nobleman, in the like situation, would not have treated us with equal kindness."

In August, the Russian ship Diana, now commanded by captain Rikord, arrived at Kunaschier, and in moderate and proper language demanded the release of the detained Russians: but the Japanese officer at Kunaschier, from hatred to the Russians, and in the hope of provoking them to attack his garrison, sent back Rikord's messenger with the false intelligence that the Russian prisoners had all been put to death. Instead of assaulting the garrison on shore, however, captain Rikord commenced hostilities by capturing a Japanese vessel; the crew of which, rather than be made prisoners by the Russians, threw themselves into the water and endeavoured to swim to the shore: but some were taken, and nine were drowned. From those who were captured, the Russian captain learnt that Golownin and his people were still living. Captain Rikord, however, sailed to Kamtschatka, carrying with him a Japanese named Tachatay-Kachi, a man of great distinction, who was also a rich merchant and the owner of twelve ships. When the account of this transaction was communicated to captain Golownin, the conduct of the Kunaschier commander appeared to be regarded generally by the Japanese as spirited and meritorious, and not as deserving of censure. Of this affair we cannot judge, having the evidence only of one party.

In June, 1813, captain Rikord returned to Runaschier. Of six persons who had been carried away captives, Tachatay-Kachi and two more Japanese were brought back; the others, two Japanese and a Japanese Kurilian, had died. Captain Golownin states that, a few months before this arrival of captain Rikord,

"The relations of Tachatay-Kachi, who were much concerned for his fate, inquired of a priest in Chakodade whether Kachi would ever return to his native country? This priest pretended to possess the gift of foretelling future events. He accordingly pronounced the following prophecy: "Kachi will return in the ensuing summer with two of his companions, the remaining two have perished in a foreign land."—The Japanese informed us of this prediction; but we laughed, and told them that, in Europe, such a prophet would be punished for an impostor, and he doubtless was one. The Japanese, however, thought otherwise, and assured us that many of the former prophecies of this priest had been fulfilled. Captain Rikord's subse-

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quent arrival of course inspired them with fresh confidence in the prophetic powers of their priest, and they triumphantly inquired whether we were not convinced that he possessed the gift of penetrating into futurity? They expressed no little astonishment when we declared all his successful predictions to be the effect of mere chance."

This is an extraordinary story, both in itself and in the manner of its being related. That many have a wavering belief in supernatural communications must be obvious; and also that many have a wavering and infirm disbelief of them. We should guess the author to be of the incredulous class.

Captain Rikord was now informed that the Japanese government required from the Russian government a formal disavowal of having authorized Chwostoff's attack; and for this purpose captain Rikord sailed immediately for Ochotzk. On the 24th of September he returned, and anchored in Edomo or Endermo harbour in Yesso. On approaching the harbour, he sent on shore a written application for a pilot, and a supply of fresh water; requesting also that his letters might be answered in the common and not in the high language, because his interpreter Kisseleff (one of the Japanese sailors) could read only the former. Provisions of every kind were immediately sent to the ship: but, as to answering his letters in the common language, the Japanese observed that, according to their laws, no person of distinction might sign official papers in the vulgar tongue. This kind of state writing has been one of the greatest impediments to the advancement of knowledge in the East. In a similar manner, the Koreans are said to employ the Chinese characters for their printed books and for state-concerns, but to have a more convenient mode of writing in common use, with which they can with ease express the names of things. Captain Golownin remarks that every Japanese knows how to write in the common language, and it was a matter of astonishment to them to find that of four Russian sailors not one could write.

On the 28th, captain Rikord delivered to the Japanese two letters from the Russian authorities in Siberia.

"The first, which by the Bunyo's order was brought to us for translation was an answer from Mr. Minitzky, the commandant of the Ochotzk district, to the demand of the two officers next in rank to the Bunyo. Mr Minitzky clearly explained that the proceedings of Chwostoff were quite

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unauthorized by our government, that the Emperor of Russia had always been favourably disposed towards Japan, and that he had never entertained a design to injure the subjects of that empire. He accordingly advised the Japanese to prove, by our speedy liberation, their friendly disposition towards Russia, and their readiness to terminate differences which had arisen out of their own mistakes, and the reprehensible conduct of an obscure individual. He added, that every delay on their part must be attended with injurious consequences to the Japanese commerce and fisheries; as the inhabitants of the coasts would be severely harassed by the Russian vessels in case further visits to Japan on account of this affair should be necessary."

The language of this address was imperious, and far from conciliatory; yet the Japanese expressed themselves pleased and satisfied "that the explanations it contained were sufficient to produce a thorough conviction that Chwostoff had acted without the sanction of the Russian government; they, therefore, congratulated us on our speedy liberation and return to our native country."

The circumstance, however, which inclined the Bunyo and his officers to look favourably on this letter, was an intercession made in it on behalf of a Japanese named Leonsaimo, who had been in Russia, and, it was understood, had incurred the displeasure of the Japanese government. "The elders, [member of the high council at Jeddo,] said they, will now be convinced of their error, and will learn that the Russians are not bears and barbarians, but a humane people."

Of the other letter, which was brought to captain Golownin to translate, we have this account:

"It had been written by the civil governor of Irkutzk, on captain Rikord's first report, and consequently before he could have been made acquainted with the contents of the Japanese paper, which was afterwards sent on board the *Diana*. The governor began by representing the object of our voyage, and the treacherous conduct of the Japanese at Kunashier; he then declared that Chwostoff had acted without the sanction of the Russian government, and entreated the governor of Matsmai to grant us our immediate freedom, or to negociate on that subject with captain Rikord, his plenipotentiary. If, however, neither of these requests could be complied with, without the consent of the Japanese government, he was requested to state when, and to what place the vessel should proceed, to obtain an answer. He mentioned the presents, consisting of a gold watch and some red cassimir, which he sent to the governor of Matsmai, as tokens

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of his neighbourly friendship. He, besides, stated that captain Rikord was the bearer of a letter of thanks, which he was directed to deliver whenever our freedom might be granted. Finally, he expressed his hope of obtaining an answer corresponding with his demand, on failure of which he should be compelled reluctantly to conclude that Japan was hostilely disposed towards Russia, and must lay before his Emperor a declaration to that effect. His Imperial Majesty would then consider himself bound to employ a force corresponding with his power, and to obtain satisfaction by an appeal to arms, though by such measures the empire of Japan might be shaken to its very foundation."

Truly, such an address must have endangered the relapse of the elders at Jeddo into their old error!

"This letter was accompanied by translations in the Mandschur and Japanese languages; the Japanese said, however, that they had no Mandschur interpreter, and that several passages in the Japanese translation were quite unintelligible. We were, therefore, obliged to make another translation of it, a task which kept us employed for more than two days. When the translation was finished, the interpreters carried it to the Bunyo, but in a short time brought it back, for the purpose of obtaining some explanations which were deemed necessary. They praised the general tenor of the letter, and expressed their dissatisfaction at two passages only. The Japanese were astonished the letter should speak of the faithless conduct practised towards us, and describe it as an arbitrary measure of the commandant of Kunashier, unsanctioned by the emperor of Japan, since they had, by their communications, avowed that we were taken prisoners by order of the government. But their pride was chiefly wounded by the observation that Japan would be shaken to its foundation. They insisted on being made acquainted with the precise meaning of this sentence. I first wished to explain to them by examples what was meant by the employment of a force corresponding with a person's power. 'Suppose,' said I, 'that I were to throw a feather on an individual with whom I was offended, I should not then use a force corresponding with my power, but if I threw a heavy stone with violence, I then should use a corresponding force. In the same manner, the two attacks made by Chwostoff in no way corresponded with the power of Russia, and his two ships in comparison with our empire, are not equal to a feather in my hand.' In order to make them understand the phrase 'shaken to its foundation,' I shook Teske several times by the shoulders.

"At first the Japanese seemed offended at our entertaining so mean an opinion of the strength of their country, and asked, with haughtiness and ill-humour, how our emperor could hope to shake Japan in that way? I replied, that the letter alluded to the people of Japan, and not the territory;

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and you must surely be convinced, said I, that if Russia chose to declare war against Japan, and to fit out a force, she might easily effect the destruction of your empire."

This, however, explained away nothing, and was only a repetition of that which had most given offence: but captain Golownin says that he was aware "that the Japanese, in the course of apparently undesigned conversation, often framed their language so as to inform them of all that they wished to know. I therefore," he adds, "followed their example; and to set them at ease with regard to the threats which had so irritated them, observed, as it were accidentally, that the governor of Irkutzk had written his letter before he knew any thing of the papers left behind by Chwostoff, or the wish of the Japanese government to correspond with Russia." He also assured them that the governor would not have so expressed himself, had he been convinced of the readiness of the Japanese to adjust past differences.

This explanation was reasonable and satisfactory; and we differ from captain G. respecting it merely in thinking that it should have been made at the delivery of the translation, previously to the latter being read, and not in any manner *as it were accidentally*, but expressly to obviate the supposition that insult was intended.

In a day or two after the reading of the letters, the interpreters delivered to captain G. and his officers their swords and hats; and they were desired to wear the former, in order to be presented to the bunyo or governor of Matsmai, who congratulated them on their being restored to liberty.

"'You have,' said the bunyo, 'in some measure, become acquainted with the laws of our country, which prohibit us from maintaining any commerce with the people of foreign nations, and require that we should drive all foreign vessels from our coasts: explain this to your countrymen on your return home. It has been our wish, whilst you remained in Japan, to treat you with all possible kindness; but before you became acquainted with our customs, our behaviour may have appeared to you the very opposite of what we intended. Each nation has its peculiar customs, but good conduct will every where be esteemed as such. On your return to Russia, inform your countrymen of this likewise. I wish you all a safe voyage.'"

Captain Rikord's account of his negotiation, which occupies the latter part of the second volume, relates some interesting cir-

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cumstances respecting the merchant Tachatay-Kachi; particularly his ready and philosophic resignation to misfortunes which were not remediable. Captain R. having learnt from him that the Russians who had been detained were living, and in the city of Matsmai, released the vessel which he had captured, but resolved on taking Kachi to Kamtschatka. On being made acquainted with this determination, Kachi calmly said, "Well, I am ready."

"I determined also," says captain R., "to take four seamen from the Japanese vessel, who might be useful in attending on Tachatay-Kachi, to whom I left the choice of the individuals: but he earnestly intreated that none of the seamen might be removed from his ship, observing that they were extremely stupid, and that he feared they would die of grief, owing to the dread they entertained of the Russians. The earnestness of his solicitations on this subject led me, in some measure, to doubt that our comrades were really living in Matsmai, and I repeated, in a decided manner, my determination to take four of the seamen. He then begged that I would accompany him to his ship. When we went on board, he assembled the whole of his crew in the cabin; and, having seated himself cross-legged on a long cushion, which was placed on a fine mat, requested that I would take my place beside him. The sailors all knelt down before us, and he delivered a long speech, in which he stated that it would be necessary for some of them to accompany us to Russia.

"Here a very affecting scene was exhibited. A number of the seamen approached him with their heads bent downwards, and with great eagerness whispered something to him: their countenances were all bathed in tears. Even Tachatay-Kachi, who had hitherto evinced calmness and resolution, seemed now to be deeply distressed, and began to weep."

Captain R., however, persisted in his intention, and four men were selected. In the winter, as already mentioned, two of these Japanese sailors died; which much affected this good man, both in his health and in his spirits, and made captain Rikord deem it expedient to hasten his return to Kunaschier. When arrived there, the two remaining Japanese seamen were commissioned to carry a message to the commandant on shore; and Tachatay-Kachi was asked whether he would be responsible for their being sent back, to which he replied in the negative; adding, "you do not know our laws."

"'Since it is so,' said the Russian captain, turning to the Japanese sailors, 'tell the governor of Kunaschier, that if he prevents you from re-

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turning, and permits me to receive no information, I will carry your natschalnic (meaning the merchant) back to Ochotzk, where some ships of war will this very year be fitted out, and armed men put on board of them, to demand the liberation of the Russian prisoners. I will wait only three days for his answer.'—At these words, Tachatay-Kachi changed countenance, but said with much calmness, 'Commander of the imperial ship, thou counsellest rashly. In vain dost thou threaten to carry me to Ochotzk. My men may be detained on shore; but neither two, nor yet two thousand sailors can answer for me; wherefore, I give thee previous notice, that it will not be in thy power to take me to Ochotzk.'"

He now declined to send any letter or other written document, but gave the messengers verbal instructions in the hearing of the Russian commander.

"He then sunk into a deep silence and prayed. Hereupon, he delivered to the sailor whom he most esteemed, his picture, to be conveyed to his wife; and his large sabre, which he called his *paternal sword*, to be presented to his only son and heir. After the whole of this solemn ceremony was finished, he stood up, and with a frank and, indeed, a very cheerful expression of countenance, asked me for some brandy to treat his sailors at parting. He drank with them, and accompanied them on deck, without giving them any further charge.—We then landed them, and they proceeded, without interruption, towards the fortress."

Captain Rikord, however, consulted with the seniors among his officers on what had passed, and they concurred in opinion that the most safe and proper step that they could take would be to restore Kachi to liberty. "I told him," says the captain, "that he might go on shore when he pleased, and I would trust to his honour for his return."—"I understand," answered he, "thou darest not return to Ochotzk without a written testimonial of the fate of thy countrymen; and, for my part, the slightest stain on my honour will be at the expense of my life." On the next day Tachatay-Kachi went on shore; and, from that time till the final departure of the Russians, his kind offices to them did not cease. It was known afterward that Kachi had cut the central lock from the crown of his head, and had laid it in the box which contained his portrait; and that, according to the Japanese custom, he who sends his hair in this manner to his friends, proposes to die an honourable death. He confessed, subsequently, that his intention was to commit suicide after having destroyed captain

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Rikord and his next officer; not, however, in a cowardly manner, as he said, "in thy sleep. No! I would have gone more openly to work."

Captain Golownin's narrative is in a great degree a verification of former descriptions of the people of Japan. Through the whole of the intercourse here related between the Russians and the Japanese, the manners and character of the two parties, in many respects, form a striking contrast. In equanimity of mind, as well as in uniform propriety of conduct, the Japanese excel most nations; while in irritability the Russians surpass the people of most other countries. The Japanese, it may be seen, have pride and satisfaction in showing their respect and love for justice and reason: while the Russians, and especially the *Eastern Russians*, are confident in their strength, and feel a presumption of success in their enterprizes. It is curious, and *a propos* to this subject, that we find in captain Golownin's narrative an account which he received from the interpreter Teske, of an examination, before the two bunyos of Matsmai, of Leonsaimo, the Japanese who had returned from Russia. "Leonsaimo characterized the Russian nation as being warlike and rapacious. The emperor of Russia, he said, is kind and condescending: his subjects regard him as their father: his officers seek to enrich themselves by trade, and by provoking warfare with neighbouring states." It is fair, however, to notice, that captain Golownin does not admit this drawing to be correct.

The Japanese maxims of morality are exceedingly rigid; as, for example, they hold that starving is to be preferred to stealing. At the same time, they are very open to reasonable representation, even to the changing of their judicial determinations: an instance of which occurred in the case of two Kurilians of the Northern Islands, who had been employed by the Russians. When captain G. and his companions were retaken in their attempt to escape, nothing could be more candid and considerate than the governor's remark: but, after that attempt, they were for a time confined in a common jail, where, as we have related, lay a criminal imprisoned for theft. It has been humorously argued, that as there is no general rule without an exception, so an exception is necessary to prove the general rule; and a single thief, in the

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prison of the Japanese capital, is exactly an exception which substantiates the general honesty of that nation.—A story is mentioned of an act of treachery being practised by the natives of Japan in their early wars against the people of Yesso: but it is given on *partial*, and, as captain G. thought, on very *questionable* authority.—In remarking on the character of the Japanese, we should not forget their disinterested hospitality in supplying with provisions the ships of strangers, with whom they would not admit of commerce, and constantly refusing payment or return of any kind; as also their rejection of presents, and their ready liberality in making them. On the contrary side, we do not recollect to have read or heard of Europeans visiting Japan who have refused, or returned, the presents offered to them. "*Ce n'est pas leur mode;*" it seems peculiar to the Japanese.

On the article of courage, captain Golownin takes various occasions, in the early part of his work, to speak of the people of Japan as being deficient in that quality; in which representation he differs from all former accounts, and from parts both of his own and of captain Rikord's journal. In the conclusion of his narrative, however, he says, "I must here offer a remark on the opinion of those who attribute our liberation, and the ultimate good conduct of the Japanese, to the cowardice of that people, and their dread of the vengeance of Russia: for my own part, I am persuaded that generally speaking, they acted from feelings of humanity."

The education of youth is, in Japan, one of the cares of the state.—The author relates, that during his confinement at Matsmai, he received, by the bunyo's orders, a present of fresh fruit.

"This happened in August, on a day which is a great children's festival. In the evening, the male children assemble in the castle, where, in the presence of the governor and all the officers of state, they play, sing, dance, wrestle, and fence with sabres. They afterwards partake of a supper, consisting of various kinds of delicacies. The interpreter assured us that, on this occasion, upwards of one thousand five hundred children were assembled in the castle: but none are admitted whose parents cannot afford to dress them well. Those who are badly dressed are, indeed, ashamed to appear in the assembly. Girls are never admitted, as the Japanese laws prohibit females from entering fortified places."

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It has been noticed that all the Japanese can read; and they take so great a delight in this amusement, that some of the soldiers on guard over the Russian prisoners were constantly thus employed: of which captain Golownin had reason to complain, because they had the annoying custom of reading aloud, and in the monotonous manner of school-boys. The account given of Mamia-Rinso furnishes some idea of the state of mathematical knowledge in Japan. We have also seen good Japanese maps of their own territories: captain Broughton was the bearer of one to this country; and others have been since received here. The following incident may yield some amusement, or perhaps cause some perplexity, to such of our readers as are fond of solving mathematical difficulties. Captain Golownin observes:

"I asked the Japanese academician whether he was perfectly convinced that in a right angled triangle the square of the hypothenuse is equal to the squares of the other two sides? He answered in the affirmative. I then asked how they were certain of this fact, and in reply he demonstrated it very clearly. Having drawn a figure with a pair of compasses on paper, he cut out the three squares, folded the squares of the two short sides into a number of triangles, and also cut out these triangles; then laying the several triangles on the surface of the large square, he made them exactly cover and fit it."

The test of ingenuity in this problem should consist in solving it with the smallest number of triangles: but the case is not reducible to one general rule; and therefore we conjecture that the Japanese geometrician took the advantage of the *Isosceles* for his demonstration.

We are of opinion that the Japanese deserve to be regarded as the founders of an excellent, though perhaps strict, discipline in the education of youth; which has produced, through all classes, respectful manners, and an habitual disposition to be temperate and just in their own desires, as well as to administer towards the convenience and happiness of others; and we think that from the Japanese it has been derived by the inhabitants of the Lieux-chieux or Loo-choo Islands, and has thence extended to the people of the small Bashu Islands, which lie farther south, nearly in the same direction. Of the Bashu islanders, Dampier says; "I could never perceive them to be angry one with another. I have admir-

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ed to see twenty or thirty boats alongside our ship at a time, all quiet, and endeavouring to assist each other on occasion. If cross accidents happened, they caused no noise or disturbance. When any of us came to their houses, they would entertain us with such things as their houses or plantations would afford, and if they had no bashee [a liquor used by them] at home, they would buy of their neighbours, and sit down and drink freely with us; yet neither then nor sober could I ever see them to be out of humour.

The present state of Japanese self-seclusion is officially specified in a paper which, by order of their government, was sent with the released Russians on board of captain Rikord's ship; and it appears not to have relaxed, except in the less rigid manner of enforcing it, from what was ordained on the first expulsion of the Christians. We give the material passages in this document, as translated:

"'Twenty-two years ago, a Russian ship arrived at Matsmai, and eleven years ago another came to Nangasaki. Though the laws of our country were on both these occasions minutely explained; yet we are of opinion that we have not been clearly understood on your part, owing to the great dissimilarity between our language and writing. However, as we have now detained you, it will be easy to give you an explanation of these matters. When you will return to Russia, communicate the same to the commanders at Kamtschatka and at Ochotzk."

On the foregoing sentences, captain Golownin observes that, in act, it was not believed or imagined by the Japanese government that the Russians, at the times in question, had misunderstood what had been stated to them: but that it was judged expedient to assume an appearance of doubt, in order to furnish a plausible pretence for liberating the present prisoners without an open violation of their laws. It is a maxim in our law-books that "no fiction shall extend to work an injury, its proper operation being to prevent a mischief or to remedy an inconvenience that might result from the general rule of law. *In fictione juris, semper subsistit æquitas.*" The fictitious opinion adopted by the Japanese, being for the purpose of preventing severity, came within this rule, and should not have been censured as "diplomatic equivocation."

The Japanese rescript then proceeds;

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"'In our country, the Christian religion is strictly prohibited, and European vessels are not suffered to enter any Japanese harbour except Nangasaki. This law has not been this year enforced at Kunaschier, because we wished to communicate with your countrymen, and orders have been issued to prevent firing against the vessel which is expected; but all that may henceforth present themselves will be driven back by cannon-balls. Bear in mind this declaration: and you cannot complain if at any future period you should experience a misfortune in consequence of your disregard of it. Among us there exists this law;—if any European, residing in Japan, should attempt to teach our people the Christian faith, he shall undergo a severe punishment; and shall not be restored to his native country. As you, however, have not attempted so to do, you will accordingly be permitted to return home. Think well on this.

"'Our countrymen wish to carry on no commerce with foreign lands; for we know no want of necessary things. Though foreigners are permitted to trade at Nangasaki, even to that harbour only those are admitted with whom we have for a long period maintained relations; and we do not trade with them for the sake of gain, but for other important objects.*—In future, therefore, it will be better to say no more about a commercial connection.'"

This paper was delivered to the Russians in the beginning of October, 1813, and its contents were exactly such as might reasonably have been expected from all which had passed; that is to say, that the disavowal of the Russian government having authorized the proceedings of Chwostoff should obtain the liberation of the prisoners, and that the haughty and fierce language used in the negotiation should make the Japanese desire to avoid future communication with them.

It is among the ordinances in the Japanese system of seclusion, that any one of them who has resided in a foreign land is consequently incapacitated from serving the state; as also that no foreigner shall be naturalized, or become a denizen of Japan. The unfortunate Mr. Moor, who offered himself, was rejected; and the apprehension that he had incurred disgrace, by endeavouring to separate his lot from that of his companions, so overcame him that he shot himself.

"* To procure various medicinal roots, which do not grow in Japan, and to be informed of the events passing in other nations, are two of the important objects here alluded to."

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We will conclude this long article with a few reflections, to which the singular condition of the Japanese nation naturally gives birth.—Japan has been regarded as the geographical counterpart of Great Britain with respect to the symmetrical harmony of the old continent, the one being situated nearly in like manner on the north-west as the other on the north-east. The difference in their latitudes is rather too great for this parallel: but, with better reason, the industrious and enterprizing spirit of the people of Japan is supposed to give them a nearer resemblance to the inhabitants of Europe than any other nation of the East. Most of the Europeans, with whom they have hitherto had intercourse, have been actuated either by an usurping or a monopolizing spirit, and have been eager to advance their own individual interest or the interests of their particular nation or sect. The intrigues of the Portuguese to keep the Spaniards from Japan, of one set of priests to keep out another, and of the Dutch for the exclusion of all Europeans except themselves, must have made the Japanese consider the natives of Europe as an extraordinarily selfish race; and probably they have hence been induced to feel little regret in abstaining from all communication with them, although they have constantly shown high respect for European knowledge and ingenuity.

The first interest of every people is their security against foreign attempts. If it were not inconsistent with this security, the retired and comparatively innocent and uncorrupt state of society in Japan would be one of the most happy in human existence: but it appears as if it were meant, in the creation of this world, that all the parts should have such mutual dependence as to induce a necessity for connection. The consequences to be apprehended from the Japanese excluding themselves from the rest of the world, and the rest of the world from having communication with them, are that they must be kept in ignorance of many things that are known to other nations, and may thus be rendered in some degree defenceless. While other countries have been advancing in knowledge and increasing in power, *they* have now remained during more than two centuries in a stagnant state, shut out from all improvement. In all warfare, a consciousness of ignorance must create apprehension, and a consciousness of superior knowledge

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give confidence; and these feelings, joined to the superiority of European arms, would cause a body of disciplined European troops to be an overmatch for three times the number of Japanese. This danger can be obviated only by a free communication with other empires.

As the diminished power of the Spaniards and Portuguese, and the inert state of missionary-influence in the East, are circumstances not unknown to the Japanese, they must be convinced that they have no longer reason to apprehend danger to their independence, or any renewal of attempts with that object, from those quarters; and therefore it is not merely possible, but we think that it might without much difficulty be contrived, to make the Japanese government comprehend the danger to themselves of persevering longer in their present system. An address for this purpose should advise them to open their ports, not partially to ships of this or that nation, but generally to those of every people against whom they were not in hostility; and to give encouragement for their own ships in like manner to have commerce with other countries. Such measures would obtain for Japan her proper weight among the nations of the world, and would constitute her best protection.

It might also be practicable to have such an address written in the Japanese language: but, whether it was composed in that tongue or in any other which they could translate, it would be a striking novelty to them to receive an embassy or a visit from Europeans, for a purpose to which no other motive could be assigned than a regard for general benefit. We say *general benefit*, because probity and temperance, though not in an equal degree with licentiousness, communicate themselves by example.

In answer to the question, in what manner and by whom could such a mission be sent to Japan? we would say,—With much propriety by a sovereign prince, or by some benevolent society: but, we think, with most probability of effect by the former. If this worthy experiment shall ever be made, it will be desirable that no commercial advantage or favour of any kind should be sought; and that no considerations of an interested nature should be allowed, even in the most distant degree, to enter into the motives for

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promoting such an undertaking. The commander of the ship employed should therefore be instructed not to enter, but to anchor without, the port of Nangasaki; to decline a supply of provisions, or other presents; and, as soon as he could be satisfied that his dispatch was in a proper channel for being delivered, to weigh anchor and entirely depart.

A ROMAN COIN FOUND IN TENNESSEE.

It has long been a desideratum with the learned to know by whom the numerous old fortifications, &c. in the western country were erected. It is now in our power to add one fact that may serve to direct inquiries a little further.—A short time since a cellar was dug in the town of Fayetteville, on Elk river, in that state, not far from the lines of one of those ancient fortifications so common in the western states, and in the dirt was found corroded with a kind of rust, a small piece of metal, which being disrobed of its covering was ascertained to be a Roman silver coin, issued about 150 years before Christ, and in a good state of preservation. It is in the possession of a merchant in Nashville, and has been seen by hundreds, many of whom are antiquarians, and they are all satisfied it is a genuine coin, and one gentleman who was lately in Italy and saw the busts of the persons represented on the coin declares the heads very good likenesses.

On one side around the edge these letters are seen:

Antoninvs avg pivs P P trp Cos. III.

on the other side

Avrelis Cæsar avg P III Cos,

which is construed to read thus,

Antoninus Augustus Pius, princp. pontifex tertio consule
Aurelius Cæsar, Augustus pontifex tertio consule.

The marks, letters, &c. exactly agree in every particular with the probable state of the arts and history of the times; but how the coin was brought to Tennessee we leave others to ascertain.

Since the subject of the Roman coin has occupied public attention, we have learnt many facts interesting to the antiquarian:

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CRITICISM.—Woman; a Poem. By Eaton Stannart Barret, Esq.

We have derived much gratification from the perusal of this elegant little volume, and agree with its author, that no subject affords a finer scope to the didactic and descriptive muse, than the praise of women. Indeed, it will be found upon inquiry, that from the earliest ages to the present time, poets have never been considered as duly qualified until they had exhibited some signs of admiration for the fair sex; and either served, or affected to serve, a probationary term of chivalrous devotion at the shrine of that being,

"Whom Nature form'd to temper men."

On this score, Mr. Barrett will be found deserving of no small share of commendation; for he has eulogized poetically, and, we have no doubt, sincerely, not any individual Phillis or Chloe of his imagination, but the whole sex in general. Had he failed in his attempt, his good intentions would still have entitled him to our approbation; but we shall go far to prove, that the expectations, which the excellence of his subject is capable of creating in the minds of his readers, are, for the most part, fulfilled.

It would be needless for us to descant in prose, upon what the author has so ably treated in energetic and harmonious verse; we shall, therefore, proceed to an immediate examination of the book. In a modest and well-written preface, Mr. Barrett asserts, "that though the fair sex have occasioned many dissertations in English prose, they have never yet found a champion in the more congenial field of English poetry." With this declaration, however, we do not agree. Parnell has a poem on the Rise of Woman. Southey's first epic celebrates the wonderful exploits of the Maid of Arc; and one of the most elegant of his minor productions is denominated "the Triumphs of Woman." Besides these, many of the most popular authors of all ages, compliment her in various passages of their poems. We copy the following singular verses from the works of sir Aston Cockaynne; which, as they

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have become exceedingly scarce, may not be deemed unacceptable to our readers:—

I wonder why by foul-mouth'd men,
Women so slandered be,
Since it doth easily appear,
They're better far than we?

Why are the *Graces* every one
Pictured as Women be,
If not to show that they in *Grace*
Do more excel than we?

Why are the liberal *Sciences*
Pictured as Woman be,
If not to show, that they in them
Do more excel than we?

Why are the *Virtues* every one
Pictured as Women be,
If not to show, that they in them
Do more excel than we?

Since Women are so full of worth,
Let them all praised be,
For commendations they deserve
In ampler wise than we.

Mr. Barrett glances at the inferior condition of women in former ages, and he says that some tincture of the stain may still be found in our enlightened times:

Companion of his groom, the clown confounds
Subservient Women with his horse and hounds;
And pedants, who from books, not nature, draw
Try to condemn her by scholastic law,
Wits, for an epigram, her fame undo,
And those who God blaspheme, mock Women too.

All such conclude her of inferior clay,
Because she wants some merits men display,
As well may they condemn the chilly moon,
Because her crescent cannot glow like noon,
For if that orb whose affluent dew bestows
Balm on the globe, another sun arose,

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This flow'ry ball would wither, stagnant gales
Engender death, and midnight scorch the vales. p. 35.

There is great delicacy in the following lines:—

To guard that virtue, to supply the place
Of courage, wanting in her gentle race,
Lo, modesty was given, mysterious spell,
Whose blush can shame, whose panic can repel,
Strong, by the very weakness it betrays,
It sheds a mist before our fiery gaze.
The panting apprehension, quick to feel,
The shrinking grace that fain would grace conceal;
The beautiful rebuke that looks surprize,
The gentle vengeance of averted eyes;
These are its arms, and these supreme prevail.
* * * * * *
Ask the gray pilgrim by the surges cast
On hostile shores, and numbed beneath the blast,
Ask who revived him? who the hearth began
To kindle? who with spilling goblet ran?
Oh! he will dart one spark of youthful flame,
And clasp his withered hands, and WOMAN name. p. 33.

This recalls forcibly to our recollection the pathetic little song by the dutchess of Devonshire, on the hospitality of a negro woman to the enterprizing traveller Mungo Park:—

"The loud wind roared, the rain fell fast,
The white man yielded to the blast;
He sat him down beneath the tree,
For weary, sad, and faint was he:
But oh! no wife or mother's care
For him the milk or corn prepare.
* * *
The storm is o'er—the tempest past,
And mercy's voice has hushed the blast;
The wind is heard in whispers low:
The white man far away must go,
But ever in his heart will bear
Remembrance of the negroe's care."

Ledyard also beautifully eulogizes the fair sex in his verses entitled "the Character of Woman." He tells us that they are—

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"Alive to every tender feeling,
To deeds of mercy ever prone;
The wounds of pain and sorrow healing
With soft compassion's sweetest tone.

"Form'd in benevolence of nature,
Obliging, modest, gay, and mild,
Woman's the same endearing creature,
In courtly town, and savage wild.

"When parch'd with thirst—with hunger wasted,
Her friendly hand refreshment gave;
How sweet the coarsest food has tasted,
What cordial in the simple wave!

"Her courteous looks—her words caressing,
Shed comfort on the fainting soul;
Woman 's the stranger's general blessing,
From sultry India to the pole!"

Surely Mr. Barrett has never seen these lines, or he would not have asserted that woman has found "no champion in the field of English poetry." Certainly no one ever so advocated her cause so *effectually* as he has done in the poem before us; but we continue our extracts.—After describing the difference of the pursuits and characteristics of each, he goes on to show, that women excel us in devotion, chastity, modesty, charity, good faith, forgiveness, and parental affection; and enumerates the various arts and attractions which give them so strong an ascendency over us.

"She by reserve and awful meekness reigns;
Her sighs are edicts, her caresses chains.
Why has she tones with speaking music strung?
Eyes, eloquent beyond the mortal tongue?
And looks that vanquish, till on nerveless knee,
Men gaze, and grow with gazing, weak as she?
'Tis to command those arts against our arms,
And tame imperious might with winning charms." p. 48.

* * * *

"But can all earth excel that crimson grace,
When her heart sends its herald to her face?
Sends from its ark its own unblemished dove,
A messenger of truth, of joy, of love!

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Her blush can man to modest passion fire;
Her blush can awe his arrogant desire;
Her blush can welcome lovers or can warm,
As ruddy skies announce both night and morn." p. 49.

We wonder it should not have occurred to our author to place woman in the most interesting situation possible, by representing her as the sweet soother of our cares amid the storms of adversity, and ready to endure deep and protracted anguish for the sake of the object beloved.—These beautiful lines from Marmion might have furnished him with the hint:—

"Oh woman! in our hours of ease,
Uncertain, coy, and hard to please,
And variable as the shade
By the light quivering aspen made,
When pain and sickness wring the brow
A ministering angel thou!"

Or these, from Dodsley's fragment, entitled "The Wife:"

"Does fortune smile, how grateful must it prove,
To tread life's pleasing round with one we love?
Or does she frown? The fair with softening art
Will sooth our woes or bear a willing part."

But thanks for that we have.—It is scarcely fair to cavil with Mr. Barrett for what he has failed to do, when he has done so much more than we could have expected from him. We shall conclude, therefore, these cursory, and, we fear, very imperfect remarks, on his interesting volume, by three extracts from it, which we will venture to affirm, are not often excelled in the compass of modern poetry.

"There is a language by the virgin made,
Not read but felt, not uttered but betrayed;
A mute communion, yet so wondrous sweet,
Eyes must impart what tongue can ne'er repeat.
'Tis written on her cheeks and meaning brows,
In one short glance whole volumes it avows;
In one short moment tells of many days,
In one short speaking silence *all* conveys.

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Joy, sorrow, love recounts, hope, pity, fear,
And looks a sigh, and weeps without a tear.
Oh, 'tis so chaste, so touching, so refined,
So soft, so wistful, so sincere, so kind.
Were eyes *melodious, and could music shower
From orient rays new striking on a flower,
Such heavenly music from that glance might rise,
And angels own the language of the skies."

There is much of the pathetic tenderness of Byron in this passage. The next will be found very strongly to resemble the elegant simplicity of Goldsmith.

"Light specks of fleecy gold bestrew the skies,
The dewy ox is on his knees to rise,
The mist rolls off in eddies—smokes begin
From opening cots, and all is still within.
The pastoral family due task prepare
For whetted sithe, the milk pail, and the share;
And haste where lark and zephyr, rill and bee,
Mix harmless their primæval minstrelsy.
One damsel chuckles shrill; her cackling train
Run with spread pinions and dispute the grain;
Another up her *rested pitcher* heaves,
Encamps small heaps of clay, or girdles sheaves:
Else spinning, pats her busy foot, and trills
Some ditties plaint about a love that kills.
The laden wife meanwhile to market goes,
Or underneath the hawthorn knits her hose;
Or lays moist 'kerchiefs on the sunny grass,
Or checks her pottage billowing o'er the brass;
While clattered plates, and roots in hurry peeled,
Announce her good man trudging from the field." p. 94.

* * * * *

"Now they replenish pleasant cups, and tell
The rural news,—how he from ladder fell,
How she from hayrick;—merry gossip past,
Come dreams, and each outwondered by the last;
Then tales of ghosts authentic, then the noise
Of hoodwinked damsels chasing nimble boys:

* For this thought, see a note in lord Byron's "Bride of Abydos."

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And when to sit the rustic would essay,
His treacherous mistress slips his bench away:
She flies and hides—he follows, not remiss
To satiate that revenge of love—a kiss!
At the dear outrage beautifully fought,
(For battled kisses still makes kisses sought)
She whispers, shrieks, sighs angry words, and feigns
A struggle, yielded soon, and pleased complains." p. 97.

The poem concludes with an invocation, of which the following is a part:

"Oh give me, Heaven! to sweeten latter life,
And mend my wayward heart, a tender wife,
Who soothe me, though herself with anguish wrung;
Nor render ill for ill, nor tongue for tongue.
Sways by persuasion, kisses off my frown,
And reigns, unarm'd, a queen without a crown.
Alike to please me, her accomplished hand
The harp and handy needle can command;
And learning with such grace her tongue applies
Her very maxims wear a gay disguise.
Neat for my presence, as if princes came,
And modest, e'en to me, with bridal shame;
A friend, a playmate, as my wishes call,
A ready nurse, though summoned from a ball;
She holds in eye that conquest youth achieved,
Loves without pomp, and pleases unperceived."

A pretty reasonable sort of a prayer for a poet! and when we compare this picture with the gloomy state of celibacy, we think we should almost be tempted to exchange our study for a domestic hearth, and listen to the prattle of a family instead of the purring of a cat or the song of the lonely cricket. In plain soberness, we wish Mr. B. such a wife as he describes, and we take our leave of him, sincerely hoping to meet him again ere long, and once more to have an opportunity of offering to the world our testimony of his merits.

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DEFENCE OF AMERICAN WOMEN.—FOR THE PORT FOLIO.

MR. OLDSCHOOL,

IN a recent, and, I am sorry to say, a *reputable* magazine, the following paragraph is introduced into a sort of lampoon, entitled "the *Truth* respecting England:"

"Young women of no fortune, who are above the necessity of labouring, are, for the most part, brought up among us in America, with an utter ignorance and disregard to every species of domestic usefulness and economy. They flare away, and sport the summer of life, which lasts while the labour of the parent can administer to their extravagance; and when he dies, become dependents on some brother, or married sister, for the rest of their lives: or in failure of that, retire to board in some cheap country village, become exceedingly pious, and [illegible] a little scandalous —and take snuff at all mankind. There are but few young men in our country that can afford to support an extravagant wife, who does not bring the means of supplying her own fictitious wants, and this is the true reason why there are such swarms of our blooming damsels withering in the streets of our cities, and such an alarming crop of old maids *by brevet*, who are preparing themselves for what is to come, by studying the Balance of Comfort, and deriving consolation from the single blessedness of good Mrs. Charlton, and little Miss Amy Finch. As stanch friends to the gentle sex, we would advise them forthwith to begin the study and the practice of a well regulated economy—to think sometimes of saving as well as of spending—and, above all, to dress according to their means and situation. They will then attract the regards of prudent and reflecting young men, who seek the choicest gem of life in a gentle, modest, economical wife—they will bring and receive blessings in that state to which reason and nature have assigned the performance of woman's duties, and the enjoyment of her happiness—the country will be enriched by new citizens educated by such mothers—and the dandies, and corset travelled gentlemen may exhibit their thin waists and thick legs, at tea parties, in vain."

Great as the American people confessedly are—they are yet but imperfectly known to the rest of the world; and important as they are becoming in the scale of nations, it is desirable that their character and habits should be correctly understood. Hitherto, we have been misrepresented and traduced by foreigners, and we forgave them because they were ignorant. Their rapid strides across our extensive continent, must necessarily have left much

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unobserved by these travellers, on their right hand, and on their left. Facts must have been distorted, and customs mistaken. But when we undertake to exhibit ourselves, the reverse is most naturally to be feared. It is to be apprehended that, deceived by our partial prejudices, we might lead our readers astray, by a delineation more beautiful than true. Where, then, is the inevitable question—where did the above slanderous paragraph originate? Not surely—although it bears the stamp of an American production, and professes to be written "by one of the most eminent literary gentlemen in America"—not with a native who had been accustomed to the substantial services of an *American sister!* Not with him, whose home has been made a delightful retreat, or a cheerful asylum, by the activity and intelligence of an *American wife!* Nor with him, who has been taught to speak the words of truth and honour by an *American mother!* Far rather would we suspect it to have been borrowed from that very Quarterly Review, that "termagant critic," who "swept the kennels of Grub-street," to libel this unoffending country: that hydra which haunts the brain of this hapless writer, and transforms the fairest features of nature.

It is not our intention to interfere between a person so utterly despicable as general Pillet, and the women of England,—nor shall we quarrel with such of our own wits as think proper to dish up his disgusting calumny, for our entertainment, under pretence that it is "*permanently* useful and interesting." That admirable community of writers—we are almost tempted to call them—have established their title to the respect of the universe—we only wish for a quill from their pinions while we vindicate ourselves!

Young women then, in America, "of no fortune, who are above the necessity of labouring, are brought up with an utter ignorance and disregard to every species of domestic usefulness and economy," according to this merry essay. Indeed, so extremely facetious is the writer throughout, that we have read the passage which particularly excites our indignation again and again, to discover whether it is not in the same ironical strain with the rest. We are compelled, however, by every legitimate rule of construction, to believe our accuser in earnest:—we therefore plead not guilty to the charge, and proceed to our defence.

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Females in this country, in all circumstances above the very lowest, are early sent to school, where they are taught to sew, to read, and to write. If they are "above the necessity of labouring," they are kept at school until they are about fifteen, learning arithmetic, geography, grammar, and history. Do these studies tend to promote "domestic usefulness?" Our girls are taught by punishment for negligence, by praises for industry, and by premiums for distinguished attainments, to consider them as some of the means by which they are taught how to think, and act, in all the vicissitudes, and on every occasion of life.

But here is the error:—too soon after they leave their schools, their books are abandoned in order that they may not be in "ignorance of economy." They must sew for their brothers; they must assist their mothers in the care of the house. Not that they leave off reading altogether—*for every body reads in America*—but they now read in a desultory manner, and when they can steal a little time—without order and without reflection. At an age when their maturing minds would receive the highest improvement by prosecuting the sciences they had begun at their schools, their time is too much occupied by things which, although they be of the very first importance in domestic life, require no great time or ability to learn. Another great error must be acknowledged as too general in the education of our girls. Without regard to taste, talents, or circumstances, they must learn drawing, dancing, and music. These are agreeable accomplishments, and not to be denied, where the wealth of the parent, and the genius of the child, render such instruction reasonable. But is it rational and proper, that these ornaments should be indiscriminately thrown upon females? Are the most favoured ever compensated for the enormous expense of time and money that must be consumed to obtain but a moderate degree of skill, in music especially? What can excuse the parent, whose hard earnings are all necessary to the supply of the common conveniences of life, for wasting them on things so absolutely useless! We may be told of the pleasure of music, and the delight of a father, who retires from his daily labour to the song and the dance of his children; of the pride of his heart when the piano of his daughter charms an admiring circle! Let him sooth his wearied mind by the more pro-

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stable employment of reading with his young people—let him excite their emulation by exercising them in questions of grammar, of geography, of history, he will confer on them more substantial benefits, and find his reward in the solidity of their characters.

Objectionable, however, as we think these elegant ornaments in the measure and universality of their use in our day, they do not prevent our daughters from becoming "gentle, meekest, economical wives," when they are called to decide on the "Balance of Comfort." Their former habits have not induced an aversion to the "performance of woman's *peculiar* duties," the piano is now shut up, the dance is relinquished, and their "happiness" is found in the practice of as many social and domestic virtues as can be found amongst any women on the face of the earth.

Were we writing only for those who are acquainted with the character and habits of American women, we would remind them of the common objection that is made to the musical education of young ladies, that it is entirely neglected when they become the mistresses of families—a very sufficient proof that their passion for this "extravagance" at least, does not stand in the way of their becoming the "choicest gem of life," according to this writer's notion of a gem. It is to those who know us not, that we are asserting our claims; and to a British reader it will not be much to our dishonour, that our accusation is found on the same pages that asperse their own excellent females. Such women as Miss More, and many others who have promoted the cause of religion and morality, by their writings, their influence, and their wealth, should have inspired us with something like a sentiment of sacred respect for the whole sisterhood of these islands. But the head must discern, and the heart must be impressed by the value of wisdom and virtue, before they can be respected!

Had the judicious critic under consideration asserted of us, as general Pillet has said of the English ladies, that we were destitute of grace, of taste, of style, "that we have two left hands," we might have submitted in silence—though perhaps we should have pouted a little. The practice of that very "usefulness and economy," the want of which he so patriotically laments, is an injury to the elegance of our ladies. They are compelled to work;

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and the instances are rare, in which their tasks are not performed with cheerfulness. The mediocrity of our fortunes, and the vices of our servants in this part of the union, oblige us to be actively employed in the work of the family. Even in the slave states, to the south, the women of America are proud of their house keeping. The multitude of their domestic servants exempts them from the necessity of doing the same kinds of business with their own hands, which is imposed on us in this part of the union; but this multitude of dependents enlarges the circle of their cares, and changes, in some measure, their occupations. The providing of food and clothing for hundreds of servants is a weighty employment for the mistress of a house, who often cuts out and makes a great many garments herself. Besides this, she superintends, perhaps, the whole manufacture—spinning, weaving, sewing, and knitting, under her own roof. Let our calumniator himself acknowledge how often he has seen *a woman* the stay and the ornament of her family. How often has he beheld the wife whose fairy visions of perpetual love and elevated friendship have fled before the blighting influence of tyranny and ignorance; whose early prospects have been swept away by the vices or the indolence of her husband—instead of sinking under one of the severest trials that can assail the female heart:—exerting herself singly—and even when counteracted at every step—in the moral and intellectual education of her children? And when at last widowed, or deserted, perhaps, how often has she entered into active business; provided, by her judicious management, for all their wants, and accomplished her sons and her daughters to bless herself and others!

We are not contending in the spirit of Quixotism with windmills;—we are not disproving a position that has not been virtually advanced, whilst we assert that American women are notable housekeepers, methodical, neat, economical, and industrious. Such fruits are not reared in the wild soil of luxuriant youth, without the cultivating hand of a watchful mother. If "our young women" were, indeed, "brought up with an utter ignorance and disregard to every species of domestic usefulness and economy," by what species of magic are they transformed into the best of wives—the best of mothers? Our girls are generally brought up

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at home, or if from the want of a suitable school, they are sent abroad for instruction, they spend but a few of their earlier years at a distance from their parents, and are seldom without the salutary influence of excellent examples.

But although our generous countryman is so very moderate in his demands for furnishing out this choicest gem of life, our young ladies endeavour to acquire something more than the every-day qualifications of *gentleness*, *modesty*, and *economy*. They aspire to the honour of being companions to their future lords. They do not, indeed, affect to be philosophers:—they cannot explain, for instance,* why "ships might be rendered more buoyant in the water, by making them air-tight, and forcing in air by means of an air-pump;" because, to their unsophisticated understandings, it appears that if any weight be thrown in vessels, its tendency is not to "elevate them to a higher level in the water," but to sink them deeper. In these cases they are content to take common sense as their guide, and *she* (i. e. *common sense*) teaches them to laugh at such absurdities.

Our ladies, young, and—not young, listen to lectures on the phenomena of nature—on mineralogy, botany, and chymistry. This species of knowledge may be dispensed with by our homely adviser, yet if professor Cooper should instruct us in the saving arts of making better bread, a cheaper pudding, more palatable beer, and so forth, than our mothers have been able to do, he will, peradventure, allow us to leave our needles now and then for the lecture room; and even be disposed to admit our pretensions to thinking "sometimes of saving as well as of spending."

When this very extraordinary paragraph first met our eye, we felt very much inclined to pass it over as we have since seen others do—with a smile at its absurdity. We have, however, amused ourselves, and we hope prevented some others from believing, that American women are altogether good for nothing as helps-meet for man. Here we should be glad to dismiss the article, but it would seem almost a dereliction of duty, not to notice another characteristic which we do not resist as a slander of our countrywomen, but deprecate as an insidious sneer at religion.

* See Analectic Magazine for August, 1818, p. 162.

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We never see such things from an American pen without feelings of shame and indignation, particularly when they appear in works of such high pretensions as this Journal. Our butterflies, it seems, after "flaring away the summer of life," "retire to board in some cheap country village, and become *exceedingly pious*, and withal a little scandalous." If this assertion did not altogether originate in the welcome opportunity of uttering some pleasantry offensive to piety;—or if the brain of this writer be really a little deranged by the freaks of some hypocritical old maid, we will afford him some pity;—but we must tell the sober part of the community, that American women, not only in the autumn, but in the spring, and the summer of their days, are distinguished in works of genuine piety. The sun scarcely shines on a portion of the new hemisphere that is not also morally enlightened by their Christian beneficence.

Female virtue has ever been the curb of vice and the polisher of virtue; but the nineteenth century beholds it, emphatically, "clothed with strength and honour."* To talk of the substantial benefits conferred on the poor and the ignorant by innumerable female societies of every age and condition, would be utterly superfluous.† But the patience, the modesty, and the good sense displayed by girls, in teaching both young persons and adults to read:—by girls scarcely more than children themselves—in a labour which brings nothing in return but the consciousness of doing good—certainly these qualities deserve the highest commendation, and ought to rescue their sex from misrepresentation. Is it not wonderful, that amongst thousands of young women, associated in every section of our country, we hear of no dissention—no envyings—no struggles for precedence—nothing but harmony and meekness, "rendering honour to whom honour is due?" Do girls who are suffered to "flare away the summer of life" in idle-

* Proverbs, 31.

† The institutions to which our correspondent alludes, are so numerous, that it would seem to be invidious to mention any one of them. Yet we cannot permit this opportunity to pass without inviting those whose rambles lead them to the banks of the Schuylkill, and who delight in the contemplation of that benevolence "which blesseth him that gives and him that receives,"—to pause at the entrance to the "Female Asylum Society."

Ed. P. F.

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ness and extravagance act thus? No, sir; our daughters are worthy, to use the language of this writer, of "the regards of prudent and reflecting young men"—"the hearts of their husbands may safely trust in them"—for "their works do praise them in the gates."*

CONSTANTIA.

PETITION OF DANIEL DOLLAR.—FOR THE PORT FOLIO.

ALTHOUGH our munificent patrons do not enable us to enjoy a very sociable acquaintance with such persons as the petitioner in the following case, we are indulged sometimes, like the hungry man in the cook-shop, with the sound of their voices.

We understand from our correspondent, *Orlando*, who spoils the barks of innocent trees, by carving them with names, and hangs verses on the bushes, that the part of the prisoner, on this occasion, was supported by the editor of the *Pittsburg Gazette*, who first brought the matter before the public. He was not of the opinion, we suppose, which some wise persons entertain, that *guineas* are *an incumbrance on commerce;* nor did he apprehend that their moon-faced cousins, the Dollar family, would be in any danger from the noise and smoke of his industrious city. That the prayer was granted we have been informed; but we have yet to learn what was the return upon the writ. We therefore begin to suspect that the whole is a trumped up story: that no such thing as a Dollar will be found in the vaults of any house in Pittsburg, or elsewhere. It has lately been stated in the public prints, that the "mother" of this numerous progeny has lost no less than 300,000 of them during the last year, in taking care of the *rest of her family*. No doubt, then, they have been effectually put out of the way.

*To the honourable the judges of the court of ———, in the state of Pennsylvania, the humble petition of Daniel Dollar,**

RESPECTFULLY SHOWETH:

THAT your petitioner is a citizen of the United States and of the state of Pennsylvania. His parents were natives of South America, who, although possessed of *shining* virtues and

* Proverbs, 31.

† Republished here, with alterations, from the *Pittsburg Gazette*. ED. P. F.

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great *intrinsic worth*, had remained pressed by a burthen of *earthly* cares, buried in obscurity. Here they were discovered by a person of *deep penetration* and *profound research*, who pronounced, with oracular wisdom, that rough, untutored, and surrounded by rubbish, as they were, they would soon, by the help of a little *polish* and *refinement*, become *models* of beauty and perfection, and *talents* of the first order would be elicited from what now seemed to be a dull and heavy mass of heterogeneous particles. The prediction was soon verified; they rose from the deep caverns of obscurity, passed the *fiery* ordeal, were "weighed in the balance," and not "found wanting."

Your petitioner first saw light in the city of Philadelphia, where, being a gay young fellow of a *brilliant* appearance, and not deficient in *solidity* of character, he soon became respected, courted, and admired. Early *impressions* are said to be the most lasting; and those which he received were not calculated to be easily erased; from his birth he has worn the motto of his country, and liberty was *engraved* upon his breast. The rich man cherished, the poor man honoured, and all men loved him; nay, even so great was his popularity, that he could enter those doors which closed alike upon the wealthy, the learned, and the indigent. Many a hearty squeeze has he received from the hand, that neither love, friendship, nor benevolence could open; and he has shared the chamber of the husband and the bachelor, the priest, the matron, and the virgin. He can boast that

> ——— "he has seen better days,
> And has with holy bell been knolled to church,
> And sat at good men's feasts."

The ladies were not less his friends than the gentlemen—it is true they sometimes affected to *turn him into ridicule;* but this your honours well know is the best proof of a lady's regard; and your petitioner can assure you that he has dangled at their sides for hours together, that they ever evinced a strong desire to detain him in their silken chains; that they always received him with smiles, and parted with him with regret. Happy, happy! would he be to devote all his hours to their service! and happy they if they had no amusements which cost them dearer than

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those purchased at his expense, and no afflictions but those which he could relieve! Your honours would smile, and perhaps accuse him of exaggeration, were he to detail all the services which he has rendered to the sex: how he has supplied their toilets, administered to their wants, and indulged their whims—but how will that smile of incredulity vanish, when he adds, that this fickle sex, "uncertain, coy, and hard to please," have ever been to him inflexibly constant, and tenderly attached.

He has not, however, been confined to the circles of fashion and elegance alone; he has visited every rank, and *shone* in every station. Naturally fond of his countrymen, and possessed of an inflexible character, he neither smiled upon opulence, or frowned on poverty—his *face* was alike to all—he has ever been a pure republican. The stupendous exertions of his philanthropic spirit have been equally meritorious and astonishing: he has brought joy to soldier's heart, and intoxicating pleasure to his fancy; he has clothed the naked, fed the hungry, and cheered with comfort the bed of sickness; and on more than one occasion he has purchased the liberty of a hundred of the copper-coloured aborigines of our country from loathsome vaults like that which it has since become his own fate to inhabit.

Your petitioner has always been a peaceable citizen; he has never "made one honest man his foe," nor "from the soft-ey'd virgin drew a tear." He has never, it is true, harangued at elections, but he has exerted his silent influence, and has done more than those who made most noise; he has never preached, but he has paid those who did; he has never fought for his country, nor has he sat in her councils—but he has made many patriots, and has "done the state some service," by contributing the "ways and means."

Your petitioner will not intrude on your honours a detail of all his good deeds—for although the *acknowledgment* of a *deed* is held by *good judges* to be essential to its validity, he is a fellow of too much *mettle* to descend to forms. He thanks heaven that he has passed through the hands of lawyers unsullied, and that although they have griped him hard, they have not been able to *bend* him at will, as they do most of the unfortunate persons who fall into their clutches. But he can confidently assert that he has al-

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ways "gone about doing good," and that he has ever been "first in war, first in peace, and *first in the hearts of his countrymen.*" Indeed so much is he beloved, that he would no doubt become governor of the state, were he not deficient in one quality, which, in our government, is the *ne plus ultra* of excellence—the power of speech; your petitioner was unfortunately born deaf and dumb. He hopes, however, by the assistance of the philanthropic gentlemen who have come over for that express purpose, to obtain this inestimable blessing.

Your petitioner now proceeds to state the reason of his present appeal. It was about two years ago that his misfortunes began. It is unnecessary to recount how he was hurried from the election ground to a gin-shop, and thence to a card table, how he was carried thence by a young gentleman, who left him with a milliner, who gave him to a young lady, who took him to the playhouse; it is sufficient to say that after many adventures, he was taken by a huge Kentucky merchant, who carried pistols, and brought him to the city of Pittsburg, where he was lodged in the vault whence he now dates this petition. Here, together with many companions, he has suffered under a rigorous confinement. They have borne it long without murmuring, but can bear it no longer. The vaults of a bank, may it please your honours, afford neither air, warmth, nor refreshment, and in such a place your petitioner is in danger of being immured for ever. Nor is this all; so determined are our enemies upon our destruction, that they are erecting new *jails* in every village for our reception. We are told that one of these *prisons* is shortly to be established at a place called Noodledoozy, to which we apprehend that we shall be transferred, and confined for life.

Your petitioner, therefore, prays, that your honours will issue a writ of *habeas corpus*, to bring him before you, and to oblige his keepers to *show cause* why he is detained; and your petitioner is induced to hope and believe, that when you have reviewed his former character, and duly considered his extensive usefulness, his request will be granted; and the best prayer he can make for your honours is, that you were "not only almost, but altogether such as he is, except these bonds."

And for this, your petitioner, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

DANIEL DOLLAR.

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SOME ACCOUNT OF THE LATE MATTHEW BOULTON.

THE following biographical sketch of a conspicuous Englishman, intimately connected with the arts, manufactures, and commerce of his country, will be interesting to the political economist, the patriot, and all those who justly appreciate the importance of such a character to a nation.

IF genius and indefatigable industry, directed by the purest patriotism, have any claim to the notice of our readers, an account of this gentleman cannot but be highly acceptable. When we contemplate the enlarged extent of his views, the wide and rapid circulation of his improvements and discoveries in the most important branches of art, and the numerous and honourable connexions which he has formed in every part of the civilized world, we shall be obliged to admit that few men possess greater claims to the attention and gratitude of their country. Matthew Boulton was born at Birmingham, the 14th of September, 1728. He received the chief part of his education at a private grammar school. So early as the year 1745, Mr. Boulton having lost his father, who left him in flourishing circumstances, distinguished himself by the invention of a new and most ingenious method of inlaying steel. Buckles, watch chains, and a great variety of other articles, wrought at his manufactory, were exported in large quantities to France, where they were eagerly purchased by the English, who affected to have no taste for the productions of their own country. The confinement of a populous town was but ill suited to such an establishment as soon became necessary for Mr. Boulton's farther experiments. Accordingly in the year 1762, he purchased those extensive tracts of common, at that time a barren heath, with only a small house and mill, on which the Soho manufactory now stands. He laid the foundation of his present extensive works, at the expense of 9,000*l*. To this spot his liberal patronage soon attracted great numbers of ingenious men from all parts, and by their aid he so eminently succeeded in imitating the *or molu*, that the most splendid apartments in this and in many foreign countries received their ornaments from Soho. Here too the works of the greatest masters in oil colours were mechanically taken off, with such ease and exactness, that the original could scarcely be distinguished from the copy. This mode of copying was invented by

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the late Mr. Eggington, whose performances in stained glass afterwards introduced his name to public notice. The utmost power of the water mill, which Mr. Boulton had hitherto employed, fell infinitely short, even with the aid of horses, of that immense force which was soon found necessary to the completion of his designs. Recourse was therefore had, about the year 1767, to that *chef d'oeuvre* of human ingenuity, the steam engine. The first that Mr. Boulton constructed was on M. Savary's plan; but the machine was yet, as it were, in its infancy, and by no means answered Mr. Boulton's expectations. In the year 1769, Mr. James Watt, of Glasgow, obtained a patent for such a prodigious improvement of it, that Mr. Boulton immediately sought his acquaintance, and induced him to settle at Soho. At this place the facility of its application to a variety of concerns, wherein great force was requisite, soon manifested its superior utility and vast advantages to the public; parliament, therefore, in 1775, cheerfully granted a prolongation of Mr. Watt's patent for twenty-five years. A partnership now commenced between Messrs. Boulton and Watt; and a manufactory of steam engines, on their improved plan was established at Soho, which still supplies the chief mines and manufactories throughout the kingdom. Aided by such talents, and commanding such unlimited mechanical powers, Mr. Boulton's views soon expanded, and Soho began to exhibit symptoms of the extraordinary advantages it had acquired. The art of coining had long stood in need of simplification and arrangement, and to this art Mr. Boulton no sooner turned his attention, than about the year 1788, he erected a coining mill, on an improved plan, and struck a gold medal of the full weight of a guinea, and of the same form as that of his new copper coinage lately put into circulation. The superior advantages of that form are obvious. The impression is far less liable to friction; and by means of a steel gauge of equal diameter, money coined on that principle, may be examined by measure as well by weight, the rim being exactly circular. Moreover, the intrinsic is so nearly equal to the current value of every piece, that, without a steam engine and adequate apparatus, every attempt to counterfeit the Soho coinage must be made with loss. The fabrication of base money seems likely, by these means, to be speedily checked, and, it is to be

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hoped entirely defeated. The mill at Soho works eight machines, each of which receives stamps, and delivers out, by the aid of only a little boy, from seventy to ninety pieces of copper in one minute. Either of them is stopped without the smallest interruption to the motion of the others. In adjoining apartments all the preparatory processes are carried on with equal facility and despatch; such as rolling the copper into sheets, dividing them into blanks, and shaking them into bags clean and ready for the die. Without any personal communication between the different classes of workmen, the blanks are conveyed to the room where they are shaken, and from thence to the coining room in boxes, moving with immense velocity on an inclined plane, and accompanied by a ticket of their weight. The Sierra Leone Company employed Mr. Boulton's mint in the coinage of silver, and the East India Company in that of copper. He also sent two complete mints to Petersburgh. Mr. Boulton having presented Paul I, with some of the most curious articles of his manufactory, in return received a polite letter of thanks and approbation together with a splendid collection of medals, minerals from Siberia, and specimens of all the modern money of Russia. With the view of still further improving and facilitating the manufactory of steam engines, Messrs. Boulton and Watt, in conjunction with their sons established a foundry at Smethwick, a short distance from Soho. Here that powerful agent is employed, as it were, to multiply itself, and its various parts are fabricated and adapted together with the same regularity, neatness, and expedition, which distinguish all the operations of their manufactory. Those engines are afterwards distributed to all parts of the kingdom by the Birmingham canal, which communicates with a wet dock belonging to the foundry. It could scarcely be expected that envy would view with indifference, such singular merit, and such unexampled success. The inventions and improvements of Messrs. Boulton and Watt were first imitated; and then either decried or disputed. Reason laboured in vain to silence the clamours of injustice, and to defeat the stratagems of fraud. At length, in the year 1792, a solemn decision of parliament, and, about the same time, the concurrent opinion of the court of King's Bench, forbade any encroachment. The last discovery for which Mr. Boulton obtained a patent, was

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the important "method of raising water and other fluids."* Whoever contemplates the merit and utility of a long life devoted to such valuable pursuits, as we have here briefly and very imperfectly described, and recollects, without emotion, that the spot on which so much has been done, and is still doing; where hundreds of women and children easily earn a comfortable subsistence; where population is as rapidly increasing, and the means of national prosperity improving in proportion, was lately a bleak, swampy, and sterile waste, must want understanding to comprehend, or sympathy to appreciate, the happiness of his fellow creatures. To comment upon the private character of a gentleman in Mr. Boulton's situation, would be an useless task; we shall, therefore, only observe, that as his great and expanded mind formed and brought to perfection the wonderful works we have briefly endeavoured to describe, so he felt no greater felicity than that of diffusing happiness to all around him. For a long time previous to his decease, he had been confined to his room by illness, and his dissolution was daily expected. His memory should ever remain dear to the British nation, whose glory was materially advanced in proportion to his own fame. While we commemorate those great men who have sought their country's honour in the fields of war, we ought not to omit paying a just tribute of applause to those who have promoted arts, industry, and commerce, and diffused plenty and comfort through the realm, by cultivating science, and applying it to the useful arts of peace. They are citizens of the world, and should be naturalized in every breast.

EMIGRATION OF OLD MAIDS.

A society of young gentlemen of Connecticut have adopted an article in their constitution to this effect—"that no member shall be permitted to marry under any circumstances an *illiterate* woman;" and in consequence of this resolution forty old maids have removed into the western country in despair.

* This is an invention, perhaps, only inferior to the steam engine, and the uses to which it may be applied are numerous, and of daily occurrence.
Ed. P. F.

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THE ADVERSARIA.—FOR THE PORT FOLIO.

Auto-biography.—Of those who have delighted and instructed us, and whose fame is as deserved as it is extensive, we seem never to have heard enough, and however numerous the volumes that compose their memoirs, they produce no satiety. There is not a more agreeable lounging book in the library than the ponderous Life of Johnson, by that *fidus achates*, James Boswell, esquire; and many of the idolizers of Shakspeare have often wished that such a piece of biography relating to the bard, had been written and preserved to our days. We, however, entertain no such desire. With an enthusiastic veneration for him, whose writings are not for a season, but "for all time," we combine a jealous anxiety concerning his character as a man in common life, which supercedes our curiosity, and makes us wish rather that the weaknesses and vices inseparable from humanity, should be lost in oblivion, than blazoned forth to tarnish, in the slightest degree, the glory of his immortal muse. It is the opinion even of Marmontel, who has written his own memoirs, that "the maxim *conceal thy actions*, suits no one better than a man of letters, and that it is only by his writings that he should be celebrated." An author, indeed, has been well compared to a great city, which, seen at a distance, appears in all its parts, grand and noble; but approach it, and examine minutely into it, and you will find that, with all its superb squares and magnificent edifices, it is abundantly disfigured by dirty lanes and filthy spectacles. We rejoice, therefore, that such a scrutiny of Shakspeare has been denied to us, and, on the principle of *omne ignotum pro magnifico*, we are convinced that the lustre of his name has derived splendour from the absence of these lights.

—

In the following lines the reader will find an illustration of "the philosophy of tale-telling," as it is practised by certain puling poets of the present day, who are the more inexcusable, because they have shown that they are capable of loftier flights.

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THE COTTAGE GIRL.

Perched on a stone, beside the cottage door,
Sat a child-girl, in raiment somewhat poor,
Blooming;—a wild rose 'mid the invidious shade!—
Lingering she sat, for not yet piggy came
In her morn-meal his wonted part to claim:—
Sipping she anxious watched each opening glade.

But now he comes, in coat not purest white;—
(To ladies even pigs should be polite;)
And now they joyful eat, and oft she smiled:
But lo! too greedy of the goodly fare,
Poor piggy munches far above his share,
"Take a 'poon, piggy," then exclaimed the child.

"Ah! simple girl! yet man from thee might learn
Love to his fellow men, and wise discern
That all were better, loving less themselves:—
But sure, if some amid the various crowd
Should gulp too much, 'twere fair to cry aloud,
'Take a 'poon, piggy!' to the senseless elves."

—

The Theatre.—In the year 1612, Thomas Heywood printed his "*Apology for Actors*," in which he says "he endeavoured to make a good subject, which many through envy, but most through ignorance, have sought violently, and beyond merit, to oppugne." Although nothing scarcely is known of the life of this quaint writer, few names are so familiar among the authors of the Elizabethan age as that of Heywood. During the space of forty years, his pen was never idle, and in two hundred and twenty plays, he asserts the almost incredible fact, that "he had either an active hand, or, at the least, a main finger," besides numerous other works. It has been calculated that he must have got through a sheet a day. In one of his performances, he laments that he had not been more attentive to the publications, some of which had got abroad in so mangled a shape, that he was ashamed to own them; and as not more than a tenth part of his writings have escaped the devouring hand of time, we may account in some measure for the number of them. The address, entitled the "Author to his Booke," which is prefixed to the "Apology

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for Actors," will remind the reader of certain passages with which every school-boy is familiar.

The world's a theatre, the earth a stage,
Which God and nature doth with actors fill,
Kings have their entrance with due equipage,
And some their parts play well, and others ill.
The best no better are (in this theatre)
Where every humour's fitted in his kind—
This a true subject acts, and that a traitor,
The first applauded, and the last confin'd,
This plays an honest man, and that a knave;
A gentle person this, and he a clown,
One man is ragged, and another brave:
All men have parts, and each man acts his own.
She a chaste lady acteth all her life,
* * * *
This, covets marriage love—that, nuptial strife;
Both in continual action spend their days.
Some citizens, some soldiers, born to adventure,
Shepherds and seamen. Then our play's begun
When we are born, and to the world first enter;
And all find exits when their parts are done.
If then the world a theatre present,
As by the roundness it appears most fit,
Built with star-galleries of high ascent,
In which *Jehove* doth as spectator sit,
And chief determiner, to applaud the best,
And their endeavours crown with more than merit:
But by their evil actions dooms the rest
To end disgrac't, whilst others praise inherit.
He that denies, then, theatres should be,
He may as well deny a world to me.
"THOMAS HEYWOOD."

Pope.—Though Pope has not always equalled his original, he has in some passages surpassed it. Take the passage (Ilias, a. 345) where Patroclus, by the orders of Achilles, delivers Briseis to the heralds of Agamemnon:

——— Πάτροκλος δὲ φίλῳ, &c.

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Patroclus now th' unwilling beauty brought;
She in soft sorrows, and in pensive thought,
Past silent, as the heralds held her hand,
And oft look'd back, slow moving o'er the strand.

For the last three lines, the translator had no further warrant than the word σιωπῶσα, and how admirably has he amplified this hint! The pause in the penultimate line, *past silent*, brings before our eyes the lingering motion which it describes.

—

In a list of the supplies for the year 1757, in this (then) province, is an article under this strange title: "*left to the public, by a person unknown, 624l. for conscience sake.*" "Would to ——," the editor of the *Pennsylvania Chronicle* exclaims, "all our ministers and placemen were seized with such qualms of conscience!"

—

An extraordinary freshet.—In a ponderous folio description of Great Britain, by Nathaniel Spencer, Esq., a gentleman whose head we can fancy we behold, enveloped in antique guise, in a huge and well powdered wig, and seated, pen in hand, in an arm chair of prodigious amplitude, we find the following important circumstance, narrated with all the becoming gravity of diction:

"Although the brook, or rivulet, at Calne, is most commonly small, yet in November, 1725, a sudden shower of rain falling, it swelled to an amazing height, and did considerable damage to the inhabitants, besides drowning two men, and carrying off a cask of oyl, containing one hundred gallons, *which was not found for several days after!*"

We wonder what this man would have said to an *ice fresh* in the Susquehanna or Delaware?

—

Commire, who is the writer of some Latin verses, which are not unworthy of the classical age, says of the butterfly,—"*it flies, and seems a flower which floats in air.*"

—

I believe *Menage* is the author from whom the following bitter sarcasm is derived:

In this portrait, my fair, thy resemblance I see,
An insensble charmer it is—just like thee.

H.

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A STROLLING PLAYER GIVING A SKETCH OF HIS LIFE.

I could readers, were I inclined to take up many hours of your time, recount to you the various pranks and childish actions of the earliest of my days: but to insure brevity, which is the charm of every tale, I shall merely skim over the prominent features in the portrait of my life.

My name I shall, for the honour of my parents, suppress; and the many aliases that have been tacked to it I shall pass over in silence. My father was a respectable shopkeeper in the city; and being himself doatingly fond of merchandize, he, like many other parents, without considering the talent of the child, brought me up with great care to the same trade. But all his attention and instruction were totally lost upon one who had a natural and unsupportable antipathy to every kind of business, and whose whole mind was filled with airy notions of fame and renown. I had a smattering of taste for literature. I had formed the foolish idea, which has been the bane and ruin of hundreds, that I possessed some sparks of genius, and might make no inconsiderable figure in the world as an author.

My father dying, left me for fortune a good shop, the stock in trade, and a good business, which I endeavonred to carry on for some time; but attending more to making poetry than to making money, to turning a period than to turning the penny, or pleasing my customers, I was at length obliged to keep myself a close prisoner.

The instant I felt the pressure of necessity, I applied with some degree of confidence to my friends, the conductors and publishers of several magazines, who had long fattened in the sunshine of my prosperity, and, whilst eating my dinners, called me the favourite of the Muses; but they gave me the coldest and most disheartening reception, absolutely refusing to give the most *surprizing genius* six pence a-piece for his verses.

Thus being unable to raise money enough by my writings to pay for my lodgings in the attic, and, therefore, being made a bankrupt in the court of Apollo, as well as in the court of chancery, I was arrested and lodged, rent free, in the ———, where I

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passed my time, however, in the best and most fashionable company I had ever met.

In a short time my creditors, perceiving that they might as well endeavour to extract blood out of a post as out of me, thought proper, in the plenitude of their mercy, to set me at large; by which they avoided paying, as I afterwards understood, a certain allowance, which a creditor is compelled to discharge, while he keeps his debtor confined.

I now would wish to pass over five years of my life; but as the reader may desire to know how I managed in the great emergency I experienced on leaving the ———, without a penny in my pocket, I will not disappoint his curiosity, only entreating him that my narrative may not injure me in his esteem.

Fortune smiled on me for some time with uncommon kindness, for, suddenly, like another Midas, whatever I touched turned instantly into gold. But, happening, unluckily, one day, by the merest chance, to touch some spoons in my new lodgings, which were also hastening to turn into gold, they and I were stopped, and I committed to durance vile. Well, reader, the consequence was, that I was sent on a voyage that took me up five long and gloomy years. You must not, however, judge too harshly of me for this faux-pas. You never felt the pangs of want, and, therefore, know not what it is to be tempted to do wrong, to relieve a pressing and present necessity.

My first determination, on my return, was to abandon the Muses, Ambrosia, and Hippocrene, and to get into service, thinking I should thrive better with cook-maids on roast-beef and porter.

The first place I obtained, through the medium of *an office for servants*, which gave me the fairest character imaginable, was with a dramatic writer, who was the most consummate plagiary living; by taking characters and incidents from obsolete plays and old novels, he contrived to frame dramatic pieces that met with passable success. To speak truly of him, he was in his business a very good *mechanic*. Here I lived exceedingly well for about three months; when, on a sudden, my master left off eating, drank little, slept less, and stuck to his anvil day and night. This naturally alarmed me, and the more, as I could not, for the soul of

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me, come at the reason. At length, having eaten up the last morsel of eatable matter, I could hold out no longer, and determined to know the cause of this extraordinary and unchristian-like fast; farther resolving, if my master was doing penance for his sins, to leave him, as I thought I had perfectly expiated mine, by my late voyage.

Living in chambers, there was, as it is common, an old laundress, who used formerly to come every morning to make the beds, and put the rooms in order. These offices, however, were now totally abolished, my master always locking the door of his room, whenever he made an excursion from home. This the old woman was aware of, and never troubled him with her visits. In my dilemma, it soon occurred to me, that she would be a proper person of whom to inquire the cause of this melancholy change in the order of the house. At first she appeared surprized at the several questions I put to her on the subject; and, at last, burst out into a violent fit of laughter, exclaiming: "What the dickens! an't you gone yet?—Why he has begun above a week!"——"Begun! begun what?" cried I: "he's left off eating—I know that—Begun what?"—She replied: "Why his next play to be sure; and high time too, having spent all the money he got for his last. Why, child, he has no idea that you're in the house."——"O! ho!" said I, "is that the case?—Then I shall strike my tent, and beat a march to-morrow morning; not, however, without asking for my pay."

I then quitted the old laundress and remained at my master's chambers, teasing him for my wages, until I could fast no longer; and, being unable to recover a *sous*, I took pity on him, having been a debtor myself, and left him in peace, to go in search of one who made more use of his *digestive powers;* one who paid less respect to *intellectual pleasures than to sensible ones.*

Immediately after this, I was hired by a caricaturist, with whom I lived pretty well, but whose being over head and ears in debt was the cause of my losing my place. It happened in the following manner: It was a custom with all the friends of my new master, who called on him, to cough, at the same time that they knocked in a particular manner at the door, which was a signal that they were no bailiffs. A beef-steak pye having been taken to

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the baker's one morning, to be ready at two, and the clock having struck, I was in wonderful appetite and anxiety for the baker's approach. Looking out of the window, (we lived up three pair of stairs), I saw him coming down the street—presently heard him upon the stairs, and now he knocks and coughs. The door was instantly opened, the pye seized, and the baker dismissed. Having both my hands full, and the dish being very hot, I had no time to attend the door, which the careless rascal left on the jar, and the bailiffs, ever on the watch, before my master could help himself, in rushed a couple of them, and quickly tapped the affrighted caricaturist on the shoulder, who, at the moment, exhibited himself the finest caricature I ever witnessed.

The poor painter was soon spirited away by one of the bailiffs, who told the other to sit down, keep up the fire, and to expect him back as soon as possible. Off they trudged, and I and the remaining bailiff, without farther ceremony, began the pye. In a short time the second returned, and we all set to. The bailiffs staid here two days, until they had ate and drank every thing there was in the chambers, when it was thought full time to part and depart. The tipstaffs took their own rout, and I, pennyless and hungry, made towards St. James's park, where, sitting down on one of the benches, I pulled out a piece of paper, and began to write some verses; a stratagem I had often known to succeed in charming away the unpleasant sensation arising from the gnawings of an empty belly. As I was writing, without noticing the objects that passed and repassed before me, I was suddenly startled by a loud burst of laughter, and an exclamation—*Very well! very good, indeed!* I instantly turned my head, and perceived a friend of my late master's looking over my shoulder. "What!" said he, "so they have nabbed the caricaturist? Well, well, he can draw there, as well as in his own lodgings—he's no more a prisoner in the one place than in the other. And you, if I may judge from your present employment, and that hungry face, are on the *pavé*—I beg pardon—are at large." It appears that no words could have expressed the feelings of my compassionate bowels more loudly and perfectly than my countenance. Hunger was personified in my appearance. I was its symbol, type, and image.

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"Well," continued the gentleman, who was of a ruddy laughter-loving countenance, and the picture of plenty; "if I conjecture right, follow me: I'm going home to dinner, where you may dine, and stay, if you like, till you get a better place."

When the manna fell from heaven, the children of Israel did not seize it with more avidity than I did the kind offer that was made me:—I followed him to his house. My new master, for so I may now call him, was a more uncommon character than either of those I had lived with before. He had, readers, like your humble servant, employed the younger part of his life in business; from which he had seceded, unlike your humble servant, with property sufficient to live on, and therefore to be independent. Few, (I must moralise here), few know how to estimate their own abilities. I mistook mine; as did also my master—for none was ever better calculated to preserve a peaceful and honourable course in trade than himself, and none less fitted to support the character he affected—a man of genius!

He was a man who never descended from his stilts, but, on the commonest subjects, spoke with such a pompous display of inflated diction, as to destroy entirely the repose of the risible muscles of his auditors. Ever in search of topics elevated far above the scope of his comprehension, he passed his whole time in an eternal warfare with disquisitions which bewildered him, and hard words that stuck in his throat and almost choaked him. On every other pursuit, as well as its pursuers, except that of literature, he looked with ineffable contempt. To learn the sentiments of literary men on the various publications of the day, was his occupation during the morning, running with indefatigable industry to each bookseller's shop resorted to by the self-denominated literati. The desire nearest his heart was to be thought an author, and with the assistance of a needy, but clever writer, he had so far succeeded as to publish a tract, by which he had acquired some fame with those to whom he was unknown. This work did not, it may be easily supposed, prove very profitable to him; for, being his delight, he spent fifty pounds more than he got for it in the advertisements. It was, moreover, printed and embellished with all the splendour of modern literary foppery. Though an author, his ignorance of his brethren, and especially of the *belles*

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lettres, was so extraordinary, that he one day asked me whether I had ever read *Bell*, that he heard much talk of his *letters*, but could never meet with them, or indeed any of his works. He would use words and phrases in giving me orders that I never could find in any English author I had ever met with; and was therefore often obliged to request an explanation, which he would sometimes give me with an air of superiority mingled with a look of pity and compassion; at other times, when, I believe, he was himself a stranger to their meaning, he would avoid my question, by saying, "He was really ashamed of my ignorance." His hand writing also, though he could write like copperplate, he used to mutilate, till it was unintelligible. As he knew I was acquainted with this, I one day took the liberty to ask him his reason for it. He replied hastily: "When did you ever see a man of genius write intelligibly? Rurigenous cook-maids, and automatical bankers' clerks, may take care of their autography: but the logical mind has to divide and to subdivide; to connect and to compare, and to rush impetuous into those metaphysical regions of intellectual fruition, which intender and edulcorate the heart; and disdains to offuscate itself by—by—it disdains it, I say:"—and here he stopped. I assented silently, and he continued dressing himself for his morning's peregrination, in what he called "the sphere of science and the land of letters." I was told by a friend of his, who would often joke him on his affectation of literature, but who could never joke him out of it, that, when he first commenced the character, to look it the better, he had his hair cut off,* and went without powder; but, possessing all the dross, without any of the ore, he was scouted in every company, and obliged at last to put on a clean shirt occasionally, to wear a little powder, and to dress like a Christian, to render himself acceptable or bearable. So ardent was his wish to be known as a writer, that it betrayed him into the most ridiculous actions. After the publication of the tract I

* Hearing that my master had had his tail cut off, one of his friends, a wag, imagining that the hair-dresser promised to make a braid of it, made the tail, on leaving its old possessor, say:

"Farewell! thou wilt not get a better in my stead,
"Though 'twill be hard but I may find a wiser head."

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have noticed, he was never seen without a proof sheet of it, (valuable to him as a Sybil's leaf,) in his pocket, which, while lolling at the bookseller's, he would sometimes appear to be reading, and, at others, correcting, as if it were a new performance, just ready to issue from the press. The moment, at length, arrived, in which he was to pay dearly for the gratification of his folly. The man, who had assisted him in his authorship, had made several attacks on his purse, which his gratitude and fear would not permit him to repel; and had at last managed to get him to sign a bond, which terminated in his ruin. I was of course discharged; and he, I since understand, was, after he had sufficiently seen his error, sent by his friends to live in the country, where, I hear, he is so much recalled to his senses, that, as he is not in the way of seeing a literary man, or a man of genius, he hates to hear the epithets pronounced; and has more than once declared, that a literary puppy is the most despicable insect in the creation; and that the affectation and puppyism of literature are less tolerable, and more ridiculous than the puppyism of all other puppies in the world.

After having been so unfortunate in my three first essays in service, it will not strike the reader with astonishment, that I should conceive an idea of bending my thought towards some other employment. I could easily have obtained a very excellent character, perhaps, from some one of my masters; but certainly from those venders of reputation, who had served me so essentially on my return from—from—that is to say, when I first put on the yoke of servitude. But I was determined to embrace a pursuit of life that promised at once to be more lucrative and less burthensome than the occupation of a servant. Amongst the several that presented themselves to my mind, none, for a considerable time, came unaccompanied by insurmountable difficulties. To take the path of literature, to lead me to fortune, said I to myself, would be, *knowing what I know*, the very acme of insanity. Upon making this observation, I fell into a train of thinking, that brought me, when I least expected it, into the identical harbour for which I was sailing, but without either compass or pilot. Literature, said I, will never answer my purpose. A *printer's devil*, or a *postman*, earns more in a week than most other men of letters can realize in half a year. Why, a beggar gets more,

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and lives better, than half the garret tenants in the kingdom!—Better! continued I; ecod, I don't know whether there are many trades, in a town like London, to be preferred to that of a beggar! In a word, I concluded my reflections with a resolution to turn mendicant, and live on the eleemosynary alms of charitable Christians. My profession being fixed, there now remained nothing to be done but to equip myself with propriety and judgment: for the business of a beggar would go on but poorly, unless he had recourse to the order of his fraternity—a wo-begone face and a ragged coat. The object I thought most likely to excite charity, and which I at the same time deemed most easy to represent, was a debilitated old man. This I effected by the sale of some of my late master's old coats, with the produce of which I purchased a wig, made of hoary locks, and formed to inspire reverence, which, when on my head, with the assistance of my hat, looked exactly as if it had been my own hair. I then disfigured every part of my habiliment, until it had a perfect air of poverty and distress. After this, I dirtied my face, whitened my eyebrows, and, taking a stick to support my trembling limbs, hobbled out from an obscure lodging I had taken in St. Giles's, to experience the success of my stratagem.

The first day I cleared eight shillings and four pence. And, indeed, I very well deserved it, on account of my ingenuity; for not one bird of the same feather did I observe, and I observed more this day than at any former period, who had plumed himself so notably as I. I had, in truth, dressed the poor old wretch I wished to appear so minutely, that I scarcely ever received a penny without an ejaculation of pity, that a man at my years should be reduced to the necessity of begging about the streets. I pursued this business for some time, often getting more than I did the first day, but never less than five or six shillings; and, I believe the *worst dressed* of our order seldom get less than five: for we are all able enough, though blind and lame, to go into sixty streets in the course of the day; and it must be a very uncharitable street, indeed, that won't produce a penny. Continually, in the dusk of the evening, have I had sixpences, and shillings even, slipped into my hand by persons who would scarcely let me see them do it; and from *this*, added to the *number of beggars*

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there is, I am convinced, much more charity in mankind than people are apt to imagine.*

However, this calling, like all others, has its drawbacks and inconveniences. I assert it without reservation, that, were it not for beadles and parish officers, few, very few honest tradesmen could live so well as a beggar, who could give his character a striking effect. But those scoundrels are severe and exorbitant in their exaction from the profits of an industrious trader in charity, who, by his profession, affords such fair opportunities to Christians of going to heaven. At first a beggar is taken no notice of by these gentlemen; but no sooner do they perceive that you have got into *a good line of business*, than the officer of every parish through which you make your daily transit, demands his homage, poundage, fealty, and fine.

If you refuse to comply, they either get you sent to the house of correction, or, what is worse, passed on to your own parish—for doing which, they receive the reward of praise, for having done their duty. But if you accede to their request, they are quite careless about the *reward of praise*, and you are permitted to go on with your work unmolested. On this account, or perhaps more from being of that unsettled, fluctuating disposition, that would rather change for the worse than not change at all, and having accumulated a small purse, I left my profitable business, in which I had been, and lived well on for three months, and resolved to turn strolling player.

I soon formed a connexion with the manager of a strolling company, who, approving of my abilities, very readily received me amongst his dramatic corps; and, after they had assisted me to spend the little money I had saved, we all set out on our provincial campaign, to describe which, readers, would be to fatigue you with a series of events, teeming with poverty and wretchedness, yet, surprising as it may appear, with content and inward

* This exposure must not entirely root out from our readers the custom of giving alms to common beggars: for there may often be a due degree of merit in the object, and, if it be otherwise, always as much charity in the donor. Burke very justly imputed inattention to the petitions of public mendicants for relief, not to a policy of discouraging beggars, but to an unwillingness to part with money.

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satisfaction. So wonderful, indeed, is the infatuation that possesses the mind of a stage-struck hero! And I do not believe that any of the company, excepting myself, would change his situation for that of the most wealthy of his auditors, if it precluded the indulgence of acting, or rather of fuming and fretting. A few days ago, the gay Lothario of the company was taken before a justice of the peace, on suspicion of having stolen a goose off a common we were crossing. On this occasion we sent our Calista with him, attended by eight children walkers, and two in her arms. The children were of use to us: for they saved the gallant Lothario from standing in the stocks. The justice, I recollect, was mightily moved when the necessity was represented to him, by our colleague, a shrewd fellow, which a poor devil must labour under who had to maintain so many *pretty ones*. And he said, "Be of good cheer, woman," speaking to Calista, who was, like Niobe, *all in tears;* "persuade your husband to be honest, for the future, and never fear on account of your children, for whenever God sent mouths, he always sent victuals also."—"That may be, your worship," said Lothario, encouraged by a previous acquittal; "but, unfortunately, it too often happens, as it now does to us, that *He sends all the mouths to one house and all the victuals to another*." This last observation tickled his honour so much, that Lothario actually got half-a-crown from the justice for stealing the goose.

As to my wardrobe, readers, it is small. The suit I have on, is my best suit—best—because I have no other. Heaven forsake me, if I have a change in the world—A strolling player never packs up his clothes. In my suit have I played a whole season, every night, in play and farce, as I hope to be saved. But I must not despise my coat, neither: for to it, more than to my merit, (no uncommon thing), I owe my preferment to the part of Julius Cæsar. Its size (being no spenser), and the sun having changed its original colour, which was blue, to something like a purple, by turning the buttons inwards, and twisting it round me, it was thought by our manager to imitate, if not correctly, yet certainly much better than any coat in the company, the habit worn by the Roman emperors. So I enacted Julius Cæsar, in the play; then, slipping into the arms, and displaying the buttons, I was dressed

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for Peeping Tom in the farce. I am now in the profession of a strolling player, my own master, but master, alas! of nothing else. However, I am not of a grieving disposition. If the sun smiles on me, I return the smile—If the clouds lower, I smile by myself.

I shall not dwell any longer on my theatrical career, well pleased if, at this time I finish, I leave all my readers with their eyes open.

TO FOREIGNERS.

ALIENS are informed, that such as have arrived in the United States since April 14, 1802, must report themselves to the clerk of some court of record, and wait five years before they can be naturalized, even though they may have declared their intention to become citizens, some time since. Those who have not made their declaration, must do that also three years before they can be naturalized. By the law of congress, the certificate of report and registry must be produced to the court, as an evidence of the time of arrival in the United States, at the time of application to be naturalized ;and by a law passed March 22, 1816, the certificate of report and registry must be recited, at full length, in the certificate of naturalization, otherwise such certificate will be of no validity.

A few miles above the Columbia, on Duck river, are a number of fortifications and mounds, into some of which some young men dug a small distance, and found several well burnt bricks, about nine inches square and three inches thick; also several fragments of earthenware; and a sword, about two feet long, different from any in use since the whites visited the continent; apparently once highly polished, but now much eaten with rust. A gentleman passing over one of the fields of ancient slaughter, on the banks of the Caney Fork, his eye caught some rude letters on a flat stone, he examined it, and made out—"we are all cut off." Who were the sufferers we have yet to learn, and hope that some fortunate discovery will one day satisfy the curious.

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THE USEFUL ARTS.

Collected and in part written for the Port Folio.

Chinese Paste.—The method of making paste in China is much more economical than the mode followed in this country. Were it universally adopted by trunk-makers, book-binders and others, who use great quantities, it would produce a very material saving of flour, which in years of scarcity might be of the greatest consequence. The following formula used in China was lately communicated to *Sir Joseph Banks*, by a gentleman in Canton. Mix together bullocks' blood and quick lime, in the proportion of 1 lb. of the latter to 10 lb. of the former. It becomes a stiff jelly, in which state it is sold to the consumers, who beat it down with an addition of water, into a state sufficiently fluid for use. At Canton it will keep five or six days in the hot weather, and ten or twenty days in the cold. In Britain it would probably keep longer. Our country may be taken as a medium between these two extremes.

To soften Steel.—Mr. Thomas Gill has published his processes for softening steel, by heating and quenching it, and on the hardening it at one operation.

It is well known, he remarks, that unless steel be heated to the proper degree, it will not harden on being quenched in water, or other proper fluid; but it has escaped the general observation, that *steel heated rather below the hardening point, and quenched will be softened thereby*, and in a much superior manner than by the usual methods of annealing it, insomuch that it can be more readily filed, turned, &c. and is entirely free from pins or hard spots; and as it is not at all liable to be injured by this process, and can be softened thereby in a much shorter time than by annealing it, so it ought to be universally adopted.

Steel springs are usually hardened and tempered by two distinct operations, being first heated to the proper degree, and hardened by quenching in water, oil, &c. and then tempered, either by rubbing them bright, and heating them, till they acquire a pale blue or gray colour, or by burning or blazing off the oil, &c.

It is, however, now found that both the operations may be performed at once, advantageously, in the following manner:

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The steel being heated to the proper degree, is to be plunged into a metallic bath composed of a mixture of lead and tin, such for instance as plumber's solder, and which is heated by a proper furnace, to a tempering degree, as indicated by a pyrometer or thermometer placed in the bath, *when the steel will be at once hardened and tempered*, and with much less danger of warping or cracking in the process than if treated in the usual way.

It would be a further improvement to heat the steel in a bath of red-hot lead to the proper degree for hardening, previous to quenching and tempering it in the other metallic bath, as it would thereby be more uniformly heated, and be in less danger of oxidation; and, indeed, it is an excellent method of heating steel, either for softening it, as in the first described process, or for hardening and tempering it at once, as in the last one, or even for hardening it in the usual method.

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New method of seasoning Mahogany.—In "the transactions of the society for the encouragement of arts, manufactures and commerce," it appears that the sum of fifteen guineas was lately voted to Mr. James Callender for an ingenious method of seasoning mahogany. His plan is very simple. Having provided a steam-tight wooden box capable of holding conveniently such pieces of mahogany as are fit for chairs, &c. he adapts to it a pipe from a boiler, by means of which he fills the box with steam, (after the mahogany has been put into it), the temperature of which is about equal to that of boiling water. The time required for inch-and-a-half wood is about two hours, and pieces of this thickness will become sufficiently dry to work, after being placed in a warm room or workshop for twenty-four hours. The wood by this treatment is somewhat improved in its general colour, and those blemishes which are technically called *green veins* are entirely removed. It is also obvious, that the eggs or *larvæ* of any insects which may be contained in the wood, will be destroyed by the heat. By this method much capital which otherwise would be idle for many months, is saved; and as the small stuff from two to six inches thick is never seasoned, all articles made of such wood, as chairs, ballustrades &c., may be prevented from warping, by this expeditious

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seasoning. Chairs, &c. thus steamed are not liable to crack or warp even though exposed to heat.

Substitution of Tar for Oil for the purpose of illumination.—Professor Hare, has contrived an apparatus for burning tar instead of oil, to light cities, manufactories, &c. with a great diminution of expense. He has ascertained that three pounds of tar, burnt in this apparatus, will give as much light as two pounds of oil or tallow burnt in the usual manner, and consequently, calculated on the usual prices of these articles, and the entire saving for wicks, which are not required for the burning of tar, it appears that the same quantity of light may be produced in this way at a very reduced cost. The apparatus consists of a fountain reservoir to hold four or five pounds of tar to supply the lamp at a uniform height, and a lanthorn with a draught pipe attached to it. The lamp presents at one end a cylindrical mouth for receiving the pipe of the reservoir; at the other end a cylindrical cup, in which the tar is ignited, the flame being drawn up through a central hole in the bottom of the lanthorn so as to occupy its axis in passing to the draught pipe. All the air which supplies this is made to meet in the same axis, and thus to excite the combustion. A lamp of this description will burn for nine hours, and it is found that by it the carbonaceous matter, which usually obscures the flame of resinous substances, is made to contribute to the light. Four or five barrels of tar used in this way, and they would not cost more than ten or twelve dollars, it is computed would give eight times the light of a common street lamp for one year.

Green Fruit in Winter.—Let cherries, strawberries, raspberries, plumbs, peaches, or any other succulent fruit whatever, be put into a vessel somewhat like that used by common confectioners for freezing ice creams, around which put salt and ice, exactly as they do. The fruit will soon be frozen, when it should be carried to the ice house, and placed in a hole dug out in the centre of the ice, and over the top of the hole a quantity of powdered charcoal should be placed, secured by a common watchcoat blanket. When the winter season arrives, the containing vessel may be opened, and the fruit taken out in its frozen state; then place

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it in *cold* water to thaw, and it will be found as delicious as when first gathered. When salt and ice, in the manner employed by confectioners in general, shall be found inadequate to freeze some fruits hard enough, the mixture for producing an intense cold, is spoken of by Chaptal, the celebrated French chymist, of saltpetre and glauber salts, will effectually freeze it very hard.

Tar Fumigation.—Sir Alexander Crichton, physician to the emperor of Russia, has made some experiments on the vapour in boiling tar in the case of pulmonary consumption; the favourable result of these experiments has been published in Edinburg.—Such of our readers who have friends labouring under the complaint, and wish to make trial of this remedy, should observe the following precautions; with each lb. or mutchkin of tar, mix half an ounce of the salt of tartar; care must be taken that the tar be not boiled in a cracked vessel, and, that it be only evaporated, not burnt. After adopting these precautions, the patient may inhale the vapour for several hours every day. At first it frequently occasions head ache.

Deaf and Dumb.—We take great pleasure in announcing the liberality of the visiters at Saratoga and Ballstown, for promoting the objects of the institution for the Deaf and Dumb. Mr. Galaudet, the principal of the institution, having presented a subscription paper for the purpose of procuring funds to erect suitable buildings for the accommodation of pupils at Hartford, Connecticut, received in one week, at Saratoga, nearly five hundred dollars, and at Ballstown upwards of three hundred dollars. We learn that gentleman from Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia, banishing local considerations and partialities, subscribed with great liberality.

To improve Ground, destroy Underwood, and at the same time raise a valuable crop of Potatoes.—As much land lies in a manner waste through the United States, by being overrun with brush or underwood, I have not, as yet, seen or heard of any method found to eradicate them, but by strength of men and money. However, what is to follow, may show the great treasure that may be

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made of them by those who, perhaps, formerly made them a nuisance, and with great expense have strove to be quit of them. Some burn the tops on the ground, and stub up the roots by men at great expense; others (who think themselves, perhaps, at the height of improvement in this matter) tear them up with strong ploughs and horses; but if they consider what a vast body of manure they send into the clouds, and destroy, they certainly would be angry with themselves for so doing—particularly when they once try the valuable method of setting potatoes on them. They will then see that the sap they contain is very rich manure, which, when smothered, quickly rots. It will enrich the ground past imagination, and at the same time raise a valuable crop with very little expense. The second crop (for it will bring two) will not be much inferior to the first, and may be got with very small trouble and expense. After the second crop of potatoes is off, if the ground be strong, it will bring a good crop of wheat or beans; or if light and sandy, barley or rye. The first thing to be done, is to cut away through the underwood, where the trenches will fall; then stretch a line to the breadth of the ridge you fix upon. If your ground be a deep soil, the ridge may be broad, and the trench so deep as to afford earth enough to cover the brushwood 4 inches thick. The best breadth for these ridges is 9 feet, and the trench or furrow 2 feet, so that two spits deep and a shoveling will give the covering required. Tread down the brushwood before you lay on the earth, so as to make them fall close one way; if they be not very strong stalks, treading, and the earth, will keep them down; but if the stalks be too gross, give them a nick close to the root. All the brushwood you cut up where the furrows fall, you must lay on the ridge in the most vacant places you can find, as there are few closes so full of underwood but have some bare spots: therefore, what is cut from the furrows will make up the deficiency of manure, as they will act in that station. There is no method yet found out, in my opinion, for destroying brush or underwood equal to this. The longer the ground is trenched before the potatoes are set the better; that the underwood may have time to rot and ferment with the earth; they should be trenched about the latter end of August, and the potatoes set the latter end of the April following. Holes must be made 9 inches

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asunder, with a settling stick, to let the end down to the wood; in order to make the sink the easier, fix a pin across six inches from the bottom, to set the foot upon in the nature of a spade, and as you make the holes, any children will follow and drop in the seed. After they are set, rake the lands to fill the holes. When the potatoes are first beginning to peep above ground, shovel the furrows and throw the loose earth over the beds, which will give it a thin covering. All the loose earth that the spade leaves in trenching must be reserved at the bottom of the furrow on purpose for this use. It is far the best to take two crops; because the second is got for little expense, and it gives a sufficient time for the underwood to rot, and the earth to meliorate. The second is to be planted the same as the first crop. The branches and roots of the brushwood will be so rotten (after the second crop) as not to resist the plough. Therefore, you may plough up the ground, either for wheat or barley, which cannot fail of a crop after such a rich dressing. This is an excellent method of improving the land that is covered with brush or underwood.

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To rid a garden of caterpillars.—Taking the advantage of a rainy morning, while the leaves are wet, sprinkle them, especially the under parts, and young shoots, with fine sand. The caterpillars, entangled in the sand, will drop off in apparent agony, and will not return.

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Horse Chesnuts.—In Turkey, these nuts, the use of which has been neglected in every other country, are ground and mixed with provender for horses, particularly for such as are broken-winded, or troubled with coughs. After being boiled a little to take off the bitterness, bruised and mixed with a small quantity of barley meal, they are a good food for rearing and fattening poultry.

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Plaister of Paris.—Two large deposits of Gypsum have lately been discovered in Overton county, Tennessee, about 80 miles east of Nashville, and near the Cumberland river. It is supposed that those deposits contain Gypsum enough to supply all America. This country, also abounds with stone coal. iron ore, copperas, plastick clay and salt springs. It is said a company in this coun-

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try, in boring for salt brine, have penetrated more than 100 feet through a dense salt rock.

Rats and mice will immediately quit barns, granaries, &c. wherein is placed the field plant, called dog's tongue, bruised with a hammer.

Heliogoland Bean.—The merit of these beans consists in their extraordinary prolifick quality—their perfect fulness of form and thinness of skin, and in their ripening much soooner than the common sorts. They are short in the straw, and the pods, which grow in bunches, commence very near the ground. They will succeed on soil not considered stiff enough for common beans, and have produced generally, without extra manure, from 64 to 80 bushels per acre: in proof of which, the following facts are adduced.—At the annual meeting of the Wiltshire Agricultural Society, holden at Devizes, July 20th, 1814, Mr. Phillips exhibited the produce of two stalks, which had on them 142 pods, yielding 460 beans. In the spring of 1813, Mr. Phillips planted a bushel and a half of these beans, in half an acre of land (a poor clay) at one ploughing, without measure, and they produced the astonishing quantity of fifty two bushels and a half Winchester measure; in consequence of which, judges were appointed by the society, to inspect his growing crop—whose report was made at the autumnal ploughing match, which took place the 26th of October following, and spoke highly in praise of these beans. Several stalks of them were produced, and the committee declared them to be infinitely superior in point of productiveness and quality, to any other sort ever introduced into this country; and added, that they felt it their duty to recommend them not only to their own members, but to the publick at large, who they were certain would derive great benefit from their introduction.

The blood of the cow is an excellent manure for fruit trees. It also forms the basis of Prussian blue.

They have made in Vienna the first experiment of a machine to mow grass. This ingenious machine is harnessed to two horses,

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and in the space of ten hours will cut five Austrian arpents of grass, which is 600 square fathoms each.

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Peaches and Plums.—Many conjectures have long been afloat respecting the cause of the destruction of the fruit trees, particularly those of the peach and plum—some have ascribed it to a worm in the root; others, to an epidemic, and affirmed, that when one tree was infected the disorder was communicated to others. A late writer who long held a different opinion, has now become fully satisfied, that the evil originates from the sting of an insect, commonly called a Beetle, or Scarabœus evidently of the Coleoptera tribe. This insect is about the size of a large pole bean, of a dark brown colour; millions of them have this season appeared, and are found in spading up gardens, and ploughing. Early in the morning they shelter themselves about three inches under ground, where they continue in a kind of torpid state, until night, when they crawl out, take wing, and buzz among the branches of the trees like a swarm of bees; they feed on the leaves and sting the tender branches of the trees, which sting is so poisonous as to affect the juices of the whole tree; and cause the leaves to turn yellow, and crinkle, and the trees to die. The early fruit has already been stung and will doubtless drop, or become wormy.

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Early potatoes may be produced in great quantities, by resetting the plants, after taking off the ripe and large ones. A gentleman at Dumfries has replanted them six different times in a season, without any additional manure; and instead of a falling off in quantity, he gets a larger crop of ripe ones at every raising than the former. His plants have still on them three distinct crops, and he supposes they may continue to vegetate and germinate until they are stopped by the frost. By these means, he has a new crop every eight days, and has had the same for six weeks past.

—

New Plough.—A farmer, at Ringway, in Lancastershire, has completed a running plough, on which are a pair of rollers. At one operation it ploughs two furrows, laying one to the right and the other to the left, and rolls two half buts, leaving the surface smooth and even for the sithe.

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Roofing.—A material for roofing is used in England, which is cheap and durable. It is formed by slipping sheets of coarse paper (such as button makers use) in boiling tar, and nailing them on board or laths, exactly in the manner of slates. The whole is afterwards coated over with a mixture of pitch and powdered coal, chalk or brick dust. Roofs covered in this way are said to have lasted 50 years without repairs.

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Burr Mill Stones.—Governor Worthington in a letter to a gentleman residing in Canton, Ohio, says:—"I have used for many years past Raccoon burr mill stones. The flower made at my mills is considered, at the New-Orleans market, equal to any on the continent. I have no doubt if you get good stones, for there is a difference in the quality, you can make as good flower as on French burr. The mill stone makers at Raccoon, ensure the stones they make to be good—and of course are liable if they are not. I am building a new mill, and am determined to use Raccoon burrs—indeed, if I had a choice at the same price, I should take the best Raccoon before the French burrs."

The Raccoon burrs are made in Fairfield county, Ohio.

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Lang's Gazette states, that there are now building in the city of New-York, south of Spring street, 1969 buildings, 1000 of which are dwelling houses. The total number building in that city is computed at more than 2000. Upon these it is stated that 20,000 hands are employed, and that the daily disbursements for the labour, exclusive of materials, is $25,000. There are on the stocks ten large ships, besides the 74 gun ship at the navy yard. This exhibits an improvement unparalleled in our country.

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A chalybeate Spring has recently been discovered near Troupsville, in the town of Sedus, Ontario.—And a marble quarry on the shore of the Seneca Lake.

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SOME ACCOUNT OF ANDREW GEMMELS, A SCOTISH BEGGAR, SUPPOSED TO BE THE ORIGINAL OF EDIE OCHILTREE.

[*From the Edinburg Magazine.*]

MR. EDITOR,

A PASSION seems at present to prevail pretty generally, for bringing forward to view the ground-work, in actual history, of those professedly fictitious narratives with which an unknown and most self-denied author has lately entertained the public. Not satisfied with the *vraisemblable* only, which this admirable writer has so well communicated to his fancy details, his readers have begun to look out curiously for the corresponding facts and characters which he must have set before him in their manufacture. Through the medium of the Quarterly Review, and other periodical works, the public have been already made familiar with some of the most remarkable of these originals. In Jean Gordon and Bowed Davie, particularly, the likeness in some characteristic features to their alleged representatives, is so very obvious as scarcely to leave a doubt that the mysterious author "had an eye to them" in sketching his extraordinary pictures;—and, in the south of Scotland at least, a strong persuasion prevails, that several others might still be brought forward, not less striking and worthy of notice, than the misanthropic Dwarf, or the magnanimous Gypsy.

Such inquiries are at all times interesting, and, if discreetly and properly conducted, may be rendered, I conceive, both amusing and instructive. Even when pushed, as they are rather apt to be, somewhat beyond probability, they seldom fail to elicit curious and valuable information; and, in the present case, they certainly afford most convincing and gratifying evidence not only of the truth and genius displayed in these National Tales, but also that their high excellence has been duly felt and appreciated by the public. With these impressions, I have thrown together a few particulars which I happen to be possessed of, respecting an individual who is supposed, by many persons who knew him, to have furnished the novelist with the idea of one of his happiest creations. Edie Ochiltree is, indeed, a much more elevated and amiable person than the eccentric wanderer I have to produce as his counterpart; but the latter (whom I cannot profess, however,

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to delineate at present with much nicety or distinctness) certainly possessed some of Edie's most remarkable and agreeable qualities, and, if not the sole original, at least probably suggested some of the most characteristic features of that very prepossessing and poetical badgeman.

Andrew Gemmels was well known over all the border districts as a wandering beggar, or *gaberlunzie*, for the greater part of half a century. He had been a soldier in his youth; and his entertaining stories of his campaigns and the adventures he had encountered in foreign countries, united with his shrewdness, drollery, and other agreeable qualities, rendered him a general favourite, and secured him a cordial welcome and free quarters at every shepherd's cot, or farm-steading that lay in the range of his extensive wanderings. Among his other places of resort in Tiviotdale, Andrew regularly visited at my grandfather's. It was one of his "Saturday-night houses," as he called them, where he always staid over the Sunday, and sometimes longer. He usually put up his horse on his arrival, without the formality of asking quarters, and had a straw bed made up for him in the byre, claiming it rather as his acknowledged due and privilege, than as a boon of charity. He preferred sleeping in an out-house, and, if possible, in one where cattle or horses were kept. My grandfather, who was an old-fashioned farmer in a remote situation, was exceedingly fond of his company, and though a very devout and strict Cameronian, and occasionally somewhat scandalized at Andrew's rough and irreverent style of language, was nevertheless so much attracted by his conversation, that he never failed to spend the evenings of his sojourn in listening to his entertaining narrations and "auld warld stories,"—with the old shepherds, hinds, and children, seated around them beside the blazing turf ingle in the "farmer's ha'." These conversations sometimes took a polemical turn, and in that case, not unfrequently ended in a violent dispute; my ancestor's hot and impatient temper blazing forth on collision with the dry and sarcastic humour of his ragged guest. Andrew was never known to yield his point on these occasions; but he usually had the address, when matters grew too serious, to give the conversation a more pleasant turn, by some droll remark or unexpected stroke of humour, which convulsed the rustic group, and

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the grave goodman himself, with unfailing and irresistible merriment.

Though free, however, and unceremonious, Andrew was never burdensome or indiscreet in his visits; returning only once or twice a-year, and, generally, after pretty regular intervals. He evidently appeared to prosper in his calling; for, though hung round with rags of every shape and hue, he commonly possessed a good horse, and used to attend the country fairs and race-courses, where he would bet and dispute with the country lairds and gentry with the most independent and resolute pertinacity. He allowed that begging *had* been a good trade in his time, but used to complain sadly, in his latter days, that times were daily growing worse. My father remembers seeing Gemmels travelling about on a blood mare, with a foal after her, and a gold watch in his pocket. On one occasion, at Rutherford, in Tiviotdale, he had dropt a clue of yarn, and Mr. Mather, his host, finding him rummaging for it, assisted in the search, and, having got hold of it, persisted, notwithstanding Andrew's opposition, in unrolling the yarn till he came to the *kernel*, which, much to his surprise and amusement, he found to consist of about twenty guineas in gold.

Many curious anecdotes of Andrew's sarcastic wit and eccentric manners are current on the Borders; and both his character and personal appearance must have been familiar to many individuals still alive, some of whom may probably be induced to communicate further information respecting him, upon their personal authority. As I am myself but a *reporter*,—though upon authorities which to me, at least, appear indisputable,—I shall, for the present, content myself with one or two specimens illustrative of Andrew's resemblance to his celebrated representative. The following is given as commonly related with much good humour by the late Mr. Dodds, of the war-office, the person to whom it chiefly refers. Andrew happened to be present at a fair or market, somewhere in Tiviotdale, (St. Boswell's, if I mistake not), where Dodds, at that time a non-commissioned officer in his majesty's service, happened also to be with a military party recruiting. It was some time during the American war, when they were beating up eagerly for fresh men—to teach passive obedience to the obdurate and ill-mannered Columbians; and it was then

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the practice for recruiting serjeants, after parading for a due space, with all the warlike pageantry of drums, trumpets, "glancing blades, and gay cockades," to declaim in heroic strains of the delights of a soldier's life—of glory, patriotism, plunder—the prospect of promotion for the bold and young, and his majesty's munificent pension for the old and the wounded, &c. &c. Dodds, who was a man of much natural talent, and whose abilities afterwards raised him to an honourable rank and independent fortune, had made one of his most brilliant speeches on this occasion; a crowd of ardent and active rustics were standing round, gaping with admiration at the imposing mien, and kindling at the heroic eloquence of the manly soldier, whom many of them had known a few years before as a rude tailor boy;—the serjeant himself, already leading, in idea, a score of new recruits, had just concluded, in a strain of more than usual elevation, his oration in praise of the military profession, when Gemmels, who, in tattered guise, was standing close behind him, reared aloft his *meal-pocke* on the end of his *kent* or pike-staff, and exclaimed with a tone and aspect of profound derision, "*Behold the end o't!*" The contrast was irresistible—the *beau ideal* of serjeant Dodds, and the ragged reality of Andrew Gemmels, were sufficiently striking, and the former with his red-coat followers, beat a retreat in some confusion, amidst the loud and universal laughter of the surrounding multitude.

Another time, Andrew went to visit one of his patrons, a poor Scotch laird, who had recently erected an expensive and fantastic mansion, of which he was very vain, and which but ill corresponded with his rank or his resources. The beggar was standing leaning over his pike-staff, and looking very attentively at the edifice, when the laird came forth and accosted him:—"Well, Andrew, you're admiring our handiworks here?"—"Atweel am I, sir."—"And what think ye o' them, Andrew?"—"I just think ye hae thrawn away twa bonny estates, *and built a gowk's nest.*"

Gemmels died in the year 1793, at Roxburgh-Newton, near Kelso. A lady who was residing there at that time, and who witnessed his latter days, has furnished me with the following particulars, which I transfer to you in her own simple and expressive words:—

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"He came to Newton at that time in a very weakly condition, being, according to his own account, 105 years of age. The conduct of some of the country folks towards poor Andrew in his declining state, was not what it should have been: probably most of his old patrons had died out, and their more genteel descendants disliked to be fashed and burthened with a dying beggar; so every one handed him over to his next neighbour; and he was hurried from Selkirk to Newton in three days, a distance of sixteen miles. He was brought in a cart and laid down at Mr. R———'s byre-door, but we never knew by whom. He was taken in, and laid as usual on his truss of straw. When we spoke of making up a bed for him, he got into a rage, and swore, as well as he was able to speak, 'That many a clever fellow had died in the field with his hair frozen to the ground—and would he submit to die in any of our beds?'—He did not refuse a little whisky, however, now and then: for it was but cold, in the spring, lying in an outhouse among straw. A friend who was along with me, urged him to tell what cash he had about him, 'as you know,' said she, 'it has always been reported that you have money.' Andrew replied, with a look of derision, 'Bow, wow, wow, woman! women folk are aye fashing theirsels about what they hae nae business wi'.' He at length told us he had changed a note at Selkirk, and paid six shillings for a pair of shoes which he had on him; but not a silver coin was found in all his duddy doublets,—and many kind of odd-like pouch he had:—in one of them was sixpence worth of half-pence, and two combs for his silver locks, which were beautiful. His set of teeth, which he had got in his 101st year, were very white. What was remarkable, notwithstanding all the rags he had flapping about him, he was particularly clean in his old healsome looking person. He at last allowed the servants to strip off his rags, and lay him in a bed, which was made up for him in a cart, in the byre. After he was laid comfortably, he often prayed, and to good purpose: but if the servants did not feed him right, (for he could not lift a spoon to his mouth for several days before his death,) he would give them a passing ban. He lived nine days with us, and continued quite sensible till the hour of his decease. Mr. R—— got him decently buried. Old Tammy Jack, with the mickle nose, got his shoes for digging his grave in Roxburgh kirk-yard. Andrew was well known through all this country, and great part of Northumberland. I suppose he was originally from the west country, but cannot speak with certainty as to that; it was, however, commonly reported, that he had a nephew or some other relation in the west, who possessed a farm which Andrew had stocked for him from the profits of his begging."

Should the above notice appear worthy of preservation, Mr. Editor, in your useful publication, I shall take much pleasure in communicating any farther particulars that may fall in my way relative to this remarkable beggar, or other interesting originals.

I am, &c. S. E.

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FOR THE PORT FOLIO.—LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Gideon Fairman, John Binns and Charles H. Parker, propose to publish a splendid edition of Washington's Farewell Address—a well written prospectus explaining the object in view, accompanies these proposals. We have room, only, for the following passage. "The world has seen enough of Warriors and of Heroes—enough of statesmen—of men who have guided armies in the field, or dictated as sages in the cabinet, for the exclusive purpose of ambition. History from its earliest page to the present day, has offered to our contemplation, only one Washington; but one man, whose dangers in war, and labours in peace, were undertaken and supported with a single eye, to the benefit of his country; whose wonderful and honourable success was the plain result of wisdom in design, and valour in execution; whom danger never appalled, nor defeat depressed; who, persevering in the justice of his cause, wooed victory till he won her; who coveted no reward but the well earned approbation of those whose interests he lived to promote; who renounced all public honours, when they ceased to be the necessary instruments of good to the people, whose gratitude conferred them; who superior to all monarchs, was content to be called an American citizen. His career of glory through life was unstained by crime; and his death was felt as a loss by every individual of that community, whose political existence was the fruit of his exertions."

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Blake's Practice in Chancery.—The honourable James Kent, chancellor of the state of New-York, in a polite note addressed to the author, gives the following opinion of this work:—

"Permit me to thank you for your very useful treatise on the practice of my court. I have perused the work, and it is much superior in utility to any work of the kind, and I think you have done credit to yourself, as well as discharged a debt to the profession." He concludes by saying, "I hope you may meet with that success in business, and in your professional studies, which your virtues and character promise and demand."

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The gospel of St. Mark has been translated into the Mohawk language by the celebrated late Indian chief Brandt.

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JOURNAL OF JURISPRUDENCE, *intended as a continuation of Hall's Law Journal.* It having become difficult to obtain complete sets of the *American Law Journal*, the editor proposes to continue that work under a new title. Much irregularity has hitherto prevailed in the periods of publication, arising chiefly from the Journal being printed and published in Philadelphia, while the editor was a member of the bar in Baltimore. This inconvenience no longer exists.

It is necessary to add that the editor has been obliged to contend against difficulties which were occasioned by the general negligence of the subscribers in remitting the amounts of their subscriptions. Nothing but an ardent ambition to be useful to his profession, could have supported him through these painful and ill rewarded labours. Every member of the bar who aspires to the character of a scientific lawyer will readily admit the value and importance of most of the tracts which are contained in the former volumes; nor will it be denied that those which have been promised are equally worthy of attention. The toil of collecting, compiling or translating these papers is slight, when compared with the vexations incident to him who becomes his own publisher, and relies upon *subscribers* for a support. It was well said by a French writer, that to compose was an author's paradise, but to publish, was his purgatory; and a noble poet of the present day, seems to have experienced that neither his rank nor his popularity could preserve him from the common fate. Ah! exclaims this gentleman,

> ——————— Ah! Amos Cottle, only think
> *What meagre profits spring from pen and ink.*

The editor does not expect to find in his *Journal* the "potentiality of growing rich;" though the sale of the first edition is a sufficient demonstration that the work has been profitable to some persons. But he does indulge a hope that he may prosecute it under a new title, without loss. A very small edition shall be printed and copies transmitted regularly to those who may be punctual in their observance of the conditions of publication.

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1. Four numbers containing, upon an average, 150 pages, shall form a volume.
2. The price of a volume will be *five dollars;* to be paid on the delivery of the first *Number* of each volume.
3. Applications, *post paid*, will receive due attention.

Booksellers will be supplied on reasonable terms.

The subscribers to the Law Journal who wish to possess this continuation will please to transmit their names.

Among the tracts prepared for the new series the following may be enumerated:

Translations from Emerigon on Insurance, Pothier's Works, Hubner on Neutral Rights, Sir Leoline Jenkins, Valin's Commentary on the Marine Ordinance of Louis XIV, the Consolato del Mare, &c.

Reports of Decisions in Connecticut by *Thomas Day*, Esq. not included in his "Reports."

Decisions in other sections of the United States, not included in any printed reports.

A report of the case of *Perryn vs. Blake*, by *Sergeant Adair*, and by him communicated to Arthur Lee, LL. D. This has never been printed, but is said to be the best account extant of that celebrated cause.

An argument on the question, whether the chancellor of Maryland can compel a witness to give testimony under a commission of *dedimus potestatem* from Virginia.

An argument on the proper manner of taking an oath on the Holy Evangelists; supposed to have been made by *Nicholas Trott*, Esq. chief justice of South Carolina, in the year 1709.—*Curious as an instance of the extent of classical learning at that period.*

The argument of judge Bee in the case of *Jonathan Robbins* (hitherto unpublished); and an anonymous defence of the decision; attributed to *the chief justice of the U. S.*

An argument on the question whether the common law of England respecting crimes and punishments is in force in the state of Ohio; by the Hon. *Benjamin Tappan*, President of the 5th Circuit of the courts of Common Pleas, &c.

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Opinions of eminent lawyers on various points of English Jurisprudence.

Decisions in New Orleans, under the present form of government.

Several arguments and decisions in the general court of Virginia, under the regal government are in MS. and the editor has some reason to hope that they may be communicated to the public through the medium of this journal.

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To be published by subscription a work, entitled "the Italian writers, or a compendious view of Italian Literature," by L. Da Ponte, translated from the Italian by J. Da Ponte: it is to be printed in the original and in English, and will form one volume duodecimo.—Subscriptions received at Mr. Dufief's bookstore, at No. 27 Powel-street, and at the Port Folio office.

Mr. Da Ponte intends likewise to give instructions in the Italian language, with explanations of the Italian authors: he proposes commencing his lessons about the middle of the ensuing month.

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We neglected to notice, when it first appeared, an American edition of *Tooke's Pantheon*, which besides being ornamented with a number of very neat engravings by Fairman, has been carefully pruned of all those passages which deform the pagan mythology. The work is so well known that it would be superfluous to say any thing of it in this place. In the new school of poetry all this captivating machinery is banished, and instead of the naiads and nereids of classical song we are overwhelmed with fire-kings, and moss-troopers, desolating Thalibas, cursed Kehamas, and Little Old Gray Women! We confess we cannot relinquish without a sigh that "creed sublime," which kindled into intellectual being the forms of external nature. This decay is described with so much effect in the various and musical rhyme of a recent writer, that our readers will require no apology for the following quotation:

> By living streams, in sylvan shades,
> Where winds and waves symphonious make
> Sweet melody, the youths and maids

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No more with choral music wake
Lone Echo from her tangled brake,
On Pan, or sylvan Genius, calling,
Naiad or Nymph, in suppliant song:
No more by living fountain, falling
The poplar's circling bowers among,
Where pious hands have carved of yore
Rude bason for its lucid store;
And reared the grassy altar nigh,
The traveller, when the sun rides high
For cool refreshment lingering there,
Pours to the sister Nymphs his prayer.
Yet still the green vales smile: the springs
Gush forth in light: the forest weaves
Its own wild bowers; the breezes' wings
Make music in their rustling leaves;
But 'tis no spirit's breath that sighs
Among their tangled canopies:
In ocean's caves no Nereid dwells:
No Oread walks the mountain-dells:
The streams no sedge-crowned Genii roll
From bounteous urn: great Pan is dead;
The life, the intellectual soul
Of vale, and grove, and stream, has fled
For ever with the creed sublime
That nursed the Muse of earlier time.

The proprietors of Rees's Cyclopædia, which is near completed, have received Vol. I, parts 1 and 2, of "*the Encyclopedia Metropolitana, or Universal Dictionary of Knowledge, on an original plan; comprising the two fold advantage of a philosophical and alphabetical arrangement; with appropriate and entirely new engravings*," which they intend to put to press as soon as a sufficient number of subscribers is obtained. This work is now publishing in London, and will be completed in fifty numbers, at five dollars each.

The American Bible Society have published, at New-York, *The three Epistles of the Apostle St. John, translated into Delaware Indian, by G. F. Dencke*, 16mo. *English and Indian*, pp. 44. The author of this work is a missionary of the Society of the United Brethren residing in Upper Canada.

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For the Port Folio.

LOVE AND HOPE.

Lady, when Love and Hope were young,
And pleasure came without alloy,
I gave each happy thought a tongue,
And all I knew of life was joy.

Love came from you, and Hope from Love,
While Beauty at their union smiled;
But Truth was soaring far above,
Nor bless'd the hours we thus beguil'd.

For fickle Love has taken wing,
To sport in Fortune's genial ray;
And Hope, deceitful, left a sting,
That only Time can pluck away.

Then fare thee well, ungrateful guest!
Deceitful Hope! haste—get thee gone—
And Love—go warm some other breast,
Thy artful guile that ne'er has known!

ORLANDO.

FRIENDSHIP AND LOVE.

In the following ingenious epigram, we recognize the pen of *Moore*, emphatically *the poet of all circles and the idol of his own.*

"A temple to Friendship," said Laura, enchanted,
"I'll build in this garden—the thought is divine!"
Her temple was built, and she only now wanted
An image of Friendship to place on the shrine.

She flew to the sculptor, who set down before her,
A Friendship, the fairest his art could invent;
But so cold and so dull, that the youthful adorer,
Saw plainly this was not the Friendship she meant.

"Oh never," she cried, "can I think of enshrining
An image whose looks are so joyless and dim:
But you little god, upon roses reclining,
We'll make, if you please, sir, a Friendship of him."

So the bargain was struck; with the little god laden,
She joyfully flew to her shrine in the grove:
"Farewell," said the sculptor, "you're not the first maiden
Who came but for *Friendship* and took away *Love!*"

For the Port Folio.

"In Rama was there a voice heard, lamentation, and weeping, and great mourning, Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted, because they are not."

St. Matthew, ii. 18.

HUSH'D IS THE VOICE OF JUDAH'S MIRTH.

I.

Hush'd is the voice of Judah's mirth,
And Judah's minstrels too are gone,
The harps that told Messiah's birth,
Are hung on Heaven's eternal throne!

II.

Fled is the bright and shining throng,
That swell'd on Earth the welcome strain;
And lost in air the choral song,
That floated wild on David's plain!

III.

For dark and sad is Bethlem's fate;
Her vallies gush with human blood;
Despair sits mourning at her gate,
And Murder stalks in frantic mood.

IV.

At morn the mother's heart was light—
Her infant bloom'd upon her breast;
At eve 'twas pale and wither'd quite,
And gone to its eternal rest!

V.

Weep on, ye childless mothers, weep!
Your babes are hush'd in one cold grave:
In Jordan's stream their spirits sleep,
Their blood is mingled with the wave!

WILFRED.

Charleston, S. C.

For the Port Folio.

"When he arose, he took the young child and his mother by night, and departed into Egypt." *Matthew*, ii, 14.

THE FLIGHT.

'Tis night! Judea's woes have ceas'd,
And all her sons to slumber given;
The wretched, now from cares releas'd,
Abandon Earth to dream of Heaven.
O! blissful vision—foretaste of that love,
That strengthens faith, and wafts the soul above!

'Tis night! o'er wide Judea's plain,
The stars of Heaven are beaming bright;
The winds have sung their parting strain,
And died upon the mountain's height:
The ocean's wave is slumbering on the shore,
And the cold watchman's halloo sounds no more.

'Tis night! at this lone, solemn hour,
When man forgets to wake and weep;
Within the virgin's holy bower,
The babe of Bethlem wakes from sleep:
And hark! from dazzling clouds of heavenly light,
The songs of Seraphs hail Messiah's flight.

WILFRED.

Charleston, S. C.

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MISCELLANEOUS PARAGRAPHS.

Court of Enquiry on Dr. Harris.—In January last a court martial was convened in this city for the trial of Dr. W. P. C. Barton, surgeon in the United States navy, upon charges exhibited by Dr. Thomas Harris. The court passed a sentence upon professor Barton, in consequence of which he was publicly reprimanded by the secretary of the navy. The court, moreover, undertook to pass a severe censure upon Dr. Harris, who immediately requested that a court of inquiry, should investigate the propriety of the opinion thus publicly expressed. We are happy to state that the result of this second investigation does not disappoint the well-founded expectations of the friends of Dr. Harris. We have not room to insert more than the concluding paragraphs of this testimonial to the merits of the private life, and the professional demeanour of the complainant. It is not for us to reconcile the opinions of the two courts; but it must not be forgotten that the first is a mere *obiter dictum* on points not before the judges, and the second is the conclusion of men specially convened for the purpose of investigating those points.

"The court have now faithfully submitted all the circumstances and facts developed in the investigation which it has been their duty to make; and resting their opinion on what has transpired, they feel themselves bound by a sense of duty to state, that *they cannot perceive even the shadow of cause for censuring the motives or conduct of Dr. Harris.*

"Through the whole course of the transaction his conduct appears to have been *candid, fair and honourable*, and from the weight and respectability of the testimony produced before this court, *his whole life* appears to have been marked by *the same undeviating rectitude.*

"To estimate correctly 'the extent of injury which has been sustained by Dr. Harris,' from the proceedings of the court martial, is not within the power of this court—the amount of injury which such charges are capable of producing, is generally commensurate to the publicity which is given to them, and to the respectability and standing in society of those by whom they are made. The court will, therefore, close their proceedings, by respectfully recommending, that the opinion of this court may receive the same publicity which has been given to the sentence of the court martial complained of by Dr. Harris.

I. CHAUNCEY, President.
SAM'L R. MARSHALL, J. Advocate."

—

The city of London in the 12th century. [The following article is copied from the Boston Intelligencer. The industrious editor of that useful gazette does not inform us of the source from which it was derived.]

Of the strength and scite of the city.—It hath on the east part a tower palatine, very large and very strong: whose court and walls rise up from a deep foundation; *the mortar is tempered with the blood of beasts.* On the west are two castles well fenced. The wall of the city is high and great, continued with seven gates, which are made double, and on the north distinguished with turrets by spaces. Likewise on the south, London hath been inclosed with walls and towers, but the large river of Thames, well stored with fish, and in which the tide ebbs and flows, by continuance of time, hath washed, worn away, and cast down those walls. Farther above, in the west part, the king's palace is eminently seated upon the same river; an incomparable building, having a wall before it and some bulwarks; it is two miles from the city, continued with a suburb full of people.

Of the gardens planted.—On the

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north side are fields for pasture, and open meadows, very pleasant; among which the river-waters do flow, and the wheels of the mills are turned about with a delightful noise. Very near lieth a large forest, in which are woody *groves of wild beasts*, in the coverts whereof do lurk bucks and does, wild boars and bulls.

Of the fields.—The arable lands are no hungry pieces of gravel ground; but like the rich fields of Asia, which bring plentiful corn, and fill the barns of those that till them, with an excellent crop of the fruits of Ceres.

Of the wells.—There are about London, or the north of the suburbs, choice fountains of water, sweet, wholesome and clear, streaming forth among the glistening pebble stones: in this number, Holywell, Clerkenwell, and St. Clement's well, are of most note, and frequented above the rest, when scholars, and the youth of the city take the air abroad in the summer evening.

Of the citizen's honour.—This city is honoured with her men, graced with her arms, and peopled with a multitude of inhabitants. In the fatal wars under king Stephen, there went out to a muster, men fit for war, esteemed to the number of 20,000 horsemen armed, and 60,000 footmen. The citizens of London are known in all places, and respected above all other citizens for their civil demeanour, their good apparel, their table and their discourse.

Of the chastity of their matrons.—The matrons of this city may be paralleled with the Sabine women.

Of their schools.—The London three famous schools are kept at three principal churches, St. Paul's, the Holy Trinity, and St. Martin's, which they retain by privilege and ancient dignity; yet, for the most part, by favour of some persons, or some teachers, who are known and famed for their philosophy; there are other schools there upon good will and sufferance. Upon the holidays, the masters with their scholars celebrate assemblies at the festival churches. The scholars dispute there for exercise sake; some use demonstrations, others topical and probable argument; some practise enthymemes, others do better use perfect syllogisms; some exercise themselves in dispute for ostentation, which is practised among such as strive together for victory; others dispute for truth, which is the grace of perfection. The sophisters, which are dissemblers, turn verbalists, and are magnified when they overflow in speech and abundance of words; some also are entrapped with deceitful arguments. Sometimes certain orators, with rhetorical orations, speak handsomely to persuade, being careful to observe the precepts of art, who omit no matter contingent. The boys of divers schools wrangle together in versifying, or canvas the principles of grammar, or dispute the rules of the præterperfect and future tenses. Some there are that in epigrams, rhimes, and verses, use that trivial way of abuse. These do freely abuse their fellows, suppressing their names, with a fescennine railing liberty: these cast out most abusive jests; and with socratical witty expressions, they touch the vices of their fellows, or perhaps of their superiors, or fall upon them with a satirical bitterness, and with bolder reproaches than is fit. The hearers, prepared for laughter, make themselves merry in the mean time.

How the affairs of the city are disposed.—The several craftsmen, the several sellers of wares, and workmen for hire, all are distinguished every morning by themselves, in their places as well as trades. Besides, there is in London upon the river's bank a public place of cookery, among the wines to be sold in the ships, and in the wine cellars. There every day we may call for any dish of meat, roast, fried or boiled; fish both small and great; ordinary flesh for the poorer sort, and more dainty for the rich, as venison and fowl. If friends come upon a sudden, wearied with travel, to a citizen's house,

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and they be loth to wait for curious preparations and dressings of fresh meat, let the servant give them water to wash, and bread to stay their stomach, and in the mean time they run to the water side, where all things can be desired are at hand. Whatsoever multitude of soldiers, or other strangers enter into the city at any hour of the day or night, or else about to depart, they may turn in, bait here, and refresh themselves to their content, and so avoid long fasting and not go away without their dinner. If any desire to fit their *dainty tooth*, they take a goose; they need not to long for the fowl of Africa, nor the rare Godwit of Ionia.* This is the public cookery, and very convenient for the state of the city, and belongs to it. Hence it is, we read in Plato's Georgiac, that next to the physician's art is the trade of cooks.

Concerning shipping and merchandize.—To this city merchants bring in wares by ships from every nation under heaven. The Arabian sends his gold, the Sabean his frankincense and spices, the Scythian *arms;* oil of palms from the plentiful wood; Babylon her fat soil, and Nylus his precious stones. The Seres send the purple garments; they of Norway and Russia, trouts, furs, and sables; and the French their wines.

—

Blue laws of Massachusetts.—Law 1st.—Pride in wearing long hair, like women's hair, others wearing borders of hair, and cutting and curling and immodest laying out of hair; grand jurors to present and the court to punish by fine or corrsection.

Law 2d—Excess in apparel, strange new fashions, naked breasts and arms, and pinioned superfluous ribbons on hair, &c. the court to punish at discretion.

Law 3d—Profaneness in persons turning their backs upon public worship before the blessing is pronounced, the select men are to appoint officers to shut the meeting house doors or take any other measure to attain the end.

Law 5th—Tobacco takers and common swearers, the constable directed to present to the next magistrate to be punished at discretion.

Law 6th—For drunkenness, the offender to pay ten shillings, excessive drinking three and four pence, tippling about half an hour, a crown.

Judgments of court as they stand recorded for the following crimes.

1st. Josias Plaistowe for stealing four baskets of corn, to return eight baskets, to be fined five pounds, and hereafter to be called Josias, and not Mr. as he used to be.

2d. Capt. Stone for abusing Mr. Ludlow, by calling him justass, is fined anh undred pounds, and prohibited coming withis the patent.

3d. Sergeant Perkins ordered to carry forty turfs to the fort for being drunk.

4th. Edward Palmer, for his extortion in taking two pounds thirteen shillings and four pence for the wood work of the stocks, is fined five pounds, and ordered to sit in the stocks one hour.

5th. Thomas Petit, for suspicion of slander, idleness and stubbornness, is censured, to be severely whipt, and to be kept in hold.

6th. Catherine, the wife of Richard Cornish, was found suspicious of inconstancy, and seriously admonished to take heed.

7th. John Wedgewood, for being in the company of drunkards, to sit the stocks.

* The number of taverns, eating houses, cook's shops, alamode beef houses, soup shops, &c. &c. in London and its environs, is now some hundreds, besides that in every decent public house, entertainment may be had. The number of public houses are about 5000, and the quantity of liquor sold by them in a year is calculated to be in value, 3,000,000 pounds sterling, equal to $14,666,666,67 cents.

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Vide P. 330.

I Can in Nor for absolute of
Paternal virtue, and may be pro-
perly diffuse its Shades over
my mother and Hannah. Had before
can perhaps no Table inhabited
More Than Epicurus of mighty Men, and
bold enterprise, men of undaunted cou-
rage and heroic violence. Another
State should be described by Machia
and Utopia by Harrel.

Fac-simile of Dr. Johnsons hand writing.

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THE PORT FOLIO,

FOR

NOVEMBER, 1818.

Embellished with a fac-simile of Dr. JOHNSON's writing.

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Fac-simile of Dr. Johnson's writing.

THE present number of our Journal being embellished with a fac simile of the hand-writing of Dr. Johnson, which may require some explanation, we have inserted the following extract from the memoranda of his Tour in North Wales—a work which has recently been discovered among the papers of the illustrious moralist, and published at the Port Folio Office.

"Ilam is the fit abode of pastoral virtue, and might properly diffuse its shades over nymphs and swains. Hawkestone can have no fitter inhabitants than giants of mighty bone and bold emprise;* men of lawless courage and heroic violence. Hawkestone should be described by Milton, and Ilam by Parnel."

TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

We shall peruse *the Journal* with eager delight. What may we not expect from the

Admir'd Octavia ————————
Whose virtues and whose general graces speak
That which none else can utter!

Otiosus supports his character very well; but we advise him to beware lest he corroborate the comparison of a learned scholar: "a young man," says this old gentleman, "is like a fair new house; the carpenter leaves it well built, in good repair, of solid stuff; but a bad tenant lets it rain in, and for want of reparation, fall into decay," &c.

We can afford space for a few stanzas "On the absence of a young lady," &c.

The *twelfth of June*, a woful day,
Takes Ann from me and moves my lay;
'Tis not that day but her I praise,
And to the heavens my orisons raise.

This is well discriminated; to the poet it certainly was not one of those "jocund days" which "stand tip-toe on the misty mountains' top." Having thus marked the *day*, the poet proceeds to indicate more minutely the period of his misfortune:

"The clock strikes twelve! oh must we part?"
"I leave you, but you take my heart:"
Thus said her lover, then bow'd and sigh'd,
And bow'd again, then 'way he hied.

In another verse we shall ascertain the vehicle, which bore this damsel from her disconsolate swain:

But soon he takes his wonted seat,
From which to view fair Ann's retreat,
And sees her slow ascend the *hack*,
As if she thought she'd ne'er come back.

This last line is unfortunately not original. Every classical reader will remember the reluctant steps of the beautiful Briseis, when Patroclus delivered her to the heralds of Agamemnon. (Ilias, A. 345.) *Ante* p. 291.

At last the hack is out of sight,
The sun sinks low, the stars give light.
My Anna's gone and I alone,
Am left to sigh, to weep, and moan.

———— and there we also must leave him. If "love may transform a man into an oyster," who knows what effect it may produce in the present instance?

* Paradise Lost, book vi. verse 642.

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THE PORT FOLIO.

FOURTH SERIES.

CONDUCTED BY OLIVER OLDSCHOOL, ESQ.

Various; that the mind
Of desultory man, studious of change
And pleased with novelty, may be indulged.—COWPER.

VOL. VI. NOVEMBER, 1818. No. V.

REFLECTIONS ON THE WRITINGS OF MACHIAVEL,

WITH A SLIGHT SKETCH OF HIS LIFE AND CHARACTER.

"Est quod gratias agamus Machiavello et hujusmodi scriptoribus qui apèrte et indissimùlanter proferunt quid homines facere *soleant* non quid *debeant*. Bacon de Augment. Scient. lib. vii, cap. 2, fol. 397.

SECTION I.

THE fame of great men is itself exposed to the caprices of fortune. Tarquin, the last king of Rome, is rather hated and abused because he was overpowered by a more powerful party, than for any known demerit; it is grossly unjust to quote his as a by-name for a tyrant. The Gracchi are stigmatized, because unsuccessful; Cataline is in the same predicament. It is a disputable point, whether in Rome, the republican form of government was not destroyed in consequence of the assassination of Cæsar; and yet Cæsar has been called a tyrant, and his murderers celebrated as patriots; though it is probable that Cæsar was a friend to democracy, and Brutus, with the associates of his crime, were certainly nobles, of whose power and privileges he was suspected to aim the destruction. Augustus, again, the destroyer of his country's freedom, the proscriber of so many truly virtuous men, the exiler of so many others, has obtained from patronized authors a splen-

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did reputation. Trajan, far his superior in virtue, falls short of him in celebrity. The dirty vices so freely ascribed to the first family of Roman emperors, are in a great part the spiteful inventions of those whom the supplanting families chose as historiographers. But to draw examples from modern times,—in what respect was Mary, queen of England, worse than Elizabeth? It is true, that actuated by a furious bigotry, and a savage spirit of persecution, she brought hundreds to the stake, because they would not measure their faith by the courtly standard—but did Persecution slumber on her wheel in the popular reign of Elizabeth? If the fires of Smithfield ceased to burn, the gallows, in all parts of the country, groaned with the weight of martyrs, whose quivering hearts and reeking entrails, torn from their gashed but still-breathing bodies, were exposed to the gaze of a savage and unfeeling multitude. In addition to the horrors of persecution in which Elizabeth shares an equal guilt with her sister, she, besides, imprisoned and basely murdered her lovely and defenceless cousin, who had flown to her for protection. But success varnished the cruelties of Elizabeth, veiled her murders, and shed lustre on her crimes. She, therefore, is called great and illustrious, and her sister Mary stigmatized as a sanguinary monster. Not satisfied with having sacrificed the happiness and life of her cousin at the shrine of her envy and ambition, she endeavoured, by means of hired writers, to blacken her fame, and transmit her to posterity, stigmatized with foul crimes, and it is not till after the lapse of centuries, that the character of this much-injured woman is recovering its spotless purity. Why is the character of James the Second blackened, whose principal endeavour was to establish the universal toleration of religious opinions, but because a successful usurper precipitated him from the throne?

The fact is, that a powerful and victorious party always contrives to whelm beneath the weight of slander and obloquy, the character of its meritorious opponents: one age bequeaths to the next the error, and it is only when one of those rare periods arrives, in which every opinion is examined by a laudable scepticism, every prejudice probed, and every error eradicated, that the pure silver is freed from the tarnish of falsehood. This has been the lot of Machiavel; the multitude has ever mistaken him

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for the preacher of injustice and the legislator of tyranny. While the uninformed philanthropist has shuddered at his name; while with it republicans have associated all that is dreadful in despotism, and all that is detestable in the crooked policy of courts;* even despots have affected to shrink with horror at maxims which they have, notwithstanding been in the constant habit of practising.† It is because he has too openly and with too little dissimulation, exposed to the public view the secret springs of their conduct, that tyrants really detest his character; and this charge I shall not attempt to deny or palliate. But from the opposite charge of advocating despotism, I will defend him. This stigma, indeed, can be affixed to his character, only by the most superficial reader of his works. The veil of irony, in which he has enveloped himself, is so transparent, that a very small degree of penetration would be sufficient to see him in his true and proper colours, if his works were but read. Unfortunately, they are not; and mankind, ever ready to take for granted what is confidently asserted, have implicitly assented to the black character, which want of apprehension or prejudice has bestowed upon him.

In opposition to the herd of his calumniators, Machiavel has had some few splendid panegyrists. The profound Bacon was sensible of his merit, and we are directed by an ingenious modern writer, "if we wish to become acquainted with the evils of despotism to read Machiavel."‡ It is not on account of the originality of his conception, the strength of his reasoning, the vigour of his intellect, or the profound knowledge he has displayed of the human mind, great as is his excellence in these points, that I would wish to recal the attention of the public to the long-neglected works of this great man; it is on account of his inveterate hatred to tyrants, and the admirable maxims of liberty with which his writings abound, that I make the present feeble effort to rescue him from obscurity.

Among the works which have this for their object, "*The Prince*" of Machiavel holds a distinguished rank. The author

* In the national convention of France it was the fashion to style the conspiracy of kings against their liberty, "Le *Machiavelisme* des Cours."

† I particularly allude to the Anti-Machiavel of the late king of Prussia.

‡ Calm Observer.

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does not merely treat of the casual evils incidental to this form of government, but of those which are necessarily connected with it, and are interwoven in its very texture. In a strain of subtile irony he affects to instruct princes: he tells them, that from a severe attention to ancient and modern history, he is enabled to lay down certain rules, which, unless they comply with, they must not expect a glorious nor even a safe reign. These rules and maxims are the most detestable that can be conceived: in a word, they form a counterpart of the conduct of the tyrants who have hitherto existed for the unhappiness of mankind. The dreadful precepts he inculcates were but too well known to the tyrants of antiquity, and are but too much practised by the despots of modern times. In this work princes see that there is but one method of perpetuating their power, and that is, by keeping the people depressed, wretched, and incapable of resistance. But if Machiavel has feigned to give lessons to kings, he has given a very important one to the people. "*The Prince of Machiavel is the book for republicans*," says the author of the Social Contract.

A view of the life, and an examination of the conduct of Machiavel, will tend to confirm the opinion I have advanced of his being not the champion but the mortal enemy of tyranny.

Nicholas Machiavel, one of the most celebrated writers on political science the world ever produced, was born at Florence on the third day of May, 1469. That it is of little consequence who were the ancestors and what the fortune of an illustrious man, is a very trite observation; but it surely is in some degree interesting to ascertain what were the circumstances of those, whose fate it has been to rear men of genius, in order that it may be known whether the works which immortalise them were the product of unassisted nature, or of nature aided by the previous labour of other men. In the present case we are entirely in the dark. Our judgment is rather perverted than aided by a perusal of the cotemporary writers, or those whose works appeared a few years after the death of Machiavel. Some of them say he was the descendant of an illustrious family, while others of equal credit affirm that he belonged to the refuse of the people. I am inclined to discredit the first opinion; for not to mention that a long race of luxurious and enervated patricians can hardly be supposed to

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have produced a man of so strong a mind, and such vigorous intellect, Machiavel would hardly have omitted to mention his own family in some of the frequent enumerations of the Florentine nobility with which his history abounds. The most probable opinion seems to be, that Bernardo his father was a counsellor and receiver of the land-tax in the March of Ancona: it is said that Bartolomea Nelli his mother was a poetess. His latest descendant Bartolomea Machiavelli married John Ricci in 1608. The family is now extinct. In the seventh book of his history of Florence, he does indeed mention a Girolamo Machiavelli, who was put to death for returning from banishment. The reader will give this circumstance the weight he thinks it deserves.

The point is of little consequence; forall have agreed that, whether his family were illustrious or not, their means of subsistence were very small, and of consequence his education much neglected. Is this a misfortune? certainly a great deal may be said on the negative side of this question. The genius of Machiavel is the offspring of nature: if he is without the advantages he is without the evils of education. The very term evil, applied to education, will appear extraordinary; but nothing is more true, than that education, however estimable it may appear, and certainly its advantages are great, tends very much to cramp the energy of the intellect, and at a time when the mind is the most apt to receive indelible impressions, the instructor scatters the seeds of his own opinions, which in our maturer years branch out into prejudices, never to be eradicated. Machiavel was, without this hot bed, for producing exotic ideas: the expansion of his mind was not cramped by the egotism of a pedagogue, and to this we owe those bold flights of genius, those hardy discussions, which are truly wonderful, when we reflect on the age in which he lived. Some of his biographers have gone so far as to assert that he was ignorant of the Latin language, at that time the medium by which the learned world circulated their opinions.

The circumstance of Machiavel's writing in his native language has given rise to this opinion. Why he did so is apparent, when it is considered that he wrote for the people. It was to give them a horror for monarchy that he wrote "*The Prince;*" and it was to attach them to a republican form of government that he

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wrote his observations on Livy. It is impossible for any one to write as Machiavel has done, concerning Livy, without fully entering into the spirit of that author, and without deeply studying him. How should he describe, as he has done, the Roman discipline by means of a few gleaned phrases of Latin, and without being conversant with what the ancients themselves have written concerning it. In "*The Prince*" he himself owns to have drawn from the ancients, and may even be traced to Aristotle, to Plutarch, and to Tacitus. I know that all this is not absolutely conclusive. It may be said that he became familiar with the ancients by means of translations, and that the same ideas on particular subjects might in different ages occur to Aristotle, to Plutarch, to Tacitus, and to Machiavel. I say, in reply, that in the age in which Machiavel wrote, Latin was so familiar to the learned world, that very few translations existed. Whoever reads his observations on Livy with attention, will find the numerous Latin quotations to come in so naturally, and with such little appearance of affectation, to be so connected with the beginning and sequel of the sentence, as must produce a conviction that his familiarity with, and profound knowledge of, classical literature, could not possibly be obtained from the paucity of the then extant translations.* In a century, when dramaturgy was in a manner unknown, he wrote the Mandragora in the manner of Aristophanes, and the Clitia in that of Plautus, which almost evinces a knowledge of the originals. It has been said also, that he translated one of Terence's plays; but there absolutely exists a Latin letter of Machiavel to Alamanno Salviati.† It is astonishing that all his biographers should have fallen into this error. It probably proceeds from what Paulus Jovius says. "It is well known, as he himself confessed to me, that he had received the flowers of the Greek and Latin languages, in order to be inserted in his works, from Marcellus Virgilius, whose notary and assistant in public

* Harrington in his Oceana calls him the *learned* disciple of the ancients, and the most conversant with the Roman writers, of any of his contemporaries.

† *See* Collectio veterum aliquot monumentorum ad historiam literariam pertinentiam.

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business he was."* The fact is, that Machiavel only confessed to Paulus Jovius, that Marcellus Virgilius taught him the learned languages; at all events it only proves that this last selected beautiful passages, but clearly does not imply that Machiavel was ignorant of these languages.

Farneworth, the latest English translator of Machiavel's works, conjectures that he was originally engaged in military pursuits; but his only reason for this conjecture being the great knowledge of military affairs displayed in the Treatise on the Art of War, and it not being even hinted at by any of his biographers, the fact cannot be said to be at all established. It is certain that he applied himself to the study of the law; for we can trace him in the service of Marcellus Virgilius, a celebrated lawyer of that age. He continued in these pursuits till he was thirty-three years old, and it was during this period that he wrote his plays, poems, and romance of Belphegror.†

Great occasions always call into action men of great talents. The storms which at this juncture lowered over, and in some instances burst on, the republic of Florence, caused Machiavel to act a conspicuous part in the busy scene. It will be necessary, in order to elucidate this part of the history of Machiavel, to take a rapid view of the internal state of the republic of Florence at this juncture. The Medici will occupy the foremost ground of the picture; and as this family at length succeeded in usurping sovereign power, and as the history of some of its branches is connected with that of Machiavel, I shall think no apology necessary for giving rather a full account of it.

SECTION II.

The Medici family is a very rare instance of the elevation of merchants into nobles: the blood however has flowed for so long a time through the veins of queens, princes, popes, and cardinals,

* "Constat eum, sicuti ipse nobis fatebatur, a Marcello Virgilio, cujus et notarius et assecla publici muneris fuit, Græcæ atque Latinæ linguæ flores accepisse quos scriptis suis inseruit."

Paulus Jovius Elog. Cap. lxxxvii.

† *See* the PORT FOLIO for April, 1817, where a translation of this amusing satire may be found.

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that every plebeian stain is happily at length obliterated. From the name one would be led to imagine that the ancestors were originally physicians. The cause of their elevation is as follows: In a very early period of the Florentine history we find the republic, in common with every Italian state, entirely divided by two factions. The one attached to the interest of the emperor of Germany is known by the appellation of Ghibelines; and the other, which looked up to the court of Rome for protection, is distinguished by that of Guelphs. It is to be observed that the former consisted for the most of the aristocratic party, while the latter was composed of the middle class. The lowest orders, as is too generally the case, did not know their real interest, and were alternately on one side and the other. It is difficult to conceive how much the country at large suffered, and how much individual injury was sustained, in consequence of the contests between these two factions. For more than two hundred years the best men of Florence were continually driven into exile. After a very severe struggle, and after alternate victories and defeats, the Guelph faction was triumphant. Philip de Medici, the chief of the Guelphs in the thirteenth century, brought his family back to Florence in triumph, after they had been expelled by the Ghibelines. But though Philip acted so conspicuous and so illustrious a part, it does not appear that he assumed in consequence any degree of power inconsistent with the plainness and equality of a republican government: he remained a simple citizen. The next who is at all noticed in history is Sylvestro de Medici, a merchant, and the chief of a mercantile family. About the end of the fourteenth century, in one of the contests between the people and the nobles, Sylvestro espoused the cause of the former, and was appointed gonfalonier, the name of the chief municipal officer in Florence. The people, as may be seen in the third book of Machiavel's history of Florence, were successful, and after their victory rewarded Sylvestro de Medici with the honours of knighthood. This was the origin of the nobility of this family. The next illustrious member was Giovanni de Medici, who lived in the fifteenth century, and who appears, from the character Machiavel has given of him, to have been an amiable and estimable man. He died possessed of immense riches, and left two sons, Cosimo

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and Lorenzo. Cosimo inherited his father's wealth and his father's virtues. He had a very powerful rival in Rinaldo degli Albizi, who at first succeeded in procuring his banishment, but he was soon recalled and welcomed by his fellow citizens with the appellation of benefactor of the people, and father of his country. This was the origin of the kingly power which this family now assumed in Florence. The influence of Cosimo is principally to be attributed to his immense wealth, which enabled him to lend almost every citizen sums of money, and thus secure them in his interest. He died in 1464, having been in reality prince of his country, though, to use the words of Machiavel, he never transgressed those bounds of decency which ought to be observed by a true republican. Cosimo was a great patron of learned men.* He invited Argyrophilus, a Grecian, to superintend the education of youth at Florence, and he maintained at his own expense Marsilio Ficino, the restorer of the philosophy of Plato, giving him a house and estate near his own villa at Careggio, that he might pursue his studies with more convenience, that he himself might reap the fruits of his erudition, during the few hours he could snatch from public business and dedicate to rural enjoyment. When his death was made public, the states of Europe vied with each other in addresses of condolence to the republic. But there exists a still stronger evidence of his merit: his fellow citizens did not revoke the title they had given him on his return from banishment, but a second time immortalized his memory by publicly decreeing that FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY should be inscribed on his monu-

* Cosimo of Medicis was the father of a line of princes, whose name and age are almost synonimous with the restoration of learning: his credit was ennobled into fame; his riches were dedicated to the service of mankind; he corresponded at once with Cairo and London; and a cargo of Indian spices and Greek books was often imported in the same vessel. The genius and education of his grandson Lorenzo rendered him not only a patron, but a judge and candidate, in the literary race. In his palace, distress was entitled to relief, and merit to reward: his leisure hours were delightfully spent in the Platonic academy: he encouraged the emulation of Demetrius Chalcocondyles and Angelo Politian; and his active missionary, Janus Lascaris, returned from the east with a treasure of two hundred manuscripts, four score of which were as yet unknown in the libraries of Europe. Gibbon's Decline and Fall, vol. vi, p. 430.

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ment. But however posterity may venerate the virtues of Cosimo de Medici, it must never be forgotten that these virtues destroyed the liberties of his country. He overturned, perhaps unintentionally, the republican form of government, under which the liberties of the people of Florence had till then been secure; and though he is the least guilty usurper that ever existed, still he laid the foundation of a monarchy to which the Florentines, with a few intervals of liberty, have since submitted. There never was a fitter subject for ostracism than Cosimo de Medici. Perhaps the folly and ill effects of entrusting sovereign power to one man were never more conspicuous than in this very instance. Cosimo was a wise man and a good man, but Cosimo became old, infirm, incompetent to attend public business himself, and incapable of discerning good from bad ministers. The consequence was, that the administration which governed Florence during the eight years preceding his death was in the highest degree tyrannical, and a few citizens, to use the emphatic language of Machiavel, preyed on the republic. But even if Cosimo had retained the vigour of his body and the energy of his intellect to the last, still he was not immortal, and it happened that his son Piero, not having been reared like his father in the stony paths of adversity, but fondled in the downy lap of prosperity, though he inherited his father's authority, did not inherit his ability. The unavoidable event, therefore, of the death of a single man threw the whole state into confusion. Of the weakness and iniquity of Piero's government, the following speech, made just before his death to those whom he had associated with himself in the government, bears ample testimony. "You rob the citizens of their property; you sell justice; you fly from the judgment due to your crimes; you oppress the lovers of peace, and you favour the insolent. I do not believe that all Italy can produce so many examples of violence and avarice as are to be found in this single state." It was no compensation to the injured and oppressed citizens of Florence, that when death arrested him in his career, it was his intention to have begun a reformation. He left behind him two children, Lorenzo and Giuliano; both of them too young at that time to assume the reins of government. Lorenzo, the eldest, was about 17 years old, and at that early age addressed a general

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assembly of the citizens in a speech replete with gravity and decorum. So great was the infatuation of the people for this family, that they submitted without a murmur to the influence of two beardless youths, and the exiles were disappointed in the sanguine hopes of returning to their country, which the death of Piero had inspired.

Lorenzo continued to gain every day fresh popularity: for his career was every day gilded by some fresh success. His prosperity, however, procured him enemies, and in the year 1478 he with the utmost difficulty escaped assassination, in consequence of a plot, to which his brother fell a victim. The family of the Pazzi was one of the most ancient and noble in Florence, and beheld the elevation, the progress, and the towering greatness of the Medici, while the most profound envy rankled in their hearts. During the life of Cosimo, they were overawed by the vastness of his mind and the energy of his government; they contributed not a little to render the life of Piero perplexed and turbulent; but they publicly avowed their animosity, when they conceived that from the youth and inexperience of the present representatives of the Medici family, it would be no arduous task to deprive them of their hereditary honours. They were disappointed when they beheld the skill and firmness with which Lorenzo held the reins of government, and found that nothing but violence could deprive him of them. They therefore entered into a conspiracy, to which the archbishop of Pisa, the king of Naples, and pope Sixtus IV. acceded. The archbishop was to assist in person at Florence, the king and the pope were to send troops. The 26th of April, 1748, was the day appointed for the explosion of the hidden treachery, the cathedral of Florence was to be the scene, the sacrifice of the altar the time, the elevation of the host the signal for the consummation of this scene of treachery and blood. At the altar, where even parricides meet with shelter, was the blood of the Medici doomed to flow. Giuliano expired beneath the strokes of Francisco Pazzi, whose impetuosity was so great, and rage so violent, that while he was only intent on gashing the body of his prostrate adversary, he severely wounded his own leg; this very circumstance prevented his escape after the massacre was accomplished. Lorenzo, though wounded in the throat by a priest, had the asto-

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nishing fortune to escape through a window of the sacristy. This narrow and almost miraculous escape converted the affection of the people into enthusiasm. While this scene was polluting the church, the archbishop proceeded with another band of his myrmidons to the town-house; but the intended assassination of Lorenzo having electrified the people, and his unaccountable escape paralized the conspirators, the populace seized the archbishop, dragged him along the ground to a lamp-post, from which they suspended him, and then proceeded to wreak dreadful vengeance on the rest. The streets streamed with blood, and were choked up with carcases. Can it be believed that Sixtus was so lost to all sense of shame, as openly to avow the share he had in this infamous transaction, by first fulminating spiritual censure, and then engaging in earthly warfare against Florence, for the summary justice its citizens had executed on the archbishop and his associates? The terms of peace he proposed were, the delivery of Lorenzo de Medici into his hands; but the Florentines nobly refused to submit to such intolerable injustice. After a bloody war, in which almost every state of Italy took a part, and which lasted more than three years, the Florentines obtained better terms, in consequence of a bold and extraordinary exertion of Lorenzo himself. He went in person to the court of the king of Naples, one of the conspirators against his life, and such was the fascination of his eloquence, that even a despot came over to the side of truth and of justice.

The assassinated Giuliano left a natural son, named Giulio, who was afterwards pope Clement VIII. A few days after the assassination, Lorenzo addressed the general assembly of the people in language so pathetic as to draw tears from every eye. Can we reasonably wonder at the accession of power he now received? the people appointed him guards.

After tracing, as we have done, Lorenzo de Medici from childhood to maturity, after having seen every succeeding year produce some new virtue, it is really painful to be informed of the corruption generated in him by power. How ought his fall, when joined to innumerable instances of the same kind, make us execrate that system which, by entrusting absolute power in the hands of one man, has an unceasing tendency to pervert the most

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exalted virtue! It is not compatible with the brevity of the sketch, I am at present giving, to enlarge on this topic; I shall content myself with a single instance. Lorenzo was entrusted by Innocent VIII with a difficult negotiation, no less than to induce Boccolino, who was in possession of the fortress of Osimo, to surrender voluntarily that, from which force had been vainly used used to expel him. By the most artful policy the negotiator succeeded; he gave Boccolino a considerable sum of money, and promised him a secure retreat in Milan. The security he met with was, to be executed immediately on his arrival.

The crimes of Lorenzo are, however, varnished over by the false colouring of military glory; for he was as successful in the field as in the cabinet. In the year 1489, his second son, Giovanni de Medici, was made cardinal, though only fourteen years old, and afterwards wore the triple crown, under the celebrated name of Leo X.

On the 7th day of April, 1492, and in the forty-fourth year of his age, Lorenzo de Medici died, leaving behind him the character of one of the best princes that ever lived, and the infinitely more glorious appellation of the patron of science. The grief the Florentines felt at his death was so lively that, according to Politian, they threw his physician into a well, for not having had better success.

It is certain that Lorenzo possessed astonishing powers of mind; we cannot contemplate his varied and extensive talents without admiration. This man, on whom fortune thus lavishly poured out her favours, enjoyed them but for a moment. Intolerable anguish marked his latter days; abdominal pains, which no medicine could cure or alleviate, hurried him to an early grave.

SECTION III.

Lorenzo de Medici left three sons,* Piero, Giovanni, and Giuliano, and four daughters. Piero succeeded his father in the government of Florence, but his misconduct so irritated the Florentines, that all affection for the Medici family fled from their breasts. In 1494, the tyrant was obliged to fly, with his two brothers;

* L'Avocat, in his Biographical Dictionary, says he left only two sons, which is certainly not the fact.

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they were proclaimed rebels and enemies of their country, a price was set on their heads, and the palace, which the taste of Lorenzo had decorated with the choicest works of art, exposed to the blind fury of the populace, exhibited a splendid mass of ruin. Charles VIII of France was in Italy at this juncture, and was in some degree implicated in the transaction; part of Piero's criminal conduct consisting in his having given up some fortresses to Charles. The king therefore threatened to make war on Florence, unless the Medici were recalled, and delivered this threat, written on paper, to the Florentine ambassadors. One of them, named Pietro Capponi, fearlessly tore the scroll in the very presence of the king, unawed by the mock terrors of royalty, and exclaimed, while republican indignation suffused his countenance, "Sound your trumpets, and we will ring our alarm-bell."* This firmness had the desired effect; the great king yielded to the energy of the republican. When Piero conceived the anger of the Florentines had abated, he made several attempts to return, but they were all fruitless; he at length gave himself up entirely to military pursuits, and was drowned in his flight, after a battle, in which the French were defeated by the imperialists, in 1503.

The family of the Soderini contributed greatly to the expulsion of the Medici, and succeeded to part of their influence; still Florence was again become a republic, and from 1494 to 1512, enjoyed almost the whole of its ancient liberty. On the 31st of August, 1512, in consequence of the successful efforts of pope Julius II, and of Ferdinand, king of Spain, Piero Soderini, the then gonfalonier, was obliged to fly, and the Medici were restored to all their honours. Lorenzo, eldest son of the deceased Piero, assumed the supreme power in Florence, and was, besides, overwhelmed with honours by his uncle Giovanni, now become pope Leo X, being made by him, duke of Urbino, of Pesaro, and of Sinigaglia. But neither his hereditary nor his acquired honours could save him from a long and terrible disease, and from a premature death. He fell a victim to the fell siphylis in 1519, leaving a natural son, named Alexander, who became afterwards duke of Florence, and was the first of the family in whose person, the

* Muratori, Annal. T. 10.

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mummery of a coronation was exhibited. But Alexander being at this time very young, cardinal Giulio de Medici assumed the reins of government. In 1521, the cardinal became pope, under the name of Clement VII, and in 1527, Alexander and Ippolito de Medici, to whom he had transferred the government of Florence, on his ascending the papal throne, acted with so much despotism, that the people rose in arms and expelled them from the city. Thus were the Florentines once more in possession of their liberty, which they retained till the year 1530, when the combined power of pope Clement VII, and of the emperor Charles V, again enforced submission; but it was not a tame submission; such was the republican spirit generated by the writings of Machiavel, that it was not till after a ten months' siege, accompanied with all its horrors, not till famine and pestilence stalked through the town, that the Florentines, at the instigation of their traitorous general, Malatesta Baglioni, opened their gates. The terms on which the combined despots condescended to forgive them, were a donation of 80,000 ducats of gold to the imperial army, a submission to royalty in the person of Alexander, and the expulsion of six of the principal asserters of liberty. Machiavel died before the siege, and thus enjoyed the sublime felicity of witnessing the ardour of liberty, generated by his writings, without having his last moments imbittered by that most dreadful of all events to a republican mind, the restoration of tyranny.

I have thus brought the history of the Medici family down to the period at which Machiavel lived; it will presently be shown what share he took in the frequent changes which occurred during his life. The remainder of the history of the Medici may be given in a few words, for their annals present nothing but the dull uniformity so general in the history of the reigns of kings, unless when marked by extraordinary vices, which does not seem to have been the case with the Medici. Alexander was murdered, about seven years after being made grand duke of Florence, and leaving no children, was succeeded by his brother John, whose son, Cosimo de Medici, was made grand duke of Tuscany by pope Pius V, in 1569. His son, Francis succeeded him, and his grandson, Cosimo III, died without issue. The power of the Medici

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was now transferred to the house of Austria, in which it has continued ever since.

By referring to dates, we shall find, that when Lorenzo de Medici, surnamed the patron of science, died, Machiavel was but 23 years old, so that his political career may be said to commence with the reign of Piero. Our author acted a conspicuous part in the revolution which expelled the sons of Lorenzo from Florence, and restored a republican form of government. The partisans of the Medici affect to call this burst of popular resentment the Soderini conspiracy; and Machiavel was afterwards tortured by the Medici for the share he had in it. During the continuance of the republic, he was employed in very important state affairs. In 1502, he was ambassador at the court of Cæsar Borgia; in 1503 at Rome; and his official letters are regarded as fine models of the epistolary correspondence required in a statesman. On his return to Florence, he was made secretary to the council, and conveyed their instructions to Tebalducci Malespini, commissary of the Florentine troops employed against Pisa. In 1504, he was sent ambassador to France; in "*The Prince*," he speaks of an interview he had with the cardinal of Rouen, at Nantz. In 1505, he was sent by the republic to solicit Gian Paolo Baglioni to take the command of their troops, the Pisans having defeated them in the preceding campaign. In 1506, he was a second time ambassador at Rome, and accompanied Julius II in his expedition against Perugia and Bologna. In 1510 and 1511, he was secretary of state, and his official letters, written with great elegance and precision, prove him to have been of a benevolent and candid mind. The dreadful moment was now come, when Florence was again to bow its neck to the yoke of despotism. In 1512, pope Julius II, and Ferdinand, king of Spain, succeeded in restoring the Medici. Lorenzo assumed the reins of government; all those who had been raised to any offices of state during the republic were displaced. But the loss of his office, the dismal spectacle of his country in chains, and the absence of his friends wandering about and seeking for shelter in every part of Italy, were not the only sufferings which Machiavel endured. The *kingly* insensibility of the Medici had no conception of *mental* pain, and their *kingly* malice could be gratified by *bodily* suffering alone.

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Some time between 1512 and 1519, that is to say, during the reign of Lorenzo de Piero de Medici, when the injuries he had sustained were still recent, when his body was still sore from the torments he had suffered; and his mind severely wounded by the execution of some of his friends, and the absence of others, he wrote the admirable satire on kings, called "*The Prince.*" His personal sufferings, and the sacred flame of liberty which animated him, account for the keenness of the satire, and his absolute dependance, both for life and the means of its support, on the Medici, sufficiently explains the almost impenetrable veil of irony in which the satire is enveloped. It seems as if the Medici themselves were deceived; they began to think that Machiavel had abjured the errors of republicanism, that he was become the decided advocate of monarchy, and even the apologist of the crimes of monarchs. He was, in consequence, rewarded by them with the place of historiographer of Florence. But if the Medici were deceived, there were others who saw the real drift of "*The Prince,*" and who were thereby inspired to attempt the restoration of the liberties of their country. The praises Machiavel continually gave Brutus and Cassius, the whole tenor of his conversation, his great abilities, and his celebrity made him the soul of the republican party. He was in the habit of associating with Cosimin Rucellai, Zenobio Buondelmonte, Ajaceto, a poet, and Ludovico Alamanni, a military man. The place of meeting was the house and gardens of Rucellai: Students, citizens, and strangers, were welcome there, and they commonly discoursed before Rucellai, an impotent man, who was carried about in a kind of cradle. Machiavel read his works to these, and dedicated his discourses on Livy to Rucellai and Buondelmonte. At this juncture, when, in consequence of the death of Lorenzo de Piero de Medici, the cardinal Giulio, afterwards pope Clement VII, had assumed the government of Florence, these learned men entered on a project of killing the cardinal, not from private resentment, but, to restore liberty to the state. Want of success stigmatized their design with the name of treason, and on its discovery, the principal authors were arrested.

Ajaceto confessed all that he knew of it, and was executed; Alamanni escaped into the dutchy of Urbino; Buondelmonte was

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forced by his wife to leave Florence, and escaped to Carfagnana, where he was secure through the interest of the celebrated poet Ludovico Ariosto, who was governor there for the duke of Ferrara. Machiavel was greatly suspected, but no prosecution was instituted against him.

[*To be continued.*]

ORIGINAL LETTERS.

BISHOP WARBURTON TO DR. LEE.

Prior Park, 7th June, 1766.

Sir—The bearer, a young printer, and the son of a most worthy clergyman, my friend, is come with an intention to settle at Williamsburg. I shall be greatly obliged to you and your family, if occasion offers, to give him your countenance, and to do him any fit services in your power. I believe he will approve himself worthy of your protection.

My best respects to your brother, conclude me,

Sir, your faithful and obedient humble servant,

W. GLOUCESTER.

To Dr. A. Lee.

ON THE CHARACTER OF CHRISTIANITY.

(FROM THE GERMAN OF SCHLEGEL.)

Religion is the root of human existence. Were it possible for man to renounce all religion, including that of which he is *unconscious*, and over which he has no *control*, he would become a mere surface, without any internal substance. When this centre is disturbed, the whole system of the mental faculties must receive another direction.

And this is what has actually taken place in modern Europe, through the introduction of Christianity. This sublime and beneficent religion has regenerated the ancient world from its state of

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exhaustion and debasement; it has become the guiding principle in the history of modern nations, and even at this day, when many suppose they have shaken off its authority, they will find themselves in all human affairs much more under its influence than they themselves are aware.

After Christianity, the character of Europe, since the commencement of the middle ages, has been chiefly influenced by the Germanic race of northern conquerors, who infused new life and vigour into a degenerated people. The stern nature of the north drives man back within himself, and what is withdrawn from the development of the senses, must, in noble dispositions, be added to their earnestness of mind. Hence the honest cordiality with which Christianity was received by all the Teutonic tribes, in whom it penetrated more deeply, displayed more powerful effects, and became more interwoven with all human feelings, than in the case of any other people.

From an union of the rough but honest heroism of the northern conquerors, and the sentiments of Christianity, chivalry had its origin, of which the object was, by holy and respected vows, to guard those who bore arms from every rude and ungenerous abuse of strength, into which it was so easy to deviate.

With the virtues of chivalry was associated a new and purer spirit of love, an inspired homage for genuine female worth, which was now revered as the pinnacle of humanity; and, enjoined by religion itself under the image of a virgin mother, infused into all hearts a sentiment of unalloyed goodness.

As Christianity was not, like the heathen worship, satisfied with certain external acts, but claimed a dominion over the whole inward man, and the most hidden movements of the heart; the feeling of moral independence was in like manner preserved alive by the laws of honour, a worldly morality, as it were, which was often at variance with the religious, yet in so far resembled it, that it never calculated consequences, but consecrated unconditionally certain principles of action, as truths elevated beyond all the investigation of casuistical reasoning.

Chivalry, love, and honour, with religion itself, are the objects of the natural poetry which poured itself out in the middle ages with incredible fulness, and preceded the more artificial forma-

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tion of the romantic character. This age had also its mythology, consisting of chivalrous tales and legends; but their wonders and their heroism were the very reverse of those of the ancient mythology.

Several inquirers, who, in other respects, entertain the same conception of the peculiarities of the moderns, and trace them to the same source that we do, have placed the essence of the northern poetry in melancholy; and to this, when properly understood, we have nothing to object.

Among the Greeks, human nature was in itself all-sufficient; they were conscious of no wants, and aspired at no higher perfection than that which they could actually attain by the exercise of their own faculties. We, however, are taught by superior wisdom that man, through high offence, forfeited the place for which he was originally destined; and that the whole object of his earthly existence is to strive to regain that situation, which, if left to his own strength, he could never accomplish. The religion of the senses had only in view the possession of outward and perishable blessings; and immortality, in so far as it was believed, appeared in an obscure distance like a shadow, a faint dream of this bright and vivid futurity. The very reverse of all this is the case with the Christian; every thing finite and mortal is lost in the contemplation of infinity; life has become shadow and darkness, and the first dawning of our real existence opens in the world beyond the grave. Such a religion must waken the foreboding, which slumbers in every feeling heart, to the most thorough consciousness, that the happiness after which we strive we can never here attain, that no external object can ever entirely fill our souls, and that every mortal enjoyment is but a fleeting and momentary deception. When the soul, resting as it were under the willows of exile,* breathes out its longing for its distant home, the prevailing character of its songs must be melancholy.

Hence the poetry of the ancients was the poetry of enjoyment, and ours is that of desire: the former has its foundation in the

* *Trauerweiden der verbannung*, literally, *the weeping willows of banishment;* an allusion, as every reader must know, to the 137th Psalm. Linnæus, from this psalm, calls the weeping willow *Salix Babylonica.* Trans.

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scene which is present, while the latter hovers betwixt recollection and hope. Let me not be understood to affirm that every thing flows in one strain of wailing and complaint, and thus the voice of melancholy must always be loudly heard. As the austerity of tragedy was not incompatible with the joyous views of the Greeks, so the romantic poetry can assume every tone, even that of the most lively gladness; but still it will always, in some shape or other, bear traces of the source from which it originated. The feeling of the moderns is, upon the whole, more intense, their fancy more incorporeal, and their thoughts more contemplative. In nature, it is true, the boundaries of objects run more into one another, and things are not so distinctly separated as we must exhibit them for the sake of producing a distinct impression.

RAPHAEL'S TRANSFIGURATION.

[In the following remarks, the artist will acknowledge the luminous pen of a judicious critic. We copy them from Mr. Shee's Elements of Art; a work which ought to be better known.]

Between the opposite extremes [of a painter and a draughtsman] here described, the author recommends a middle course; as most likely to embrace the benefits of each practice without incurring the disadvantages of either. The student who long employs himself exclusively in drawing, while he attains to correctness of precision, runs the risk of becoming hard and dry: accustomed to express objects by lines, the practice adheres to him after he has taken up the palette. He clings to his outline with affectionate solicitude, and as it is the part which he executes with most facility and skill, he is rarely induced to sacrifice it to those minor merits, in his estimation—richness of colouring, and rotundity of effect. On the other hand, the student who prosecutes his studies with the oil pencil only, is exposed to run into opposite and less pardonable errors. If he is mellow in his colouring, rich in his surface, and forcible in his effects, he becomes feeble in his composition, incorrect in his forms, and slovenly in his execution. If he be not hard and dry; he is probably vague and undefined; he

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loses all power of precision and detail, generalizes objects in shapeless masses, and is obliged to resort to a variety of awkward expedients, to conceal the imbecility of his designs, in the artifice of his execution.

A plan of study, in which the painter and the draughtsman co-operate; in which the pencil and the port-crayon may act as mutual correctives, offers, perhaps, the best security for a style, which shall unite the beauties of colouring to the merits of design, and sustain the illusions of vigorous effect, by scientific precision and judicious detail.

Of the effects which result from an exclusive devotion to the powers of design, sufficient illustration is afforded by the general productions of the Roman school. The outline even of Raphael himself, is too often conspicuous at the expense of propriety and good taste. The celebrated picture of the *Transfiguration*, though it has many claims to be considered the finest production of the pencil existing, exhibits this imperfection in a very striking degree; a line is plainly discoverable round most of the figures, and particularly conspicuous in the boy, and the female kneeling in front of the groupe. *Julio Romano*, who worked upon these two figures, is reported to have been, out of respect to his master, most scrupulously tenacious in preserving his outline. There is certainly no room to regret the punctilious reverence of the scholar on this occasion; for, though the obtrusion of the outline is evidently a defect, yet, perhaps, the picture would not have derived much improvement from Julio's mode of removing it.

An impartial examination of this noble picture, must, on the whole, considerably raise our estimation of Raphael as a colourist. Its merits of the palette, indeed, cannot for a moment, be put in competition with the wonders of the Venetian painters: but there are parts of it which evince no ordinary ability in this province of the art; and some of the older heads display a richness and vigour of effect which would do no discredit to that pre-eminent school.

The superior merits of the *Transfiguration*, in design, character, and expression, are too well known and acknowledged, to require an illustration in this place; but the dry and minute execution of the accessory and subordinate parts, is one of the most cu-

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rious circumstances which strike a professional observer of this work. In these, the taste of *Perugino* is but too apparent; and it is impossible not to feel surprise, that the mind which could raise to the noblest and most comprehensive achievements of the art, could, at the same time, descend to the most trivial and injudicious details. The landscape is painted with the laborious littleness of a print, and the herbage in the foreground wrought with such solicitous accuracy of a flower and leaf, as to challenge the painful fidelity of *Paul Potter*, and furnish a treat to the botanist.

Notwithstanding that this "last best gift" of Raphael's pencil is doomed to grace the triumph of our adversary, it cannot but be pleasing to the lovers of art to reflect, that it appears to be in excellent preservation; it does not seem to have suffered in the regenerative process of the picture-cleaner; and some unimportant injuries of time and accident, have been repaired with a degree of care and skill, which is highly creditable to those to whom this duty was entrusted.

ON THE BIBLE.

The EVANGELICAL HISTORY of JESUS CHRIST, harmonized, explained, and illustrated. 2 vols. 8vo. 1758.

In the following article, good taste and pure morality will readily recognize the nervous pen of Dr. Johnson. It is a dedication, which is not included in Murphy's edition of his writings, and therefore will be new to most of our readers.

To the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in parliament assembled.

THAT we are fallen upon an age in which corruption is barely not universal, is universally confessed. Venality skulks no longer in the dark, but snatches the bribe in public; and prostitution issues forth without shame, glittering with the ornaments of successful wickedness. Rapine preys on the public without opposition, and perjury betrays it without inquiry. Irreligion is not only avowed but boasted; and the pestilence that used to walk in darkness, is now destroying at noon-day.

Shall this be the state of the English nation, and shall her lawgivers behold it without regard? Must the torrent continue to roll

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on till it shall sweep us into the gulf of perdition? Surely there will come a time when the careless shall be frighted and the sluggish shall be roused; when every passion shall be put upon the guard by the dread of general depravity; when he who laughs at wickedness in his companion, shall start from it in his child; when the man who fears for his soul, shall tremble for his possessions; when it shall be discovered that religion only can secure the rich from robbery, and the poor from oppression; can defend the state from treachery, and the throne from assassination.

If this time be ever to come, let it come quickly: a few years longer, and perhaps all endeavours will be vain. We may be swallowed by an earthquake, we may be delivered to our enemies, or abandoned to that discord, which must inevitably prevail among men that have lost all sense of divine superintendence, and have no higher motive of action or forbearance, than present opinion of present interest.

It is the duty of private men to supplicate and propose; it is yours to hear and to do right. Let religion be once more restored, and the nation shall once more be great and happy. This consequence is not far distant: that nation must always be powerful where every man performs his duty: and every man will perform his duty that considers himself as a being whose condition is to be settled to all eternity by the laws of Christ.

The only doctrine by which man can be made wise unto salvation, is the will of God, revealed in the books of the Old and the New Testament.

To study the Scriptures, therefore, according to his abilities and attainments, is every man's duty, and to facilitate that study to those whom nature hath made weak, or education has left ignorant, or indispensable cares detain from regular processes of inquiry, is the business of those who have been blessed with abilities and learning, and are appointed the instructors of the lower class of men, by that common Father, who distributes to all created beings their qualifications and employments; who has allotted some to the labour of the hand, and some to the exercise of the mind; has commanded some to teach, and others to learn; has prescribed to some the patience of instruction, and to others the meekness of obedience.

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By what methods the unenlightened and ignorant may be made proper readers of the word of God, has been long and diligently considered. Commentaries of all kinds have indeed been copiously produced: but there still remain multitudes to whom the labours of the learned are of little use, for whom expositions require an expositor. To those, indeed, who read the divine books without vain curiosity, or a desire to be wise beyond their powers, it will always be easy to discern the strait path, to find the words of everlasting life. But such is the condition of our nature, that we are always attempting what it is difficult to perform: he who reads the Scriptures to gain goodness, is desirous likewise to gain knowledge, and by his impatience of ignorance, falls into error.

This danger has appeared to the doctors of the Romish church, so much to be feared, and so difficult to be escaped, that they have snatched the Bible out of the hands of the people, and confined the liberty of perusing it to those whom literature has previously qualified. By this expedient they have formed a kind of uniformity, I am afraid too much like that of colours in the dark; but they have certainly usurped a power which God has never given them, and precluded great numbers from the highest spiritual consolation.

I know not whether this prohibition has not brought upon them an evil which they themselves have not discovered. It is granted, I believe, by the Romanists themselves, that the best commentaries on the Bible have been the works of Protestants. I know not, indeed, whether, since the celebrated paraphrase of Erasmus, any scholar has appeared amongst them, whose works are much valued, even in our own communion. Why have those who excel in every other kind of knowledge, to whom the world owes much of the increase of light which has shone upon these latter ages, failed, and failed only when they have attempted to explain the Scriptures of God? Why, but because they are in the church less read and less examined; because they have another rule of deciding controversies, and instituting laws.

Of the Bible some of the books are prophetical, some doctrinal and historical, as the Gospels, of which we have in the subsequent pages attempted an illustration. The books of the Evange-

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lists contain an account of the life of our own blessed Saviour, more particularly of the years of his ministry, interspersed with his precepts, doctrines, and predictions. Each of these histories contains facts and dictates related likewise in the rest, that the truth might be established by concurrence of testimony; and each has likewise facts and dictates which the rest omit, to prove that they were wrote without communication.

These writers, not affecting the exactness of chronologers, and relating various events of the same life, or the same events with various circumstances, have some difficulties to him, who, without the help of many books, desires to collect a series of the acts and precepts of Jesus Christ; fully to know his life, whose example was given for our imitation; fully to understand his precepts, which it is sure destruction to disobey.

In this work, therefore, an attempt has been made, by the help of harmonists and expositors, to reduce the four Gospels into one series of narration; to form a complete history out of the different narratives of the Evangelists, by inserting every event in the order of time, and connecting every precept of life and doctrine, with the occasion on which it was delivered; showing, as far as history or the knowledge of ancient customs can inform us, the reason and propriety of every action; and explaining, or endeavouring to explain, every precept and declaration in its true meaning.

Let it not be hastily concluded, that we intend to substitute this book for the Gospels, or obtrude our own expositions as the oracles of God. We recommend to the unlearned reader to consult us when he finds any difficulty, as men who have laboured not to deceive ourselves, and who are without any temptation to deceive him: but all men, however, that while they mean best may be mistaken. Let him be careful, therefore, to distinguish what we cite from the Gospels, from what we offer as our own: he will find many difficulties removed; and if some yet remain, let him remember that God is in heaven and we upon earth, that our thoughts are not God's thoughts, and that the great cure of doubt is an humble mind.

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FOR THE PORT FOLIO.—ANTIQUITIES OF MARYLAND.

Annapolis, 13th September, 1818.

Mr. Oldschool,

At the head of Rhode river, Anne Arundel county, Maryland, there is a very old, and, from its present appearance, formerly a very handsome tomb-stone. I send you a copy of the inscription, to insert in your Port Folio, if you should think it worth while, as it serves to show at what a very early period permanent settlements were made at the head of some of our navigable waters. There is a tradition in the neighbourhood, that major Francies's house stood near his grave, and that there was, at that time, but one other house for many miles around.

Here lyeth the body of
Major THOMAS FRANCIES;
Who deceased ye 19th of March,
Anno 1685. Aged 42 years.

Tho: now in silence, I am Lowly Laid
Ah! 'tis that place for mortalls made—
Oh therefore doe not thou thyselfe more greive
Mourne y^u noe more, but do y^rselfe releive.
And then in time, I hope you'll plainly see
Such future Comforts as are blessing me.
For tho: grim death thought fitt to part us here
Rejoyce and think that wee shall once appear.
At that great day, when all shall summond bee
None to be Exempted in this Eternitie.
Cause then its soe, greive y^u noe more
In fear that God, shou'd thee afflict most sore.
Even to death, and all to let you see
Such greives to him, offencive bee.

Amongst the most novel inventions in this mechanical age, an instrument has just been completed for turning over the leaves of a music book, without obliging the performer to take his hand from the keys.

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EMBASSY TO CHINA.

1. Journal of the Proceedings of the late Embassy to China. By Henry Ellis, Esq. Secretary of Embassy. 1 vol. 4to. 2 vols. 8vo. 1818.
2. Narrative of a Voyage in his Majesty's late ship Alceste, to the Yellow Sea, along the Coast of Corea. By John Macleod, Surgeon of the Alceste. 8vo. 1818.
3. Account of a Voyage of Discovery to the West Coast of Corea, and the Great Loo Choo Island. By Captain Basil Hall, R. N. F.R.S. L. and E. 4to. 1818. [*From the Edinburgh Magazine.*]

The works now enumerated include a sufficiently ample view of all the results derived from this embassy; both as it has affected the political relations of Britain with China, and as it has extended our knowledge of those eastern regions. In neither respect has it answered the expectation formed from it; in the first not at all, and in the second not equal to what might have been anticipated. The narratives, however, to which it has given rise, are far from being uninteresting; and we shall therefore endeavour to present a general view of the information which they convey.

Most of our readers are probably aware of the jealous restrictions within which the commercial relations of China with all other powers are confined. Only one port of the empire, Canton, is open to foreign vessels, which cannot even come up to the city, but must remain fifteen miles below, at the mouth of the river. All the mercantile transactions are carried on under the eye of the government, and by persons to whom it grants a license for that purpose. It is obvious that these arrangements must place the trade in a state of entire dependence upon the local authorities, who not only regulate immediately the mode in which it must be conducted, but who have the exclusive ear of the court, and can convey to the emperor any impression which they may wish to give him respecting the conduct of the English. Considerable umbrage had recently been taken at the proceedings of his majesty's ship Doris, which, within Chinese limits, had captured several American vessels. The explanations given not appearing satisfactory, the irritation of the government was shown by repeated acts, and the company's agents were deprived of many of their usual privileges and accommodations. Matters at length

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came to such a height, that the committee of management had recourse to the measure of putting a sudden and complete stop to all commercial intercourse with the Chinese. This decisive step produced the desired effect. Although the British trade is of no great importance to the empire, considered in the aggregate, it forms the main source of prosperity to Canton and its vicinity;—it forms there even the sole means of subsistence to many of the inhabitants. It could not, therefore, be interrupted without causing extensive distress in this crowded population, the consequence of which might have been, if not revolt, at least such heavy complaints to the imperial court, as might have issued in the deposition of the persons at present in power. The mandarins judged it prudent to yield, and the storm, for the present, blew happily over. This experience, however, inspired the company with a wish to open a direct communication with the court, and to obtain thus an appeal from the caprices of the local government. With this view, they proposed to the British government, that an embassy should be sent from the prince regent to the emperor, of which they undertook to defray the expense. This proposal was readily acceded to; an embassy was prepared, at the head of which was placed lord Amherst. Mr. Elphinston, and sir George Staunton, who held the highest situations in the factory at Canton, were to occupy the second and third places in the commission; but in case either of these gentlemen should happen to be absent, Mr. Ellis went out to fill the station thus left unoccupied. On reaching Canton they were joined only by sir George Staunton, who took the second place, and Mr. Ellis the third. They were accompanied also by several members of the factory, and among others by Mr. Morrison, a gentleman well skilled in the Chinese language, and who acted as interpreter. The viceroy, and the Portuguese at Macao, showed an unfriendly disposition, and spread unfavourable rumours; but, before leaving Canton, the embassy received a communication from the emperor, expressing the most cordial welcome and assurances of a favourable reception. In the end of July they arrived at the mouth of the Peiho, the river which passes by Pekin. They were soon waited upon by three Mandarins, two of whom, Chang and Yin, had the one a blue and the other a red button, which indicated high rank. The third, Kwang, had

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only a crystal button, but as Chincae or imperial commissioner, he took precedence of the other two. Indications of Chinese haughtiness were occasionally manifested; but, upon the whole, they behaved with tolerable politeness, and arrangements were made for the disembarkation and voyage up the river. An earlier opportunity, however, was taken of introducing the subject of the kotou, or grand prostration, which had been the main stumbling block to the success of every Chinese embassy. The kotou, our readers are probably aware, consists in the individual admitted to the presence of "the celestial emperor," prostrating himself nine times, and each time beating his head against the ground. The question as to the performance of this ceremony had come under the consideration of the government at home; and the instructions given to the ambassadors seem to have been very judicious. They were to adhere, if possible, to the precedent of lord Macartney, who had obtained access to the imperial presence without the performance of a ceremony so revolting to European ideas. At the same time, lord Amherst was left at liberty to act as circumstances at the moment might seem to dictate; in short, should it seem advisable, the kotou was to be performed. On the other hand, sir George Staunton and the other members of the Canton factory, objected to it in the most decided manner, as likely to produce injurious effects, by lowering the English character in the eyes of the Chinese. The first questions were prudently evaded by lord Amherst, who merely said, that every thing proper and respectful would be done. The embassy and suite were therefore embarked on the Peiho and it was soon intimated, that at Tiensing, the first great city on its banks, an imperial banquet awaited them. The pleasure afforded by this testimony of respect was damped by the intimation, that they were expected to perform the grand ceremony in presence of the dinner, in the same manner as if his imperial majesty had presided, which he was judged to do, having given the entertainment. This proposition was rejected by lord Amherst in the most decided terms; he refused even to kneel before the majesty of the table; and, after long discussion, the Chinese compounded for nine bows, to correspond with the nine prostrations which they themselves made. The dinner was handsome, after the Chinese man-

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ner, and they continued their voyage up the river to Tong-chow, the port of Pekin. During the voyage and the residence there, the kotou was an almost perpetual subject of discussion; and the mandarins spared no urgency which could induce lord Amherst to agree to it. They even made the most solemn and repeated asseverations, that it had been performed by lord Macartney; and they had the unparalleled effrontery to appeal to sir George Staunton, who had been then present, for the truth of their statement. Finally, they brought forward an imperial edict, in which the same assertion was made. The ambassadors extricated themselves as politely as possible, from the embarrassing situation in which they were placed by these scandalous falsehoods. Sir George evaded the references made to him; and lord Amherst steadily referred to the archives of the former embassy, which bore, that no such ceremony had been performed. To the first band of solicitors was now added *Hoo*, whom Mr. Ellis terms a duke, though the expression, we think, cannot be properly applied in China, where there exists no high hereditary rank corresponding to the idea which we attach to it.

This duke, as he is called, began by endeavouring to carry his point by roughness and blustering; but finding that these produced no effect, he assumed a more conciliatory tone, and held out high prospects, almost assurances of solid marks of imperial favour, which would follow upon this point being conceded. Lord Amherst and Mr. Ellis were inclined to yield, but sir George Staunton having held a formal consultation with the Canton members of the mission, gave it as his and their decided opinion, that compliance would prove more injurious to the interests of the company in China, than any concession which could be hoped for. The resolution of refusing it was, therefore, irrevocably fixed. With our comparatively imperfect means of judging, we do not intend to dispute its soundness. We only regret that it was not formed in a more leisurely and deliberate manner. The decision was fixed, not according to the intention of the government at home, by the aspect of affairs at the moment, but by the general principle, that the ceremony was not in any case to be performed. This might have been discussed more conveniently at Canton by

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all the members of the committee, than by a few of their number, amid the hurry and confusion of a journey, and upon the pressure of the moment.

The Chinese officers did all in their power to induce the ambassador to change his resolution, but when it appeared immoveable, they seemed to yield the point, and said, that the emperor would receive them on their own terms, by which kneeling upon one knee was to be substituted for the kotou. The object was now to hasten their departure, which, through the exertions of the Chinese, took place on the afternoon of the 28th of August. They travelled that evening and the whole night round the walls of Pekin, not being admitted into the city. Soon after day-break they arrived at the palace of Yuen-mien, where the emperor then was. They were ushered into a small apartment, filled with princes of the blood, mandarins of all buttons, and other spectators. Chang, one of their ordinary attendants, then came and announced the emperor's wish to admit them to an immediate audience. Lord Amherst objected, on the ground of his exhausted state, and want of all proper equipments. Chang finding all argument ineffectual, reluctantly carried the information to Hoo, who sent repeated messages, and at last came himself, and exhausted every form of argument or entreaty to induce lord Amherst to enter. At length, with a show of friendly violence, he made a move to draw him in, which was very properly resisted. At the same time, we cannot help thinking, that in this obstinate refusal to attend the proposed audience, an error was committed. To a monarch accustomed to have every wish gratified, and his presence considered as an almost divine honour, it could not fail to be highly offensive. The reasons for adopting it ought therefore to have been very strong. Those stated are, that the ambassador had not his court dress, and that he was in a state of "fatigue and inanition." The first concerned the emperor's dignity more than his own, and there would have been an immediate opportunity of personal explanation. As to the encroachment on his own personal comfort, we really do not think it ought to have been at all considered on so very serious an occasion. Mr. Ellis vehemently exclaims against the rude curiosity of the surrounding personages, who appeared to view them as so many wild beasts; but as this was neither sanctioned by the emperor, nor by any of the regularly at-

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tending mandarins, it ought in no degree to have affected their official conduct. We are far, indeed, from anticipating that any very favourable results would have been produced by the interview. From what transpired afterwards, it appears, that a complete system of deception had been practised upon the emperor; that he had never been told of any objections made to the ceremony, and fully expected to see it performed. The mandarins probably hoped, in the hurry and confusion of this introduction, to get the thing done, though we do not think that force would have been employed. But the failure of the ceremony would probably have taken from the audience every thing of an amicable or beneficial character. Lord Amherst, however, had then no suspicion of this ignorance of the emperor, and could not therefore found any proceedings upon it.

The principle of the Chinese government is to make every officer responsible for the success of the affairs entrusted to him, with very little inquiry whether they have failed through his own fault, or from unavoidable causes. This had led to the eagerness of the mandarins for the performance of the ceremony, and it now made them dread being punished for the disrespect shown to their imperial master. Their usual system of deception was resorted to. The emperor was told that the ambassador had been seized with a sudden illness, which rendered it impossible for him to appear in his majesty's presence. This passed off well. The emperor delayed the interview, and permitted the British to retire into a neighbouring house, where ample accommodation was provided. Unfortunately, he added the farther kindness of sending his own chief physician to assist in their cure. That person found lord Amherst in the most perfect health, and with no visible impediment to have prevented him from appearing at court,—which, being reported to the emperor, sealed the fate of the embassy. In two hours an order arrived to set out for Canton without a moment's delay; and no plea of fatigue being listened to, the party were obliged to set out by four of the same day. On their arrival at Tong-chow, they found the triumphal arch, which had been raised to celebrate their arrival, thrown down, and the house provided for their reception, shut up. Their fallen state fully appeared, when a beggar, who had risen up as lord Amherst pass-

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ed, was ordered to resume his seat. Yet, in the course of their voyage down the canal, an edict arrived, in which the emperor complained of having been deceived, and directed, that the English should be treated more favourably.

On their arrival at Canton, however, they found a new edict, in which they were bitterly reproached for the disrespect shown by refusing the offered audience. The viceroy was instructed to treat them with marked coldness, and even to give them a sharp reprimand.

Upon the whole there does not appear much promise of any favourable issue to similar missions. That there is only one sovereign on earth: of whom every other prince must own himself the vassal, is a principle irrevocably fixed in the mind of the Chinese. "God is high over all, but on earth Gengis Khan only is Lord," formed the preface to that conqueror's letters, and has continued ever since to be the principle of Chinese court policy. Hoo, in a discussion with the embassy, impatiently exclaimed, "There is but one sun, and there can be but one *Ta-whang-té*." The idea is not without some excuse. The population of China at the lowest computation, is more than equal to that of all the kingdoms of Europe united; an excellent observer supposes, that as many Chinese live on the water, and have no habitation on land, as there are inhabitants in Great Britain. Such a sovereign will probably never receive, with satisfaction, a mission from any state which does not approach him in the character of an humble tributary.

In China, where nothing changes, a new traveller can see little that has not been seen before. It was impossible that the present embassy should add much to the copious details of the missionaries and sir George Staunton, and the living pictures drawn by Mr. Barrow.

Indeed Mr. Ellis, though his remarks are correct and sensible, does not appear to us to have been smitten with the true exploratory spirit. He repeatedly intimates, that the traversing of distant oceans and empires appeared to him a very poor compensation for the suspension of his English comforts; and even in the first novelty of Chinese scenery he describes himself as besieged with *ennui*. He sailed, however, down the great river Yan-tsé-kiang, which he describes as truly majestic, and decided-

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ly superior to the better known stream of the Hoang-ho, or Yellow river. This entirely agrees with the account long ago given by Marco Polo, who represents it as the greatest then known in the world. The embassy had also an opportunity of viewing the noble scenery of the Poyang lake. An extensive sheet of water, surrounded with mountains, is a feature not unknown to ourselves. But these mountains, covered to the summit with woods and varied vegetation, crowned with pagodas, and with vast cities stretching along their feet, must have formed a combination of grandeur, which scarcely, perhaps, any other part of the globe can equal.

We now hasten to that part of the expedition which presents by much the most interesting results in the view of discovery. This was the return of the Alceste and Lyra to Canton, which they performed by a route hitherto unknown to European navigators. A very pleasing account is given of it by lieutenant Macleod, of the Alceste; and a more elaborate, scientific, and truly interesting one, by captain Hall, of the Lyra, son to sir James Hall, president of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, a gentleman to whom science is deeply indebted. The vessels began by making the circuit of the gulf of Petchelee, which brought them upon the coast of Corea. They discovered a group of islands, to which captain Hall gave his father's name. They landed,—but the only intercourse which they could obtain with the inhabitants consisted in signs made by the latter, expressive of the most eager wish that they should go away; one of which consisted in blowing a piece of paper in the same direction with the wind, and pointing to the ships. The English were at length obliged to comply, and landed on another part of the coast, where they could obtain no courtesy till they turned their backs to regain the ships, when the natives showed the utmost alacrity in helping them over every impediment. They now came to a very populous part of the coast, and resolved to make another attempt to attain a footing on land. As soon as they put out their boats, a number came rowing from the shore to meet them; and they soon distinguished one personage, whose dress and deportment announced him as a chief. He was an old man of venerable appearance, with a beard reaching below his middle,—a robe of immense size, flowing round him, and a hat of enormous brim, reaching more than three feet across. He

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received them graciously, but on their proposing to go on shore, intimated the most decided preference in favour of proceeding towards the ship. The British complied; and he was, with great difficulty, hauled up with his bulky appendages, and placed upon deck. He then showed extreme satisfaction, and endeavoured to enter into conversation; but it soon proved that signs were the only possible mode of communication. He behaved, however, with great courtesy and gayety,—eat and drank after the English fashion,—and searched every corner of the ship with eager curiosity; though to explore some of them, he was obliged, with great reluctance, to lay aside his hat of state. After several interviews, the English pressed so earnestly the proposition of returning his visit on shore, that he found himself obliged to comply. No sooner, however, had the landing taken place, than his countenance changed, and he was soon seen melting into tears. The party proceeded towards a village in sight; but the old man soon began crying violently, and at length sobbed, and even bellowed aloud. The English, entreating to know the cause of such direful affliction, he made a long speech, in which nothing was intelligible except the sign of passing his hand frequently across his neck, which was understood to intimate that his head was in danger. Every attempt to abate his agony having proved unavailing, there remained no choice but to return to the ship. He appeared then ashamed of his conduct, but made no attempt to repair it by inviting them again on shore.

The expedition proceeded southwards; but they were soon surprised to find that what had been supposed to be the coast of Corea was, in fact, a numerous collection of small islands, the existence of which had been hitherto unknown. The number of these islands baffled all calculation. From a high point which they reached in one of the group, they could count a hundred and twenty in sight, and during a course of upwards of a hundred miles, the sea continued as closely studded with them. There does not, perhaps, exist in the world such an archipelago of islets. Wherever they landed, the same eager anxiety was shown for their re-embarkation; so that there seems no doubt that the Corean government is as rigidly adverse to the admission of strangers as those of China and Japan.

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The vessels now left the shore, and, after a considerable run, passed a volcanic island called Sulphur island; but the surf prevented them from landing. They soon after came in sight of the great island of Lieu Kieu, or, as captain Hall calls it, Loo Choo. The very first view of it inspired a pleasing sentiment, as it resembled, according to Mr. Macleod's description, rather the environs of the finest country-seats in England, than the shores of a remote and unknown island. The deportment of the people soon confirmed every favourable impression. Several canoes came up, which handed water, provisions, and fish, without asking, or seeming to expect any return. Their manners were at once gentle and ceremoniously respectful; they uncovered their heads in presence of the English, and bowed whenever they spoke. The shore was soon covered with spectators; and the ships were visited by several chiefs, who behaved in the frankest and kindest manner. When, however, the English began to make overtures for returning these visits on shore, every mode of polite evasion was studiously employed. They pretended to consider themselves so much inferior to their new acquaintances, as to have no claim to such a return, which would even, they said, have degraded the latter. Captain Maxwell having complained of illness, they offered to send a physician on board; and when he said that his physician had recommended a ride on shore, they merely laughed, and changed the subject. After several visits, however, the captain pushed the offer so home, that they could not reject it without an open breach. Five of the officers accordingly, landed, and were received with much ceremony, being led by the chiefs through two files of people, ranged on each side for the purpose of viewing them. They soon reached a temple, where they found a large japanned table spread, and were regaled with a dinner, consisting of hard boiled eggs, fish fried in butter, smoked pork, pigs' liver sliced, several kind of cakes, and other dishes, most of which were found palatable. The entertainment was conducted with much gayety and good humour. It was still in vain that they solicited permission to land their stores, and take up their quarters on shore, for the benefit of health and exercise. This, however, was at length brought about. The natives had, at first, recommended a harbour ten miles to the southward; but their

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new visiters, when better known, becoming daily more agreeable, they showed no wish to part, and always shunned furnishing the promised guide to this new station. One morning, however, the Lyra disappeared, and they found, on inquiry, that it had gone to reconnoitre the harbour in question. The dread of losing the English altogether made all their demands be at once agreed to. They were received on shore, and commodiously lodged in a large temple. Their range, however, was always confined within the narrowest possible limits. They saw at a distance a large building, which they had reason to believe was the king's palace; but all positive information on the subject was steadily withheld. At the same time, the intimacy and cordiality of the English with the natives daily augmented. They had a Chinese interpreter, so that they could communicate from the first by words; and both parties soon made great progress in each other's language. The most interesting personage was a young man of the name of Madera, who appeared first as a common native, and associated with the sailors, but gradually rose in consequence, till he proved to be a man of very high rank, who had assumed this disguise for the sake of observing the strangers more intimately. He appears to have been remarkably distinguished by intelligence, as well as by a good-humoured, gay, and friendly disposition. Before leaving Loo Choo, they were visited by a prince of the blood, a very polite personage, but who had nothing striking in his manners or appearance. On their expressing a wish to be introduced to the king, he stated, that the custom of the country forbade this, unless they came on an express mission from their own sovereign. The English, soon after, took their departure, which drew forth deep demonstrations of grief from Madera and their other friends.

The inhabitants of Loo Choo, appear, indeed, to be a very interesting people. In their manners and political state, they seem to hold a middle place between the people of China and those of the South Sea islands, and by a rare good fortune, to have united the good qualities of both, without the faults of either. They combine the civilization of the one race with the simplicity of the other. There was every reason to believe that they were unacquainted both with arms and with money. Their honesty was quite unimpeachable. Although they had free access to every

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part of the ship, and of the temple in which the stores were afterwards placed, no instance of pilfering was ever observed; and, when any thing was missing, no one ever suspected that it could have been carried off by the natives. They are a gay and social people, carry about their dinner in boxes, and have frequent *picnic* parties among themselves. They appeared to enjoy much the hospitality of the ship, and did not always confine themselves within the most rigid rules of temperance. The population could not be conjectured. The part of the island immediately under observation was highly fertile and cultivated, but the opposite side was understood to be much less improved.

Captain Hall displays a degree of geological knowledge, which, though hereditary with him, is very unusual in maritime travellers. Unfortunately, the regions surveyed afforded little scope for its exercise. We must except the curious account of the structure of an island off the coast of Corea, which he named Hutton's island, after that celebrated geologist. We may add the descriptions of the coral formations on the coast of Loo Choo, for that island presented no other remarkable features. The volume is, moreover, enriched by a vocabulary of the Loo Choo language, and by a great variety of nautical observations.

ABYSSINIAN BEEF-STEAKS.

Mr. Bruce, the Abyssinian traveller, has frequently been ridiculed for asserting it was the practice in Abyssinia, to cut slices from the backs of their cattle while alive, and then to drive them back to pasture; but Mr. Salt, in his late travels, confirms the same. He tells us, that a soldier belonging to the party to which he was attached, cut off two pieces of flesh from the buttock, near the tail, of one of the cows they were driving before them; and then sewed up the wounds, plastering them over with cow dung, and drove the animal forwards, while they cooked the steaks.

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Discourses on the Evidence of the Jewish and Christian Revelation; with Notes and Illustrations. By Sir Henry Moncreiff Wellwood, Bart. D.D. F.R.S. Edinburgh. Constable and Co., Edinburgh; Longman, and Hamilton, London. 1816. 8vo. *From the Augustan Review.*

THE character in which this author comes before us would serve as a good excuse for many more faults than his performance exhibits. Superior to the desire of literary distinctions, and seeking for the praise of usefulness alone, he has no disappointment to fear, as he aims at nothing of which the goodness of his ends and the fitness of his means do not assure him. The subject he has selected for the employment of his leisure hours, is one which no christian can regard with indifference, and it is worthy the attention of every man of learning. This publication professes to be no more than an epitome of the works of those celebrated divines whose labours have so effectually established the truth of our religion; but the selection and arrangement of the arguments are judicious, and the whole is well adapted to the perusal of ordinary readers, to whom those learned works are inaccessible. It is fitted to convey, to a very numerous class who greatly want it, a clear idea of the process by which Judaism and Christianity are usually defended; and sufficiently comprehensive to answer every purpose of those for whose use it is designed. Though it may not have added much to the mass of evidence already collected, it will not be the author's fault if the nature of that evidence be not from this time more generally known. The reader will be able to judge, from the reverend Baronet's truly modest Preface, whether the character we have here given of the work corresponds, or not, with his own opinion of it. He certainly has not exaggerated the merits of his performance.

"In the following discourses, the author has had no other object, than to collect the leading facts on which the evidence of the Jewish and christian revelation depends; and to represent them in a connected view, within such a narrow compass, as should render them accessible to common readers. They contain sketches, and nothing more, of what has been much more completely discussed by Mill, Wetstein, Jones, Sherlock, Lardner, Michaelis, Watson, Paley, and many others, though he is not aware

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that the several parts of the argument in the following discourses have been before stated in a continued series. He has availed himself of whatever has been written by others, without reserve; and is at least as sensible as his readers can be, that he has no claim to any personal merit from such a compilation. He has arrived at that period of life, when the humblest sphere of usefulness should be more interesting than any degree of literary reputation. And his object will therefore be gained, if the following discourses shall be found to contain any thing which shall serve to add to the information, or to remove the doubts, or to confirm the faith, of the least informed, who shall peruse them. He is sensible that they have not the correctness which, with more leisure, he might have given them; and that there are sometimes repetitions, and frequently a diffuseness, which might have been avoided. They have been written at intervals, in the midst of many avocations; and he has only to express his hope, that their defects shall be ascribed, not to the subject, but to the author. However he may have failed in the execution of his plan, he allows himself to believe that his general object will not be thought unworthy of attention. He is persuaded that Judaism and Christianity are inseparably conjoined as the revelations of God; and that every thing which is most important to mankind, and to every individual,—to the prosperity of the present world, and to every expectation beyond it,—depends on the influence and progress of genuine Christianity."

We transcribe the following passage from his discourse on "PROPHECY," with the greater willingness, because it will serve, at the same time, as a specimen of the author's style, and as an illustration of a subsequent part of this article.

"There is a prophecy addressed to the Jews, which is twice delivered by Jeremiah, in these words: 'Though I make a full end of all the nations whither I have scattered thee, (saith the Lord,) yet will I not make a full end of thee.'* The prophet Hosea predicted of the Jews, that 'they should be wanderers among the nations.'† And Amos more particularly represents 'the house of Jacob' as every where scattered, but constantly preserved: 'I will not utterly destroy the house of Jacob, saith the Lord; for lo, I will command, and I will sift the house of Israel among all the nations, like as corn is sifted in a sieve, yet shall not the least grain fall upon the earth.'‡

"The Egyptians, the Assyrians, the Babylonians, and the Romans, by each of whom the Jews were at different periods subjugated or enslaved,

* Jeremiah, xxx. 11. and xliv. 28.
† Hosea, ix. 17.
‡ Amos, ix. 8, 9.

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have all, in their turn, long ceased to exist as independent nations. Their posterity are undistinguished and unknown in the population of modern states. The existence of the Jews, on the other hand, as a distinct and separate people, is as clearly exhibited in the latest as in the earliest ages. Hosea and Amos prophesied in the days of Uzziah, Ahaz, Hezekiah; Jeremiah before the Babylonish captivity: and when the Jews returned to Judea, seventy years after the captivity, they had the same national character, and were the same people whom Nebuchadnezzar had driven from Jerusalem. At a later period, they were finally expelled from their country by the Romans, without mercy or distinction, and were scattered over the face of the whole inhabited world. And yet, at the distance of seventeen hundred years from their dispersion, it is no more a question, whether they are now known as a people different from all other nations, than it could have been before Vespasian led his army to the siege of Jerusalem. They are scattered among all the nations of Africa, of Europe, of Asia, and of America; and every where, and in every age, they are recognized as Jews, who form a part of the population of almost every state, but who are never confounded with any one of the Gentile tribes. They have, in every clime, and among every nation, the aspect, the manners, the distinctive characters, the usages, and the religion of Jews.'

"Their sacrifices, and the peculiar rights and service of their altar, were of necessity superseded and abolished, when their temple and their capital city were destroyed by the decrees of God. But they have Moses and the Prophets read in their synagogues still; and, excepting the unhappy countries in which despotism proscribes the Jewish faith as a crime to be punished with death, a Jew is as clearly distinguished from the worshippers in the churches and temples of modern states, as if he were still an inhabitant of the plain, or of the mountains of Judea. When the people of other nations have either been expelled by violence from their native soil, or have voluntarily renounced it, experience has uniformly demonstrated, that, in the course of a few generations, the distinctive marks of their origin are insensibly lost in the characters, the manners, and the usages of their adopted countries. But the Jews are Jews in every land; and, with the exception of individuals who have deserted their faith, are as much a peculiar people in the present age as they have ever been.

"If the prophecy of Jeremiah was accomplished when the Jews were restored from Babylon, and when the nations, who had before oppressed them, lost their place in the history of the world; if it was accomplished when the empire of Rome was overwhelmed by Barbarians, and the Jews were still a people, while the Romans were confounded with the Goths and Vandals; if there be nothing in the condition of modern states to exempt *them* from revolutions which have overwhelmed every ancient establish-

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ment; and if the Jews are still the separate people which they have ever been,—is it possible to read the predictions of Jeremiah, with all these circumstances before us, without relying upon the authority and inspiration of the prophets? 'Though I make a full end, (saith the Lord,) of all the nations whither I have scattered thee, yet will I not make a full end of thee.'"—p. 138.

Every thing relating to the Jews is at this time peculiarly interesting. The hearts of many among us begin to feel for the sufferings and degradation of this persecuted people, and our eyes begin to be turned towards their final restoration, which is so clearly predicted in holy writ. By whatever means this feeling and this expectation have been excited in the religious world, and whether the grounds of them be strong or weak, it is pleasing to christian philanthropy to witness their very extensive prevalence. Whatever may be thought of the revival of their former prosperity as a nation, and their return to their native land,—events, which, if ever they take place, will probably be brought about, not by human means, but by some potent exertion of supernatural agency, which man will gaze at with wonder and adoration,—surely, to relieve their temporal distresses, and to rescue them from that state of moral depravation in which they are now sunk, is an employment worthy of the hand of charity. Though the conversion of a whole nation, labouring under prejudices so strong, so inveterate, and so interwoven almost with their very existence, seems to be a work too great for man to accomplish; yet every attempt on our parts to further such a design, by ministering to their necessities and enlightening their minds, in supposed compliance with his revealed will, will probably be regarded with approbation by that Divine Being, who has given so many indications of his wish to save the "lost sheep of the house of Israel."

To the honour of our age, that strong antipathy between Jews and Christians, the result of prejudice and ignorance, which has so long constituted the principal obstruction to any improvement in the condition of the persecuted Israelites, has given place to more generous sentiments in the professors of Christianity; and, as it is the ordinary effect of gratitude for benefits received to excite esteem and friendship for the benefactor, we have reason

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to expect that the desire of reconciliation will soon be mutual. To use the language of some of the eloquent advocates of this good cause, the Jew is to be considered as the christian's "elder brother." The inheritance of salvation was originally his, and though his want of faith induced him to reject the precious offer, and to surrender his birthright, we should not forget the claim he has upon our affection and pity. If he do stand in that endearing relation to us, we should not forsake him in his need and his affliction. His transgression, it is true, was great—but he has greatly suffered for it.

The history of this people, extraordinary and interesting throughout, has, for a series of ages, given rise to opinions concerning them, which seem to us equally ungenerous and unjust. The necessarily strong language of their prophets and legislators, has caused their obstinacy, ingratitude, and incredulity, to be greatly exaggerated by the readers of the Bible; while their greatest offence of all, their conduct towards the Son of God, has frequently drawn upon them all the reproaches that acrimonious eloquence of believers could supply. We pretend not to excuse, or to deny, the guilty transactions in which they were too frequently engaged: they were too criminal to be excused, and too clearly attested to be denied. But we cannot permit those who are themselves not "without sin," to hurl vindictively, and without authority, the avenging stone at the head of an offending brother. If it can be shown that the offences of the sons of Abraham may be accounted for from a view of the frailty of human nature in general, and that their guilt was perhaps no greater or more unnatural than that of many professing Christians now is, those offences will, it is true, remain humiliating instances of man's folly and wickedness, but they will cease to brand with peculiar infamy the descendants of those who committed them.

When we are considering the numerous transgressions of the divine law from which they cannot be excused, and which at last drew down such signal punishment upon them, we should also consider the numerous difficulties and temptations of their situation. All the nations around them presented an example of the most dangerous and destructive kind, and were always industri-

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ously employed in endeavouring to seduce them from their duty and faith. Though painful to the pride of man, it is by no means matter of astonishment, to those who are conversant with his nature, that the attractions of the wives of their idolatrous neighbours should have, in many instances, so far prevailed, that the worship of the only true God should have occasionally ceased among them, or that the Sun of righteousness itself should have been unable to penetrate the cloud of prejudice, which even their religion had somewhat contributed to raise. None, surely, needs to be informed how prone we are to offend in spite of the strongest conviction of the destructive tendency of our sins, or how frequently the pleasures of the world have caused even Christians to apostatize, virtually at least, from the faith which the fullest evidence had before assured them to be true. We do not pretend to excuse the enormity of those offences against which the displeasure of Heaven has been so clearly expressed; we wish only to represent the erroneous nature of those reasonings which are intended to prove that the guilt of that people, in their various rebellions against God, is of a character any way singular or unaccountable; or that their crimes were more unpardonable than those of which other nations were in their turn guilty. The same just God who accuses the Israelites of rebellion, obstinacy, and incredulity, employed them to punish the abominable wickedness of the idolatrous nations around them, by "destroying them utterly:" and when we are told that the Jews have been driven into captivity, and deprived of "the sceptre," and continue to this day scattered over the whole earth; may we not, in return, be allowed to ask, what has become of those mighty empires—the plague and terror of mankind, which owned hardly any limits but those of the great globe itself. The result of such a comparison is in favour of the Jews; for they still subsist, in all their misfortunes, a peculiar people; while all those stately dynasties have successively perished, leaving "not a wreck behind."

It will hardly be disputed that a person, who, after using every means within his reach to inform his judgment aright, becomes fully and conscientiously convinced of the lawfulness of any action, can contract no guilt by performing it. Whatever be the

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consequences of the action to himself or to others, he is excusable before God and man from all that constitutes the *criminality of the agent*, namely, the obliquity of the motive. No exception can well be taken against this method of estimating the quality of any action or agent. It affords no excuse whatever for wilful ignorance, because it does not permit a man to act, in any doubtful case, till he has done all in his power to obtain a just idea of what he is about to do, and satisfied his conscience that it is quite consistent with that which he believes to be the will of God respecting it. It even requires of him, in case of extreme difficulty and importance, not to act at all—rather than run the risk of doing wrong. It is not sufficient that the motive of the agent was not bad, or that he acted to the best of his knowledge, if he might have known better, had he taken more pains to acquire information. It is not sufficient that he did not foresee the ill consequences of the act, if he might have foreseen them. In this manner, we apprehend, it may be clearly ascertained whether any action be criminal or not; and the degree of guilt incurred by the agent may be determined by the application of the same rule. He who deliberately acts against his judgment and his conscience, incurs, undoubtedly, the full and aggravated guilt of the transaction whatever it be, and cannot complain if he pay the unmitigated penalty annexed to it. He who neglects to inform his judgment and his conscience aright, is likewise criminal if his action be so, though not in the same degree; and his guilt is in proportion to his negligence. If he wilfully shut his eyes against the evidence that might convince him, the act he may perform will differ very little (if at all) from a deliberate crime.

If, therefore, we would inquire whether the vulgar opinion respecting the Jewish nation be correct, we should begin with an inquiry into the means with which Divine Providence had furnished them of learning the true nature of the transactions in which they were engaged, and how far they acted in deliberate opposition to the light they had, or might have had. When we look into their history for satisfaction on this point, it must be granted on all hands, that their real purity and holiness was not such as their numerous advantages would have led us to expect; yet, if we compare them, at most periods of their history, with

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the most polished and enlightened cotemporary nations, we shall find that the effects of their separation were evidenced by a superior purity of faith and morals. That the Jews were generally convinced of the obligation and divine origin of their religion, especially in the latter ages of their existence as a nation, can hardly, we should think, be questioned. That they were sincere in their attachment to it, and scrupulous to excess in their observance of what they considered its most essential injunctions, seems also manifest. They often, it is true, neglected the weightier matters of the law; but they do not appear to have ever entirely forgotten, for any length of time, their reverence for the law itself or its Divine author.* There were, undoubtedly, periods of great and almost universal depravity; but, through the worst of times, the word of God has been, by their means, transmitted to us unaltered and uncorrupted, with religious care and veneration. Persecution could not shake their faith and constancy, although the most sanguinary tyrants employed the most dreadful tortures to awe them into submission; neither the scorn nor the malice of their enemies could make them cease to be Jews, or resign their national distinctions.

It cannot be expected that we should comprehend, within the limits to which we are necessarily confined, all the arguments that a careful examination of their history would afford in support of the opinion we have ventured to offer. It will be sufficient if we briefly state some of our reasons for thinking that the rebellious disposition occasionally manifested by that people in their journey through the wilderness, their subsequent transgression of God's commandments which led to their captivity, and their rejection of the long promised and anxiously expected Messiah, which brought about their final dispersion, may all be traced to those internal springs of action by which man is usually driven into errors and crimes, without the supposition of any extraordinary depravity in them. Human nature is the same in all times and countries; equally disposed to yield in the hour of temptation, and equally liable to become better, or more corrupt,

* The stricter, the sublimer morality of the christian seems not to have been required by the law; at all events, it was not thought to be required.

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according to the circumstances in which it may happen to be placed. There have been, it is true, both nations and individuals distinguished by uncommon profligacy, and by the wantonness with which they have abused the various advantages of their situation; but, except in a few particular instances, we cannot consent that the Jews be ranked among them. What they are at present, and have been since their dispersion, cannot be brought as an argument by those who would oppose us; for if ever there were circumstances utterly unfavourable to the growth of every thing good and virtuous, those in which the unfortunate Jews have all that time been placed, are such without a doubt. It is, indeed, a hard struggle with the bad passions of one's nature, when the "oppressor's wrong, the proud man's contumely," universal desertion and distrust, the most abject poverty in many cases, and the grossest ignorance in almost all, conspire to augment their strength and violence.

It has been considered a most extraordinary example of incredulity and disobedience, that, during their forty years' journey through the wilderness, while under the conduct of a leader whom they could not doubt to be divinely inspired and endowed with powers greater than those which are commonly conferred on man; while they could not but believe themselves protected from danger and conducted to victory by supernatural means; and while a miracle was daily wrought for their comfort and support; they should still have been so apt to rebel against their heavenly leader and benefactor. But the reader should remark, that there were few important acts of rebellion committed during that time, and that the people were always speedily brought to a just sense of the crime they had committed. They often, it is true, murmured against Moses and against Aaron; but this was in times of difficulty and distress, when the strong sense of present inconvenience, and alarm for the future, triumphed, as it is very apt with every man to do, over those better feelings which, in happier hours, we may believe them to have cherished. We know that the too common effect of calamity, even upon the best of men, is to excite distrust, if not of God's ability to deliver them, at least of his inclination. Many, no doubt, of those who knew that miracles had been wrought for their relief, ques-

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tioned the probability of their being wrought again; while many, in their confusion and dismay, forgot, for the moment, all the favours they had received. When high-raised hopes are disappointed, men reason hastily, and often conclude wrongly; and hopelessness of future blessings frequently produces ingratitude for the past. Besides, we should consider that the multitude among the Israelites probably bore a considerable resemblance to the common people of other nations; that many were inconsiderate and uninformed, and (having recently escaped from a country not distinguished for the purity of either its morals or its religion) in different degrees tinctured with idolatrous superstition, and fluctuating in their principles. Such a multitude, naturally inclined to innovation and disorder, would become an easy prey to the arts of those factious and ambitious leaders who undoubtedly existed in the camp. We should not consider the Jewish commonwealth at that time as of a character wholly religious, and entirely free from those intrigues and contentions for power which distract the councils of political bodies. Such causes are certainly sufficient to account for momentary discontents and murmurings when difficulties occurred; but, as they had no deeper root or stronger foundation, some well-timed act of just severity, or some powerful and dignified, yet merciful display of authority, was always sufficient to repress them. Is not such conduct every day observed, even among christians, who believe they have the least possible reason to doubt the continual superintendance of a protecting Providence, and the veracity of Him who has promised never to forsake them? It is affliction that tries the faith of the christian now, as it formerly did that of the Jew; and an investigation of the truth would probably (were it practicable) discover that the number of those who were found wanting among the Jews, is not much greater (if at all,) in proportion to the aggregate of each, than that of the christians who have been believers only by profession. We must not, however, be understood to mean to advocate the cause of ingratitude and disobedience, when we so far defend the Jews; nor dare we think of accusing Moses and the prophets, and even our Saviour himself, of having spoken too harshly of their conduct. Every reproach, we may be sure, was well deserved, and we have no wish to screen the guilty Israel-

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ites;—we would only inquire whether those reproaches are not equally applicable to mankind collectively, even to us christians, who surely have at least as much knowledge of the Almighty and his works as they could boast of.

When we view them settled in the promised land, their conduct will appear less extraordinary than it did during their journey through the wilderness; and if the acknowledged hardness of their hearts in that "day of temptation" be thought to admit of some slight palliation, we shall have still less difficulty to encounter with respect to their subsequent proceedings. The promise relative to their final settlement in Canaan had been fulfilled, and they had thus incurred a new debt of gratitude and love towards their Heavenly Ruler; but, on the other hand, the protecting care and watchful interference of Divine Providence in their behalf, were neither so continually nor so conspicuously displayed as they had been in times of greater peril and necessity. The fertility of the spot in which they were placed had rendered it unnecessary that water should any longer be drawn from the stony rock to satisfy their thirst, or that the food of angels should be given them for meat. The cloud and the pillar of fire had also disappeared. Their visible rulers were no longer favoured with such supernatural powers as those by which Moses was distinguished; for the law had been given, and the claims of God to their worship and obedience so fully established, that the conduct of their affairs might now safely be entrusted to persons only partially and occasionally elevated above their fellows by extraordinary gifts. Almost all those who were released from bondage in Egypt, perished on their way to the promised land; and as one generation succeeded to another, the miracles performed in the wilderness became matter of historical record or of oral tradition, and thus the evidence of testimony took place of the evidence of the senses. But however strong our confidence may be in the testimony on which it rests, faith must still fall short of absolute certainty; and though perhaps some will not be disposed to admit the force of this argument in the present case, they must admit that the impression produced by the actual view of a miracle will be considerably greater than that which is caused by the bare relation of it. A particular interposition in behalf of

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one's ancestors, has not the effect of the same interposition in behalf of one's self.

But it will be said, that though one of the two kinds of evidence, on which all revealed religion must depend, had lost much of its force, yet the other—the evidence of prophecy fulfilled—was continually gaining strength, owing to the number of those predictions, the fulfilment of which could not be denied; while, at the same time, the hand of the Almighty was so signally visible in their punishment, when guilty of transgressing his law, and in their deliverance upon repentance, that further proof could scarcely have been obtained from the most stupendous miracle,—even "though one rose from the dead." Upon this, after once more asserting that it is not our purpose to *justify* the Jews, we will remark, that though we grant all that is required of us, we only acknowledge them to have acted sometimes in wilful and deliberate opposition to the express will of God. This, indeed, must be confessed of *them;* and we wish it could be always denied of many enlightened christian nations. There certainly appears to have been times, when every species of idolatry and wickedness was openly and generally practised; when the warning voice of the prophets was disregarded; and when the offended Majesty of heaven cried out for vengeance. But when we consider the powerful effect of splendid example, upon a people not fortified against the allurements of vice and the arguments of infidelity; and when we see it declared in scripture, that it was frequently the corrupt example of the monarch "that caused Israel to sin;" though we must still condemn, if we would be just, their occasional apostasy, we shall learn to blame them without acrimony, and to temper our reproaches with charity and compassion.

When the revolt under Jeroboam precluded ten of the tribes from worshipping in the temple of the true God at Jerusalem, that usurper was enabled to introduce the forbidden rites of their idolatrous neighbours, which are so congenial with the bad passions of men, and so indulgent to lawless gratification. The situation of affairs, and the state of men's minds, were at that time but too favourable to any attempt at an alteration in the national religion; and such an opportunity of cutting off all connex-

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ion with Jerusalem, and of establishing his newly-acquired power, was not to be neglected by an artful prince whose title was founded upon violence and usurpation, and who was restrained by no conscientious scruples from inflicting a fatal blow upon the best interests of his country. This was the prelude to a series of offences against the laws of Heaven. The denunciations of their prophets were too frequently despised; till at length, the dreadful penalty was exacted, and they mourned in hard captivity their follies and their crimes. But the virtue which prosperity had corrupted shone bright in the time of their affliction. They returned repentant to their God; they derived comfort from his gracious promises to their fathers; and looked forward to the Messiah with pious expectation, for the deliverance of their posterity from all their oppressors. It was in that season so fit for reflection, that they became fully convinced of the superior purity and excellence of their faith, and resolved to adhere to it under every difficulty to which it might subject them. What though they mistook the meaning of those prophecies, which related to the glory of Israel, and the light that was to lighten the Gentiles—we are no where told that they, at that time, wilfully shut their eyes against their true import; and we are, therefore, at liberty to believe that the confidence with which they evidently relied upon their being one day fulfilled, was the result of a diligent and devout examination of them, and a perfect assurance of their Divine origin. Let any one who is acquainted with the language of these predictions, declare, whether their error in expecting, in the Messiah, a temporal prince who should deliver them from all their troubles, and subject all nations to their sway, was not natural and pardonable in a people bowed down, as they were, to the earth by the heavy hand of the oppressor, a people to whom present relief was so very desirable, to whom eternal happiness had been so indistinctly revealed. This unfortunate prejudice against Christ's spiritual kingdom, certainly not founded originally on wilful misapprehension, may be urged as some excuse, though far from a sufficient one, for their conduct towards him who came to save them: but we must defer the further consideration of this interesting subject till a future opportunity.

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In our next number, we purpose to state the nature of the revelation vouchsafed to the Jews; to ascertain, as well as we can, how far, in their treatment of the Son of God, they acted in opposition to the *light they had, or might have had;* and in what degree they are now culpable, in continuing in their unbelief. We shall also offer some additional observations on the work, which gave occasion to this article.

[*To be continued.*]

THE UNITED STATES NAVY.

The United States navy consists, it is believed, of three 74's, viz. the Franklin, Independence, and Washington—of five 44 gun frigates—three 36's—two 32's—one 20 gun vessel—ten 18's—besides several smaller ones of 16, 14, 12, and of smaller denominations. There are four 74's on the stocks, besides frigates and smaller vessels. We go on adding to our navy, as fast as we can obtain well seasoned timber—and it is thus we may go on, until we shall become, as bishop Watson once predicted, "the greatest naval power on the globe."

Our government wisely pursues the plan of keeping the vessels we have in service, *active*—and our seamen well trained. For which purpose they send them on distant expeditions, where our commerce or concerns will be benefited by their presence. Some of them are stationed in the Mediterranean, to watch the crouching corsair. Others are despatched to the gulf of Mexico, to the Pacific, or Indian oceans. Wherever they go, they bear the flag and reputation of their country. They bring distant nations acquainted with the discipline of our seamen, and the urbanity of our officers. Our commerce is protected against exaction and seizure—and an impression is every where imperceptibly disseminated of our strength, of our enterprize, of the blended firmness and courtesy of our naval heroes.

During one year, ending on the first of August last, 80,259 bales of cotton were exported from New Orleans.

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POLITICAL STATE OF ALGIERS.

On the Political State of Algiers, the effects of the recent English expedition, and the best line of policy in regard to the Barbary States; with observations, by an Italian gentleman, recently returned from captivity in that country. *From the Edinburgh Magazine.*

[The following article, written by a distinguished foreigner, will, we trust, be found equally interesting from its subject and execution. We have the satisfaction to state, that it was communicated by professor Playfair, who, on his late tour on the continent, received it from the author.]

In the state of universal suffering which Europe experiences from a want of demand for the produce of its industry, and while the poor man every where offers his labour without finding employment or adequate wages, no event would be more desirable than one which should extend the empire of civilization, and afford to our manufactures, among a new people, markets which are no longer found in Europe. A formidable disorder has spread through the whole system of our political economy; it is no longer from a vain commercial rivalry, that civilized nations dispute the markets of the world; it is, that they may exist, and that famine may not sweep away all their artisans, all the workmen employed in those numerous establishments, which have perhaps been imprudently multiplied, but which could not now be suffered to fall, without our perishing along with them. If we wish to avoid disasters which make us shudder, and of which we have already felt the approach, we must make haste to open new and extensive markets for the produce of our manufacturing industry; we must find nations accustomed to our arts, to our enjoyments, to all the pleasures and wants of civilization, who will purchase the various commodities with which our warehouses are glutted, and which we must either sell, or perish with hunger.

No country could correspond better to these wishes of the philanthropist than Barbary. If this extensive coast, separated from Europe, rather by the expanse of a large lake than by a sea, were subject to any other government than that of the ruffians by whom it is oppressed, it would soon be connected with us by a commerce most varied, most rich, and most profitable. This beautiful

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country has more than once been the centre of high civilization; it was rich, populous, industrious under the Carthaginians, under the Romans, under the Vandals, and under the Arabs. It holds intercourse with all the coasts of Europe much more easily and promptly, than these coasts with the capitals of their own states; the conveyance of goods would be more economical from Marseilles and Genoa to Tunis and Algiers, than to Paris, or even to Turin and Milan. Cato presented to the Roman senate figs yet fresh, which had been gathered under the walls of Carthage, although this fruit was no longer eatable at the end of three days. By showing these figs, which he had carried under his robe, Cato made the ruin of Carthage be decreed; how much more powerfully should the same argument persuade us to restore to existence an empire so near to our coasts.

The magnificent shore of Africa was destined by nature to support at least sixty millions of inhabitants; it supports at present not more than five. Enriched by all the gifts of Heaven, within reach of all the enjoyments which our arts might diffuse, it ought to be inhabited by one of the happiest nations on earth; on the contrary, it is the abode only of crime and misery. We have doubtless no right to compel our neighbours to adopt our religion, our opinions, our manners; but we can ask them to live and let live. The mutual wants of all the nations of the earth cannot allow any one to make a vast country the abode of death. It is unnecessary, besides, to recur to abstract principles of international right, that we may decide what Europe would be entitled to do towards the people of Barbary; the latter have given christian princes provocation so ample, as fully to authorize their interference.

We are often disposed to consider all the countries that lie south of our own, as consumed by the burning rays of the sun; those, on the contrary, who know Barbary, speak of it as a land of enchantment; thus it appeared to an intelligent Italian, whose work we shall immediately refer to; although the circumstances under which he was carried thither, were calculated to excite in him the most violent prejudices against Africa. M. Pananti, a Tuscan man of letters, who had long resided in England, was taken by the Algerines as he was returning from this last country,

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and condemned to slavery. He had, however, the good fortune to be liberated the next day.

However cruel the lot with which he was threatened at Algiers, Pananti was struck with admiration at the view of the African coast. "There is no country, (says he,) more favoured by Heaven and Nature; the coast of Africa was anciently considered, after Egypt, as the most fertile and rich of the Roman provinces, and as one of the first granaries of the city which reigned over the world. The Latin writers named it the *soul of the state, the jewel, speciositas totius terræ florentis;* and the great men of Rome knew no refinement of luxury and effeminacy equal to that of possessing palaces and country seats along this smiling shore.

"The climate of Barbary is mild and healthy, though the air, by its sharpness, is unfavourable to weak eyes and delicate lungs. The course of the seasons is generally regular; sometimes, indeed, the heats are excessive, but all the days of summer are refreshed by salutary winds from the north. Diseases are rare; the plague is not endemic; it is always brought from Constantinople. It has not raged there for twenty-four years, and might be excluded from all Barbary, by the use of the same precautions by which Europe is preserved from it.

"In Barbary, heat, joined to humidity, gives vigour and magnificence to the productions of the soil. Barley is the principal harvest, and the chief support of man. Wheat, Turkey corn, and a species of large pease called *garencas*, likewise abound. The Indian fig, which takes root with extreme facility, forms impenetrable hedges, by which the gardens and vineyards are enclosed. The shoots of the vine rise to a great height; they extend from one tree to another, in the form of superb festoons. Plantations of olives are numerous and productive; there occur also certain thorny shrubs, the fruit of which, as to taste and size, resembles the olives of Spain. The wild olive grows without culture; the grenade is three times larger than that of Italy; the melons arrive at an enormous bulk; figs abound, as well as oranges, of exquisite taste; chesnut trees are not numerous, and the chesnuts are small, though good. Oaks rise to a great height; among these may be distinguished the *quercus ballota* of naturalists; the natives eat the acorn, which resembles in taste the wild chesnut. It is

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found also in the south of Spain, and ought to be introduced into Italy. There is also a species of cypress, the branches of which rise, in a pyramid, to a prodigious height. Here is commonly found the almond tree, the silk-worm-mulberry, the *indigofera glauca* of dyers, the *cineraria* of marshes, which is employed against obstructions of the stone; the *xenna*, of which the Africans extract the juice, to stain the nails of the hands and feet; the *scilla maritima*, the *bulbosa*, the *radicata;* the dwarf palm tree, the dates of which are very small; the *saccharum cylindricum*, the *agrostis fungens*, and, in the arid valleys, the *cistus odorata*, the *erica arborea*, and the superb *cactus*, which supply to sheep a salutary pasture, and which embalm the air with the sweetest odours; the laurel rose embellishes and animates the country. When all is scorched by the heats of summer, the hillocks are covered with rosemary, which purify the atmosphere. We meet here and there little groves of those celebrated white roses, whence the purest essence is distilled. The sugar cane succeeds perfectly in this mild climate; the species called *soliman* is the loftiest and most juicy that is known on earth. After all, no fruit of this fertile land equals, in utility to the human race, those of the lotus and the palm-tree."

This magnificent country, this country so richly gifted by nature, so advantageously situated for the benefit of Europe, so celebrated in the annals of civilization, has been abandoned for three centuries to thirteen or fourteen thousand adventurers, enlisted in another quarter of the globe, strangers to Africa by their manners, their language, and their sentiments, and detested by its inhabitants, over whom they exercise a horrible tyranny. Those pirates who established themselves through the treason of the first Horuc Barbarossa, have kept their ground, to the shame of civilized nations; they have destroyed the arts, the sciences, the agriculture, the commerce which threw a lustre on the courts of the Moorish sovereigns of Africa in an equal degree, as on that of Grenada. They take advantage of their usurped sovereignty to arm piratical vessels with which they threaten the coasts of Europe, plunder its ships, and reduce its inhabitants to slavery; they then employ the treasures, gained by robbery, in rendering the yoke heavier on the head of the unhappy Africans.

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When the nation which rules over the seas, impelled by the most outrageous provocations, resolved, at last, to crush the pride of the dey of Algiers, her fleet gave only a barren proof of the national valour; it burned a city which had taken no share in the crimes of the administration; then, instead of dictating laws to Africa, and breaking the yoke of foreign pirates, she acknowledged the dey and his Turkish janissaries, as if they formed the legitimate government: she confirmed the slavery of the Moors and Berebbers, and she left to the nations which navigate the Mediterranean, no other guarantee but that of a treaty, of which it will be impossible to enforce the execution.

Europeans have to reproach themselves, not only with having allowed the corsair states of Barbary to subsist so long, but also with having formed them to piracy by their own example. The Arabs, indeed, at their first establishment on the coasts of Africa, were urged on at once by fanaticism and love of glory; they appeared, on every occasion, as the aggressors in their wars with the nations of Europe. They wished to extend their conquests in all directions; at the same moment, they crossed into Spain, they founded colonies in Sicily, in Sardinia, in the Balearic islands, and they made frequent descents on the coast of France and Italy. But the Europeans had then no trade, while that of the Arabs was very extensive; the former were poor and barbarous, the latter opulent and civilized. A nation, rich, commercial, and skilful in all the arts, does not carry on piracy against one that is poor and ignorant, and destitute of a marine. The Arabs abused their superiority over the Christians, as the latter, in their turn, abused their superiority over the negroes; but when they landed on any of the coasts of Europe, it was with the intention of forming a lasting settlement; and wherever they carried their arms, they introduced, at the same time, a superior civilization.

After all, these hostilities were not of long duration; the empire of the Moors became split in Africa, as in Spain, among a great number of independent princes. An illiberal religion, and a despotic government, had hastened their decline; and they had ceased to be formidable before Europeans attempted to become so. Yet the numerous courts of Fez, of Tetuan, of Tremezen, of Garbo, of Constantine, continued to encourage the arts, and to

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protect agriculture; they had daily intercourse with the courts of Italy and of Spain; Amalfi, Naples, Messina, and lastly, Pisa, Genoa and Florence, were enriched by their frequent traffic with this fine country. The Venetian trade-fleet made annually the circuit of the Mediterranean; it touched successively at all the cities of Sicily, Africa, and Spain; and its arrival at each of the capitals of Barbary, became the signal of a fair regularly resorted to, not only by the inhabitants of the coast, but by the caravans of the desert. Thus all the nations which inhabited the coast of the Mediterranean, derived benefit from that superb basin, which connects together so many climates, and facilitates the exchange of so many productions reciprocally useful.

Religious fanaticism, in the first years of the sixteenth century, occasioned the loss of all these advantages; the islands had been successively reconquered by the Christians, and the smallest arm of the sea was a sufficient barrier against the Turks, the Moors, and the sultan of Egypt. The atrocious vengeance which the Christians exercised upon the coasts of the Turkish empire, for the success of the Osmanlis by land,—the ravages of Anatolia and Greece,—the reward of a ducat for every head brought in christian vessels, promised by the popes and the Venetian government, without distinction of age or sex, of peasants or soldiers, made the sultans of Constantinople feel the necessity of acquiring a marine. Mahomet II. began laboriously to form one, and was content that it should be rendered formidable by defeats. Yet his vessels in fighting against the Christians, had constantly the disadvantage. The example of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem taught his successors, that the school of the imperial marine must be piratical warfare.

The religious order of St. John of Jerusalem had at first opened an hospital for the pilgrims who went to the Holy Land; they had then been animated with a military zeal to defend the holy sepulchre. When they were driven from Jerusalem by the musulmen, and obliged to take refuge in Rhodes, they exchanged the land for the sea service, and armed gallies to form an escort to the pilgrims of the Holy Land, and at the same time, to give chase to the Turks. In the year 1465, the republic of Venice engaged in a war with the Order, to protect its commerce with the

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musulmen against the pillage of the knights. The capture of Rhodes, in 1522, constrained the latter to take refuge at Malta, and once again to change their destination. They converted the rock, which served as a retreat to them, into the centre of christian piracy;—they armed their gallies to chase every musulman vessel. They would have thought it a breach of their religious vows to have pardoned an infidel. Their new abode removed them from the coasts of the Turkish empire, their ancient enemy, and brought them into the neighbourhood of the Moorish principalities, which had not offended them. But the Moors professed a reprobated religion, and this was a sufficient motive for war and hatred. The knights destroyed their commerce, burned their vessels, pillaged their fields, and fixed to the oars the unfortunate musulmen sailors and merchants whom they surprised on the sea, or the peasants whom they carried off from the shore. The knights were formed, doubtless, by these expeditions, to the seafaring life; they displayed sometimes the intrepidity that distinguished them, but more frequently celerity of manœuvres, and talents for surprise and stratagem. In ceasing to be blinded by religious fanaticism, we are astonished at the power of prejudice which could hold out as the career of honour for the young nobility, this school of piracy, in which zeal for the faith afforded an excuse for cruelty, cupidity, and injustice.

[*To be continued.*]

ANECDOTE.

The French translator of Franklin's Correspondence, has made a truly French blunder. Upon an observation of the Doctor—"people imagined that an American was a kind of Yahoo"—he makes the following note: "*Yahoo.* It must be an animal. It is affirmed that it is the opossum; but I have not yet been able to find the word Yahoo in any dictionary of natural history."

Our government intends fitting out an expedition, under major Long, to explore the head waters of the Missouri. A steam boat is to aid them in the undertaking.

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THE USEFUL ARTS.

Currant Wine.—Pick the currants clean from the stalks, put them into an earthen vessel, and pour on them hot water, one quart to a gallon of currants. Bruise or mash them together, and let them stand and foment. Cover them for twelve hours: strain them through a linen cloth into a cask—thereto put a little yeast, and when worked and settled, bottle it off. In one week's time it will be fit for use.

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A useful hint to those who burn Fuel.—A thousand degrees of heat is necessary, according to Watts, to convert water into vapour, which is no better than the boiling water itself. Hence it is evident, that one thousand degrees of heat, or caloric, is lost in converting the moisture of green or wet wood into steam; and one thousand degrees gained by the burning of dry fuel. This is worth dollars to those who provide fuel for next winter.

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On the use of Salt in feeding Cattle.—Lord Somerville attributes the health of his flock of two hundred and three merino sheep, which he purchased in Spain, principally to the use which he made of salt, for the last seven years, on his farm. These sheep having been accustomed to the use of salt in their native land, his lordship considered, that in this damp climate, and in the rich land of Somersetshire, it would be absolutely necessary to supply them with it regularly. A ton of salt is used annually for every thousand sheep; a handful is put in the morning on a flat stone or slate; ten of which, set a few yards apart, are enough for one hundred sheep. Twice a week has been usually found sufficient. Of a flock of near one thousand, there were not ten old sheep which did not take kindly to it, and not a single lamb which did not consume it greedily. Salt is likewise a preventive of disorders in stock fed with rank green food, as clover, or turnips; and it is deemed a specific for the rot.

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Novel use of Saltpetre.—A Connecticut farmer states the following:—"Having heard considerable said on the subject of

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soaking corn in saltpetre, and the benefit derived from it, I was induced to try the experiment last season on my own land. After having soaked the corn about thirty-six hours, I put it into the ground on the 28th day of June; and, notwithstanding the late period at which it was planted, and the land being poor, the result was, that I obtained good seed corn."

—

Yellow Dye.—A chymist of Copenhagen has discovered a brilliant yellow matter for dying, in potato tops. The mode of obtaining it is, by cutting the top when in flower, and bruising and pressing it to extract the juice. Linen, or woollen, soaked in this liquor during forty-eight hours, takes a fine, solid, and permanent yellow colour. If the cloth be afterwards plunged into a blue dye, it then acquires a beautiful permanent green colour.

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Approved method of curing Herrings.—The fish are first to be prepared in the usual way, by cutting out the heads and entrails, and rubbed with salt. They are then again cleaned, sprinkled with bay or rock salt, (in preference to the common salt), if this can be had, and put into a cask, by layers: and over each layer of fish and salt is to be poured a quantity of pickle, made in the following manner: take sixteen ounces of common salt, four ounces of saltpetre, from two to four pounds of molasses treacle, and one gallon of water. Heat the whole over a fire till the salts are dissolved, and the whole made into an uniform liquor. Spring water is preferable to river water, where it can be had, but river water will do. A vacant space is to be left over the top layer of fish, which is to be filled up with the molasses pickle, and the heading of the cask then put on very tight. The fish are to remain in the cask at least two months, and after that time they may be taken out for eating, or for smoking and drying.

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Recipe for cleaning Paint, which has been repeatedly tried with great success: 1 lb. of soft soap, 1 oz. of pearl ash, 1 pint of sand, and 1 pint of table beer. Simmer the above in a pipkin; be particular that the ingredients are well mixed; put a small quantity on a flannel; rub it on the wainscot; then wash it off with warm water; thoroughly dry it with a linen cloth.

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New Invention.—An improvement in the useful arts has recently been patented to Mr. John Edwards, of Urbana, Ohio.

It is a water wheel, of a peculiar construction, which requires little or no fall of water, excepting such a descent in the bed of a river, or other current, as may accelerate its velocity; because it is the velocity, principally, and not the weight of the water, altogether, which produces the rotary movement. It may be, however, advantageous to have a small head of water, say of two feet fall, at the point where it should be conducted to the buckets; so that when the impetus of the water loses its principal effect, the wheel becomes clear of it, and has only the resistance of air to retard its backward circular movement.

But should the situation of the water course where this wheel might be placed, require that a small part of the periphery, or face of the wheel, be immersed in the water, still it is so constructed, that the gyrations, or circular movement of the wheel, will be maintained. Nay, some late experiments, conducted *watch in hand*, indicated a very great degree of velocity when this horizontal wheel was nearly immersed to the level of the surface. This may probably proceed from the admirable construction of the floods, or buckets, placed on the periphery of the wheel. These stand at an acute angle with the said periphery, so as to form no great resistance in returning. This angle is not so much the result of calculation as of a long course of experiments.

But the improvement that is of most importance in this admirable wheel is, that the perpendicular shaft on which it is secured, is formed with a strong spiral thread on its surface, on the greater part of its length, like the large screws of cider mills, or cotton process, by which admirable invention this horizontal water wheel may be raised or depressed to suit the height and current of the stream, where it may be placed. This mechanism will prove extremely useful upon all water courses that are subject to rise suddenly and greatly in the perpendicular height; so that in freshets, or diminution of the ordinary depth of the stream, the wheel may always be brought to its most useful and safe point of bearing. Also, the gates are hung one above another in a perpendicular, in a triangular penstock, and are opened or shut to answer the rise and fall of the wheel on the shaft.

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For the Port Folio.

ODE TO PAINTING.

On viewing a beautiful Portrait.

Nymph of each varying hue!
From whose light touch, creation glows,
With beauties ever rich and new:
When o'er the day-break's lucid beam,
With glowing light, thy floating colours stream,
Thy magic hand, sublime and bold,
O'er Nature's landscape, richly flings
A flood of gold:
Or when at sober twilight's close,
As the last beams of day repose,
O'er evening's cold and humid wings,
Thy tints are cast to view,
Scattering their radiance o'er a heaven of dew.

Oh Nymph divine!
Decked in thy robes of light,
And pouring brilliance over day and night,
Oh say! with thy enchanting spell,
Where dost thou most delight to dwell?
For all creation boasts thy reign;
Its richest, proudest works are thine,
And thou, unrivalled in thy charms dost shine,
The fairest of thy sister-train.
When first the day-star rose to view,
Irradiate from its bed of dew,
Through Nature's gloom, thy spirit glowed,
And her first blush to thee she owed.
There at thy birth, transcendent beauty smiled,
And Nature owned thee as her favourite child.

Then say! in what bright sphere,
Thou in unfading prime,
Dost hold thy laurels o'er the wing of Time?
For I have seen thy fairy form,
In all its varying grace appear,
Like Love's bright vision, bloom a while,
As short-lived as affection's smile.
Yes! I have seen thee, when the summer storm,
O'er Nature's sultry plains was driven,
Steal o'er the Rain-bow's kindling hues,
Like robes upon its flood of dews.
There have I seen thee, rich and bright,
Wither in all thy glory's height,
And leave behind no ray of light,
That glittered in the arch of Heaven.
Oh! I have seen thee fade and die,
Like Hope's delusive dream,
Mocking the gaze of many an eye,
That lingered on thy passing beam.

And I have seen thy magic-glows,
Beam in the humble May-day rose,
While every breeze that whispered nigh,
Diffused the fragrance of its sigh.
There in its beauty's transient power,
I've seen it bloom its little hour,
Then blighted by the frost of time,
There hast thou withered from its prime.
Deprived of thee, with many a sigh,
It shrunk from each intruding eye.
I saw its faded charms appear
Suffused with many a crystal tear,
And sinking on the lap of May,
It seemed to weep its life away.

Then where, in all thy tracks of light,
Where hast thou fixed thy place of rest,
And in thy power's transcendent height,
Dost reign supremely blest?
Oh! thou art found within the Artist's soul,
O'er which thy spirit roams, without control;
By whose instinctive power, thy charms re-assume,
A full meridian of unchanging bloom;
Whose magic spell, each light and shade bestows,
And the rough canvas animated glows.
There through thy brilliance, into life's full bloom,
The form lamented may forsake the tomb—
The friend still loved—the hero long deplored,
Shall smile again, with brighter grace restored;
By thee again, the slumbering dust shall rise,
And the soul glisten through the speaking eyes.
Creative Power! the mind adorned by thee,
Through the wide world a worshipped deity shall be;
There thy bright spirit, with exhaustless rays,
Kindles and lives in one eternal blaze;
There, with unrivalled power, thy fame shall rise,
The boast of Nature, and her noblest prize.
By thee, alone, the Artist still shall shine
O'er all, who emulate his skill divine.
Like a bright Planet, whose superior beam,
Shines o'er its Satellites, with power supreme,
While they, directed by its guiding light,
Move round its orb, but ne'er can reach its height.

DEMOSTHENES.

A new song, sung at the anniversary dinner of *Athenians*, at the Globe tavern, Fleet street, London.

Mr. Chairman, allow me to speak,
And gentlemen do not prove jeerers,
Though my story to me is all Greek,
And perhaps may prove so to my hearers.
Attention! I shan't keep you long,
Athenians should never be lost in ease,
Oh list to my wonderful song,
Of your mighty grandfather Demosthenes!

At school he was called a 'cute lad,
A dead hand at syntax and grammar,
Yet his spouting was shockingly bad,
He did nothing but stutter and stammer;
The weakest must go to the wall,
So quizz'd by the lads and the lassies,
He walked off to blubber and bawl,
To the *Polufloisboio Thalasses*.

Then rose from the sea in a shell,
Old Neptune's salt rib Amphitrite,
She row'd him for making a yell,
And cried in disdain "Hoity toity!
Dame Thetis might come to her ton,
But I'm on another guess station."
Thus tutor'd, our hero begun
To blubber his maiden oration.

"Zounds, goddess, don't bother and preach,
All trades they must have a beginning;
Whenever I set up a speech,
All Athens it sets up a grinning."
"Psha, blockhead, I'll teach you to squeak,
I'll tune up your bases and trebles,"
So saying, she greeted our Greek
With a mouthful of sea-weed and pebbles.

Returning, he mounted the stage,
His eloquence took in the nation,
All Athens applauded the sage,
And *bravo, encore*, came in fashion.

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Wherever he spouted, I wot,
Those pebbles came in for the glory;
They shook in his jaws like the shot
In the patent shot manufactory.

Ye sons of the senate, who still
For freedom are spouting and raving,
I'd advise you to bring in a bill,
Your own throats with granite for paving.
Oh! that is the way I declare,
To be with Demosthenes even,
Your pebbles to spit at the chair,
And that I call stoning *St. Stephen*.

We modern Athenians are able
To open to glory a new door,
For while we have wine on the table,
We wont say *Ariston men hudor*.
We need not for pebble-stones probe
Like Dad in Old Ocean's dark cavern;
Our eloquence sounds through the *Globe*
To be sure I don't mean the Globe Tavern.

—

THE IRISH SMUGGLERS.

From Brighton two Paddies walk'd under the cliff,
For pebbles and shells to explore;
When, lo! a small barrel was dropp'd from a skiff,
Which floated at length to the shore.

Says Dermot to Pat, we the owner will bilk,
To night we'll be merry and frisky,
I know it as well as my own mother's milk,
Dear joy! 'tis a barrel of whisky.

Says Pat, I'll soon broach it, O fortunate lot!
(Now Pat, you must know, was a joker!)
I'll go to Tom Murphy who lives in the cot,
And borrow his kitchen hot poker.

'Twas said, and 'twas done: the barrel was bored:
(No Bacchanals ever felt prouder)
When Paddy found a small error on board:
The whisky, alas! was gunpowder!
So he kept a tight hold of the keg.

But Dermot bawl'd out, with a terrible shout,
I'm not to be chous'd, Master Wiseman;
If you do not come down? I'll run into the town,
And by Paddy I'll tell the exciseman.

—

STANZAS TO FANCY.

The dreams that own thy soft control,
Come, Fancy, for thy votary weave;
Lift high thy wand! my willing soul,
Shall bless thy fictions and believe.
The gale too rude, the lowering sky,
The cheerless path I long have known,
Come aid me, Fancy, to descry
A world far happier than our own.

Fine forms alone shall visit there,
With gentle voice and softened mien;
Nor cold Disgust, nor Pride severe,
Nor Selfishness shall there be seen;
And Hope shall with her sunshine gay,
Light up our landscapes and our skies,
And Tenderness there fearless stray,
With swelling heart and dewy eyes.

The hapless plant, whose feeling frame,
Turns from the stranger's touch away,
Exists but in the softened beam,
Which art around it can convey;
By every passing gale distrest,
By coarser stems that near it rise,
By every impulse rude oppest,
Expose it, and like me, it dies!

* *

—

THE POET.

The towering thought, the living lyre,
The soul that wings the song with fire,
The listening world, the deathless name,
Are these, fond youth, thy daring claims?
Then take thy wreath—yet calm survey
The perils of the muses' sway;
And while for thee I twine the bays,
Oh! hear the warning voice I raise.

Ne'er shall the temperate virtues find
A welcome in thy thoughtless mind;
Those virtues that maturely rise
To shield the good, and grace the wise:
Each feverish hope—each fretful wo,
Each passion wild, thy heart shall know;
Nor feel the self-controlling power,
That counsels for the distant hour.

Thy soaring spirit shall despise
Each humble bliss that life supplies;
To thee the world shall withered seem,
When dragged from Fancy's finer dream;
Yet must thy heart be doom'd to share
The ills thy fellow-mortals bear,
And vain thy sickly wish to fly
From tasteless cold reality.

Thou canst not tread, ('twere sorrow vain)
The tedious path of lowly gain;
Yet proudly shall thy jealous mind
Repel the aid of bounty kind;
Friendship in vain shall o'er thee bend,
Nor know to counsel or defend;
Even they, who love the muse's lyre,
Shall from thy helpless woes retire.

Wayward and lone, the nectar'd bowl
Gives thee the trance of soft control;
The pause from care, the rest from pain,
Which hapless thought no more can gain:
—But on thy waking eyes shall glare
Disease, and Anguish, and Despair,
And Poverty with squalid mien
And feeble cry, shall close the scene.

Who then shall for thy genius feel;
Thy virtues rouse, thy spirit heal?
Dulness shall see thy vessel torn,
And, safe on shore, shall smile in scorn;
The world, that loved to hear thy wo
Melodious in thy numbers flow,
Shall careless from thy misery turn,
Nor further seek thy griefs to learn.

In vain, by thee this world unkind
Is charmed, instructed, and refined:
It leaves thee by thy worth alone
To build an happiness thine own;
And sunk in ruins shall expire
The mind that wing'd the soul of fire;
Though still the song may live to fame,
And guard the hapless Poet's name.

Why draining deep the poison'd bowl
With flashing eye, and bursting soul,

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Ah! why did Chatterton expire,
—He struck the muse's fatal lyre!
What heart but felt his powerful sway,
Who mourned o'er Auburn swept away!
But what the meed which genius gave!
A life enslaved—an early grave.

And he whose voice of Jaffier sung,
And he whose harp the passions strung,
And dying Burns—our praise, our sighs,
In incense vain, too late arise!
—But thou, fond youth, go wiser thou,
To prudence bear thy timely vow;
The poet's fame, the lyre divine,
But not the poet's fate be thine.

* *

—

For the Port Folio.

A WOMAN'S LOVE.

Oh! I have met the smile of love,
Where all my fondest hopes were placed;
And with a lover's art have strove,
To make that smile for ever last.

I've seen affection's brightest tear,
Glide burning o'er a lovely cheek;
While modest hope and breathless fear,
Spoke more than e'er a tongue could speak.

I've seen the breast tumultuous heave,
While passion choke'd the rising sigh:
Oh could I even then believe
That love within that breast would die!

Alas! how fickle woman's heart,
Her sighs, her tears, her vows, how vain!
The bliss her smile to-day impart,
Her frown to-morrow turns to pain!

ORLANDO.

—

THE BALL.

Air—*Le Boulanger.*

Pray Papa, pray Papa, stay a little longer;
Pray Papa, pray Papa, stay a little longer!
Come, come, my child, no nonsense,
You've had enough in conscience;
So call that powder'd fellow in,
And let him bring your pelerine;
You know I gave you warning;
I can't stay here till morning!

Pray Papa, &c.
Your partner will excuse you,
'Twont break his heart to lose you;
And if you look so cross at him,
I'm sure you'll be no loss to him;
So come, the coach is calling,
See here, they've brought your shawl in.

Pray Papa, &c.
This comes of dissipation,
Do have some moderation:
For if you're so importunate,
You'll never make your fortune at
These hops, and jigs, and rarees,
No matter what your face is.

Pray Papa, &c.
Come, come, no more resistance,
Remember, child, the distance;
The road is deep and boggy:
The night is dark and foggy;
Our family is regular,
Indeed, my child, I beg you'll hear,
You keep the carriage waiting,
'Tis wrong to be so late in.

Pray Papa, &c.
Come, have your wits about ye,
Y'r grand-papa is gouty,
He takes the eau medicinale,
We should not, then, be missing all!
So, prythee, make an end on't,
You've seen it all, depend on't.

Pray Papa, &c.
Indeed, Papa, so kind you've been,
To keep you longer were a sin;
And see the day begins to peep,
My partners, too, are half asleep;
And after dancing all the night,
By day-light I shall look a fright!
So now, Papa, dear Papa, don't stay a moment longer;
Now Papa, dear Papa, don't stay a moment longer!

—

SONNET.

From Torquato Tasso.

Sweet gale, that evermore with fond delight
Dost wanton 'mid the leaves of myrtle bow'rs,
And laurels evergreen, from beauteous flow'rs
Stealing their sweetest odours in thy flight!
Ah! if sad pity for a lover's plight
Is wont to move thee, cease thy wandering way,
And hie thee, where Matilda loves to stray,
By yon clear stream, whose flow'ry banks invite.
And in thy bosom bear those gentle sighs,
And soft complainings, born of inward pine,
To where my tender torments first did rise:
Then from the roses of her lip divine
Sweet kisses steal, whose balmy ecstacies
May sooth love's bitter pangs, though fierce as mine.

H.

—

DELIA.

The following lines were first published in England, as long ago as the year 1655, in a work entitled "Wit's Interpreter, the English Parnassus." They are very smooth, and the idea is in the very spirit of the quaintness of those days.

As beauteous Delia walk'd alone,
The feather'd snow came softly down,
As Jove descending from his tower,
To court her in a silver shower;
The wanton snow flew to her breast,
As little birds into their nest;
But overcome with whiteness there,
From grief dissolv'd into a tear,
Thence falling on her garment's hem,
To deck her, froze into a gem.

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National Painting.—The national painting, respecting "The Declaration of Independence," executed by colonel Trumbull, and to be placed in the capitol at Washington, is now exhibited in the room of the Academy of Fine Arts, in the New York Institution. The picture represents the session of congress, at the moment when the committee, who were to draft the Declaration of Independence, are presenting it, by Mr. Jefferson, their chairman, to Mr. Hancock, the president of congress. The president is sitting by a table; on his right hand stands the venerable Charles Thompson, the secretary of congress; in front, presenting the Declaration, stands Mr. Jefferson; on his left, Dr. Franklin, and on his right, chancellor Livingston, Roger Sherman, and president Adams. There are forty-seven figures in the whole—nineteen in a standing, and the remainder in a sitting posture. The portraits are likenesses of those heroic and high-minded men, who, placing their confidence in the justice of their cause, and in the favour of Heaven, dared to pronounce these United States "free, sovereign, and independent." The likenesses are intended to represent the members as they appeared in 1776, and with the costume of that day. It is not intended at present to comment upon this splendid painting with critical minuteness: we will only say, that in design and execution—in its minuter touches, and in its general effect, it is every way worthy of the event which it records—of the patronage which has brought it into being, and of the artist, whose patriotism has directed the master efforts of his art, to the illustration of those great events, which mark, with the highest interest, the history of our revolution. The scene is one of the most solemn, and sublime, that can well be imagined; and the association of ideas to which it gives rise, is of the most impressive and interesting character. No inhabitant of this country can view it, without experiencing a deep sense of the hazards which the members of that illustrious assembly thus voluntarily assumed—of the anxiety, the sufferings, and the triumphant success, by which that most important transaction was followed. Before this great and decisive step was taken, the people of the states considered themselves as only struggling against oppression; from that moment forward they contended for existence. In order to multiply the copies of this national picture, Col. Trumbull proposes to procure it to be engraved by one of the most eminent artists in Europe, provided a subscription for the prints shall be filled, which will justify him in hazarding the expense. The price of the plate, together with the incidental charges, will surpass the sum which congress allow him for the original. It is therefore obvious, that he must have a reasonable prospect of remuneration, before he ventures to contract for the engraving. With the view of ascertaining the state of public feeling, and the extent of public liberality, towards this specimen of native genius and talents, he has issued proposals for publishing the prints. We cannot but express the hope, that the attempt thus making by this eminent artist, and highly respectable native citizen, will meet with a liberal patronage. It must be a highly gratifying circumstance to every friend to the independence of the country, to possess the real likenesses of the distinguished patriots who led the way, by their bold and enlightened policy, to its achievement. This can be done in no way but by multiplying the copies of this splendid work. Those copies can be multiplied in no other mode than by a liberal subscription to these proposals.

Mammoth Cave in Indiana.—The Kentucky Commentator contains a

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letter from a Mr. Adams, giving an account of a cave which he had explored in Indiana. The editor in his introduction to the letter, says, this cave "has never yet been fully explored, though several individuals, whose testimony is to be relied on, have penetrated from 6 to 9 miles into this subterraneous region."

Mr. Adams states that it is situated in the northwest quarter of section 27, in Township No. 3, of the second eastern range, in the district of lands offered for sale at Jeffersonville. It was first discovered about 11 years ago, at which time the bottom of the cave was covered with salts from 6 to 9 inches deep:—the sides were also coated in the same manner and had the appearance of snow. The hill in which the cave is situated, is 400 feet high, the top principally covered with oak and chesnut. The entrance is about half way from the base to the summit, and the surface of the cave preserves about that elevation. The entrance is by an aperture of 12 or 15 feet wide, and 3 or 4 feet in height, with an easy descent, you enter a room which continues about a quarter of a mile, varying in height from 8 to 30 feet, and in breadth from 10 to 20: the roof arched in some places, resembling an inside view of the roof of a house. At the extremity of this room the cave forks, the right soon terminates, the left rises by a flight of rocky stairs, nearly ten feet high into another story, and has a S. E. direction. In this room the roof has a regular arch from 5 to 8 feet high, and from 7 to 12 feet wide, which continues to what is called the Creeping Place, where it becomes necessary to crawl 10 or 12 feet to get into the next room, from which to the distance of one mile and a quarter, there are many large and small rooms, variously situated. At the end of this journey, a stately white pillar presents itself, which is about 15 feet in diameter, and from 20 to 30 in height regularly reeded from top to bottom. In the vicinity are several other smaller pillars of the same description.—Mr. Adams was not certain what were the constituents of their columns, but lime appeared to be the base. Major Warren states that they are the satin spar. The cave abounds in sulphate of magnesia or Epsom salts, which is found in a great variety of forms, and different stages of formation—sometimes in lumps from 1 to 10 pounds, from the surface to three feet below it—the walls are covered with the same article. Mr. Adams removed from a spot in the cave every vestige of salt, and in four or five weeks the place was covered with small needle shaped chrystals, resembling frost.

The quality of the salts is very superior—the worst earth yielding four pounds to the bushel, and the best from twenty to twenty-five pounds.

The cave also contains great quantities of nitrat of lime or salt petre. The sulphate of lime is seen variously formed, ponderous, chrystalized, soft, or light and spongy—there are also vestiges of the sulphate of iron, and small specimens of the carbonate and nitrat of magnesia. The rocks in the cave are principally of carbonate of lime or common limestone.

Mr. Adams closes his letter by stating that near the forks of the cave are two specimens of painting probably of Indian origin.—One appears to be a savage with something like a bow in his hand and furnishes the hint, that it was done when that instrument of death was in use. The other is so much defaced that it is impossible to say what it was intended to represent.

—

The editor of the St. Louis Gazette (Missouri) whilst walking in his garden, on the evening of the 25th of August last, was fired at by some villain, and the bullet struck within a few steps of its intended victim. The cause is not stated.

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A neat repartee.—"Pray, sir," said a young lady to the keeper of a circulating library, "have you *Man as he is?*" "No, ma'am," replied the other, wishing to accommodate her, and with no other meaning—"but we have *Woman as she should be.*"

—

Curiosities.—A person on reading an article relative to a toad being found in the solid part of a cedar, called at this office, and related the following circumstance: Seventeen years ago he (the informant) was digging a well at Newburgh, and after digging through five feet of earth, and blasting through eleven feet of slate rock, a small living turtle, nearly the size and about the thickness of a dollar, was found. It was very soft, but on exposure to the air it soon became hard, and was delivered to John Dewitt, Esq. of Fishkill. On relating this to a gentleman, he expressed no surprise, but stated a fact which he said was well authenticated—that a person who had marble jambs to his house, often heard the croaking of a toad, whenever the fire became warm; and at length was induced to take out the piece, and, on breaking it, discovered a living toad, closely bedded in the marble. *N. Y. paper.*

—

Important Recipe:—A few days ago, a man in Oliver street, after imprudently drinking cold water, was seized with very alarming symptoms, from which he was relieved by Dr. John De Alton White, who dissolved half an ounce of camphor in a gill of brandy—of this three parts were made and given at intervals of three minutes, which soon gave the patient relief. *ib.*

—

Encroachment of the Sea at Bridgetown, N. J.—It is a well known fact that the sea, for a century past, if not longer, has been encroaching rapidly upon the main land, at Cape island. Having been lately there on a visit, I made a memorandum of the annual decrease of the distance from the house at present occupied by Mr. William Hughes, to the sea, as noted on the south side of the house. The distances are said to be accurate, having been measured and marked for several years by captain Decatur, the elder, and continued by gentlemen whose accuracy may be relied on. The house was distant from the sea—

In 1804, 334 feet.	In 1809, 267 feet.
1806, 324	1812, 254
1807, 291	1816, 225
1808, 273	1817, 206 1-2

—

Electioneering.—The following singular advertisement is copied from the Vevay Register:—

Mr. Printer—Please to insert in your Indiana Register, that I stand a candidate in opposition to colonel Paxton W. Todd, for the legislature.

his
ABRAHAM ⋈ MILLER.
June 11, 1818. mark.

—

An Egyptian Pyramid.—"As we drew near its base, the effect of its prodigious magnitude, and the amazement caused in viewing the enormous masses used in its construction, affected every one of us: but it was an impression of awe and fear, rather than of pleasure. In the observations of travellers, who had recently preceded us, we had heard the pyramids described as huge objects which gave no satisfaction to the spectator, on account of their barbarous shape, and formal appearance: yet to us it appeared hardly possible, that persons susceptible of any feeling of sublimity could behold them unmoved. With what amazement did we survey the vast surface that was presented to us, when we arrived at this stupendous monument, which seemed to reach the clouds? Here and there appeared some Arab guides upon the immense masses above us, like so many pigmies, waiting to show the way up to the summit."

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To the Public.—Whereas my husband Benjamin has advertised me as having left his bed and board—but as he has no *bed nor board* (he having made over his property to his children, with a view of starving me,) he has now left me, to shift for myself *the second time.* This is therefore to forwarn all persons from harbouring him, until he provides for my maintenance, and give security for that and his good behaviour.

To all good people who wants him descripted,
To running away he has long been addicted,
He deserted his country, being scared at a ball,
And run home the greatest hero of all.
For such service as this he obtained a pension,
How well he deserved it I need not mention;
But one thing for all I needs must acknowledge,
He's the worst husband God ever made to my knowledge.

SUSANNA CARSON.

Clearfield, Penn. Jan. 20, 1818.

—

A Wife.—Voltaire seems to have entertained very correct ideas on the character of a wife. His prayer, being *done into English*, runs thus:

——— A wife indulgent grant,
With beauty; sweet and complaisant,
To all my faults; with bending ease,
Making,—e'en me—my actions please:
Correcting, yet invisibly;
Governing, without tyranny;
Gaining my love by just such stealth
As lovely days improve the health.

—

Mermaids.—Near the coast we saw many other sorts of fish, but did not meet with any of the mermaids so often mentioned in these seas, and especially by Mr. Matcham, a gentleman of great respectability, and at that time superintendent of the company's marine at Bombay. I have heard him declare, that when in command of a trading vessel at Mozambique, Mombas, and Melinda, three of the principal seaports on the east coast of Africa, he frequently saw those extraordinary animals from six to twelve feet long; the head and face resembling the human, except about the nose and mouth, which were rather more like a hog's snout; the skin fair and smooth; the head covered with dark glossy hair of considerable length; the neck, breasts, and body of the female, as low as the hips, appeared like a well-formed woman; from thence to the extremity of the tail, they were perfect fish. The shoulders and arms were in good proportions, but from the elbow tapered to a fin, like the turtle or penguin. These animals were daily cut up, and sold by weight in the fish markets of Mombas; nor was the flesh easily distinguished from the fishy pork which those who have resided at Calicut or Anjengo, are well acquainted with.

Forbes's Oriental Memoirs.

—

Ohio Canals.—The citizens of Indiana and Ohio are making exertions to raise the requisite funds for digging a canal round the falls of Ohio, on the Indiana side, and, it is said, with a prospect of success. This circumstance has aroused the citizens of Louisville to a sense of their interest. On the 6th of July books were opened at that place for receiving subscriptions for stock in a contemplated canal on the Kentucky side; and 1000 shares of $100 each were instantly subscribed. If *both* these projects are carried into execution, we shall surely find no difficulty in passing the falls. The object is important, and we hope will not be defeated by a division of the means requisite to accomplish it.

—

Medical Execution!—Doctor A. J. Shemansky will execute, in the line of his profession, in Natchez, until the 1st day of May.

Application to be made at Mrs. Duffin's boarding house.

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THE PORT FOLIO,

FOR

DECEMBER, 1818.

Embellished with a view on Connecticut river.

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TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

In casting our eyes over the volume which is now submitted to the reader, we find a few instances of inadvertence which require correction: thus, the sneer at Wieland's honest indignation, (p. 187, l. 1,) should have been softened or suppressed, because it was very unwarrantable; and at page 358, a few lines from the commencement of the article, we should have corrected the critic by substituting the words *at Whampoa, seventy-five miles from the mouth of the river*, in the place of *fifteen miles below*, &c.

To some of our readers, the controversy respecting Gen. Putnam may appear to have been terminated too soon, particularly as we promised to sum up the whole testimony. This appeared to us unnecessary, because the assailant has never exercised his right to a rejoinder, and his attack was amply refuted by the answer of Mr. Putnam. In addition to this consideration, it is proper to state, that the controversy produced one or two voluminous publications in Boston. While we are on this subject, we must inform certain booksellers, that although there may not be any violation of the law respecting literary property, in reprinting and selling at a low price, articles from this Journal, in the *pamphlet form*, we consider it as an infringement upon our labours which deserves reprehension. We hope we shall not be obliged to be more explicit.

Subscribers are again reminded that particular directions should be given to their bookbinders respecting the appendix to this and the preceding volume. There are eleven half sheets or forms in this appendix, which should be collected together and bound with either of the volumes.

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THE PORT FOLIO.

FOURTH SERIES.

CONDUCTED BY OLIVER OLDSCHOOL, ESQ.

Various; that the mind
Of desultory man, studious of change
And pleased with novelty, may be indulged.—COWPER.

VOL. VI. DECEMBER, 1818. No. VI.

REFLECTIONS ON THE WRITINGS OF MACHIAVEL,

WITH A SLIGHT SKETCH OF HIS LIFE AND CHARACTER.

[*Continued from page* 348.]

DURING the interval between 1521 and 1527, that is to say, after the elevation of cardinal Giulio de Medici to the papal throne, and before the expulsion of Alexander and Ippolito de Medici, Machiavel published his last work, the History of Florence, which he dedicated to pope Clement VII. and which may be said to have been written officially.

Our author did not long survive the expulsion of Alexander and Ippolito de Medici; a medicine which he took as a preservative, deprived him of life in 1527. He died as he lived, in a state of virtuous poverty, leaving three sons and a daughter by his second wife Marietta Corsini.

There are a number of curious stories about his impiety. Some say he died uttering blasphemies against the christian religion; others that he was compelled by the magistrates to take the last sacraments. Another story is, that in his last moments he had a vision, of a number of ragged dirty beggars, blind men and lame, from the highways and hedges, whom he saw crowding into the kingdom of heaven; that they disappeared, and he beheld a

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number of celebrated men, among whom were Plato, Aristotle, Seneca, Plutarch, and Terence, who invited him to go with them, saying, they were the reprobate and the damned, for that the wisdom of the world is enmity with God; that he joyfully accepted their invitation, saying, he would rather be with these great men in hell, to consult with them about political questions, than in heaven with the others; and presently (adds the fabulist) he died, and went to talk about political subjects in the other world.

There are many reasons to induce us to suspend our belief with regard to the impiety of Machiavel. A letter from his son Peter to Francisco Nelli, professor in the university of Pisa, refutes the calumny of his anti-christianity. He writes thus: "My dear friend—With weeping eyes, I give you the sad news, that on the 22d of this month (June, 1527) our dear father died of pains in his body, brought upon him by a medicine he took on the 20th. *He confessed to father Mattheus, who attended his death-bed.* He leave us, as you know, in great poverty; when you return, we shall have much to say by word of mouth. I write in haste, and can only add my good wishes."

Varchi relates that he had *heard* Machiavel's name to be in general disrepute; that he had an unbridled tongue, and manners none of the purest. However, says he, he was pleasing in conversation, ready to serve his friends, and a patron of the virtuous. Does not this more than counterbalance all the hear-says? Shall we believe only the bad, and disregard the good when so much better attested?

There is the like contradiction in the opinion of the inquisitors. "Nicolaus Machiavelli Florentinus *atheus* sed *superstitiosus*, pseudo-politicus et *impius* quamvis visus sit voluisse videri *Christianus*."*

Thus has it ever been the sad fate of great men, who surpassed their times, to be vilified by their cotemporaries, and calumniated after death by the echoes of their blasphemers. So much the more is it incumbent on a more enlightened posterity to scatter the fogs that have mildewed their laurels, and to teach futurity aright.

* See Index Librorum Prohibitorum, &c.

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SECTION IV.

"Machiavel etoit un honnete homme et un bon citoyen: mais attaché a la maison de Medici il etoit forcé dans l'oppression de sa patrie de deguiser son amour pour la liberté. Le choix seul de son execrable heros manifeste assez son intention secrete, et l'opposition des maximes de son livre du Prince a celles de ses discours sur Tite Live et de son Histoire de Florence demontre que ce profond Politique n'a eu jusqu' ici que des lecteurs superficiels ou corrompus."

Rousseau du Contrat Social. l. 3. c. 6.

In the preceding sections I have given an outline of the life of this celebrated writer—faint indeed, but as perfect as the mutilated accounts which have descended to posterity would admit of. My readers have already, no doubt, more than once felt surprise that such a man should bear such a character; that the zealous friend of liberty, who continually incited his countrymen to shake off the yoke which oppressed them, should be stigmatised as the champion of tyranny and the apologist of tyrants. It can surely only proceed from an ignorance of his real character, that the multitude has ever mistaken him for the dangerous teacher of injustice; surely the uninformed philanthropist alone has shuddered at his name.

I will point to the reader the source of these dishonouring prejudices. Paulus Jovius, a man who weighed in the scale of his own passions and prejudices the character of every one whom he praised or blamed; who even gloried in using a golden pen for his friends, and an iron pen for his foes; who always caught at popular cry rather than at truth, and was far from being himself a pattern of morality—Paulus Jovius is the chief cause of the unfavourable light in which Machiavel has been beheld.

It is particularly to be observed, that his chief enemies are to be found among his cotemporaries, and that the most bitter of them belonged to a *caste* whose hostility he had provoked by severely lashing their vices in a drama called *Il Frate*. His works were read with great avidity in England during that celebrated period when the commons of England began to resist the despotism of Charles I. When levity and vice were restored with Charles II. they fell into disrepute. It is a well-known fact, that works of extraordinary merit are seldom esteemed in the age in which they are written, and that authors must be content to refer

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their productions to a less partial and generally more enlightened posterity. It is a circumstance considerably in favour of Machiavel, that the public attention is at present much directed towards his works in Germany, where they meet with deserved approbation.*

Having thus given an account of the life of Machiavel, it remains to inquire the reason why such a man should have the detestable character which the generality of the world have attributed to him. As during his life he is acknowledged to have acted the part of a good and virtuous citizen, it can be only in the works which he has left behind him that his calumniators can have the least foundation for their calumnies. And here it is particularly necessary to advert to the particular circumstances under which his different works were written.

I cannot by any means give the reader so clear an idea of the real tendency of Machiavel's political works, as by presenting him with some extracts from such of his writings as were published when his country was in a state of freedom, and he could, in consequence, declare his real sentiments without danger, and then contrasting them with passages from "*The Prince*," which was published during the tyranny of the Medici; a time at which he could not, without the risk of punishment, declare openly his sentiments, and if he wished to instruct his fellow sufferers at all, he could only do it with safety in an obscure and ironical manner.

The title of the tenth chapter of the first book of the Dissertations on the Decads of Livy is,

"In proportion as the founders of a republic merit praise, do the institutors of tyranny deserve execration." The whole of this chapter breathes a most amiable spirit, and would be of itself sufficient to refute the calumnies which have blasted the reputation of Machiavel. Let some extracts speak for themselves.

"No one can be of judgment so depraved as to hesitate in giving preference to virtuous over vicious characters. Nevertheless, how many are there who, deceived by false appearances, and dazzled by the tinsel lustre of splendid actions, are inclined to regard with patience the most detestable character! How many men does weeping history record, who, hav-

* The writer of this biography has received some assistance from the "Vertheidigung des Machiavelli," contained in Wieland's Mercur for June, 1792.

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ing it in their power to be the founders of republics, have degenerated into tyrants,—unmindful how much true fame, how much real glory, how much personal security, how much mental satisfaction and tranquillity they have thereby been deprived of,—regardless of the infamy which, in consequence of their usurpation, has, in the estimation of all good men, for ever blasted their reputation. Who would not rather be a Scipio than a Cæsar—an Agesilaus, a Timoleon, or a Dion, than a Nabis, a Phalaris, or a Dyonisius, and yet which have had the most imitators? Let no one be dazzled by the lustre which mercenary or intimidated historians have shed on the character of Cæsar. Those who wish to know in what terms free and impartial historians would have spoken of him, let them read what is said of Catiline; for of the two characters, that of Cæsar is the most detestable, inasmuch as he actually executed what the other only projected. Even these mercenary or cowardly historiographers speak plainly enough their real sentiments of the tyrant Cæsar in their praises of the tyrannicidal Brutus. If the man who projects usurpation has a mind too callous to dread the censure of posterity, let the embryo tyrant reflect on the fate of preceding tyrants, and shudder at the danger he himself will incur: let him remember, that Titus, Nerva, Trajan, Adrian, Antoninus, and Marcus, required no prætorian guards to shield them, no bands of armed men to encompass their palaces, for their virtues ensured to them the good will of the people; let him remember, that all the pomp of royalty could not enwrap Caligula, Nero, or Vitellius in a robe of safety, nor all their mercenary legions protect them from the fury of an indignant people; let him remember, that of the twenty-six emperors who succeeded Cæsar in his usurpation, sixteen fell under the swords of assassins." Again:

"All those emperors who wore the purple in consequence of hereditary right were, with the single exception of Titus, bad men; whereas all those who succeeded to the imperial throne, by election or adoption, were, without a single exception, good. What a different spectacle does the empire exhibit during these different periods! Under the reign of the latter, we find the prince secure in the affections of his people, the world at peace, justice bearing aloft her triumphant scales, the authority of the senate respected, the magistracy honoured, property respected, virtue revered, and universal tranquillity prevail; the impure tongue of licentiousness awed into silence, corruption and ambition unknown, and *the golden age prevail, in which every one could publish and defend whatever opinion he held.* During the reign of the former, we find the empire yielding to the stroke of the foreign enemy, civil war rearing aloft its bloody standard, the throne stained by the dagger of the assassin, Italy bleeding at every pore, her fortresses razed, her cities pillaged, Rome reduced to ashes to gratify the caprice of the detestable Nero, the capitol attacked by those who ought to have been its defenders, the ancient temples desolate, the holy ceremonies

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of religion violated, the cities defiled with adultery and every species of crimes, the sea covered with exiles, every where calumniators rewarded, the security of domestic life invaded, the fidelity of servants corrupted, those whose benevolent minds and beneficent actions prevented them from having enemies falling victims to the treachery of their friends, every where vice triumphant, and virtue made a capital offence. These are the obligations which Rome, which Italy, which the world, owe to Cæsar."

The eleventh chapter is on the religion of the Romans. Machiavel is of opinion that Numa was a greater benefactor to Rome than Romulus, and that no order of things can be durable without religion. This is one of the many facts which disprove the charge of irreligion so freely alleged against Machiavel.

The fifty-fifth chapter has for its title, " With how much facility government is conducted where the people are virtuous. Where equality exists there is no danger of monarchy, and without it there can be no republic."

The whole of this chapter is extremely interesting. Was it not for fear of extending this article to too great a length, I should be tempted to translate the whole of it; I cannot, however, refrain from extracting the following observations on foreign commerce, and on the idle part of the community. Speaking of the morality of a particular people, he says,

" It proceeds from two causes. The first is, that their external commerce is very inconsiderable, and their communication with foreign countries extremely limited. They are not accustomed to seek abroad for happiness, but are content with those advantages which their own country furnishes. To them it is sufficient luxury to live on the food and wear the raiment their native soil produces. Hence the chief occasions of external communication are prevented, and the commencement of corruption impeded. The other cause of their morality, common to them and to every people who have the happiness to live under a good government, is, that they do not permit any of their citizens to be *gentlemen*, but have established the most perfect system of equality. By gentlemen, I mean those who lead an idle life, supported by the produce of their estates, which they are neither obliged to cultivate, nor are necessitated to perform any other duty to society. Such men as these are pernicious wherever they are suffered to exist, but they are absolutely destructive of the republican form of government."

In the fifty-eight chapter, which has for its title, " That the people are wiser and more constant and steady in their resolu-

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tions than princes," Machiavel most explicitly avows his republican sentiments. After a very elaborate dissertation, and after combating in the most powerful manner the same opinions which then, as well as now, were advanced by the partisans of monarchy, and aristocracy, he says, in express terms, "sono MIGLIORI governi quelli de' *popoli* che quelli de' *principi*." POPULAR GOVERNMENT IS BETTER THAN KINGLY. For the prevalence of the contrary opinion, he gives a great number of reasons; among the rest he says, "The bad estimation in which many persons hold popular government proceeds in some measure from this circumstance. No one fears to calumniate the people, because censure thrown on a body is not acutely felt by any of the individuals who compose the body, and therefore not likely to expose the censurer to any inconvenience. But no one dares to speak ill of a prince during the continuance of his power, however much he may deserve it; for being personally attacked, and the censure attaching to only one individual, he never fails to resent the injury, and to wreak vengeance on the head of his denouncer."

Although the whole of our author's observations on the Decads of Livy are extremely interesting, and prove in the most decisive manner his hatred of tyranny, and his enthusiastic attachment to the cause of liberty, I shall content myself with presenting the reader with one single extract more.

"In the contests between the Roman people and the Italian states, the greatest obstacle the former had to encounter was the ardent love of liberty which animated the bosoms of their antagonists. History, indeed, abounds with instances of the desperate courage of those who have such a stimulus to excite them, and of the signal vengeance which the enslaved have wreaked on the heads of their enslavers. History at the same time displays a melancholy picture of the evils which slavery showers down on the people and states who are its unfortunate victims. How melancholy, then, is the reflection, that Italy, which formerly swarmed with free and happy states, should now scarcely contain a single one which can aspire to the name of freedom. After the Tuscans had freed themselves from kingly government, so great was their hatred of kings, that they refused to succour Veia when besieged by the Romans, because under kingly government. This passion for liberty is not wonderful, when experience shows us that no country has ever really flourished except in a state of freedom." L. 2. c. 2.

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The history of Florence by Machiavel is comprised in eight books. It commences with a masterly account of the destruction of the Roman empire by the irruptions of the northern barbarians. It then proceeds to give a minute and interesting detail of the many revolutions which occurred in Florence from the beginning of its history till the year 1492, at which period it closes. The great length to which this article has already extended, obliges me to confine myself to one single extract from this work.

The Florentines having confided a considerable portion of power in the hands of a Neapolitan nobleman, known by the name of Walter, duke of Athens, the duke made, as princes generally do, a very bad use of it. Inflamed with the lust of absolute power, he was not satisfied with what he already possessed, but aspired to arbitrary and uncontrolled dominion. In this situation of affairs, when the ambitious views of the duke were well known, Machiavel, after the manner of the ancient historians, puts the following words into the mouth of a venerable old man, who, at the head of a deputation from the most respectable inhabitants of Florence, waited on the duke. "We come, sir, in consequence of the order you have issued for assembling the people. It appears manifest to us that you design, by extraordinary means, to obtain that which we have not been willing to grant to you. It is not our intention to oppose your design by force, but to point out to you what a heavy load of guilt you are about to contract, and with how much personal danger to yourself the undertaking will be accompanied. Your design is to enslave a state which has never yet lost its freedom; for ours was an alliance with, and not a subjection to, the king of Naples. Have you well considered the importance which, in a state like this, the people attach to liberty, and how enthusiastically they are attached to its very name? This ardent love of freedom no force can overcome, no length of time can obliterate, no merit on the part of its destroyer can counterbalance. Consider the immense force which will be necessary to keep such a state enslaved. The foreign troops whom you may be enabled to keep in your pay will be found wholly insufficient, and you cannot surely rely on any internal force which may at present appear favourable to you. For those who, actuated by private animosity against their fellow citizens, pretend to be your

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friends, and excite you to the present enterprise, when they shall by your means have accomplished their own particular ends by wreaking vengeance on their enemies, will surely endeavour to destroy your power. The versatility of the lower orders of the people, in whom you at present appear to place confidence, is well known, and if they are at present attached to you, the slightest accident will convert their attachment into hatred. You must therefore calculate on having all the inhabitants of the state your enemies. Against this, what is your remedy? The sovereign who has only a few enemies, can get rid of them by banishment and the sword. But against universal hatred there can be found no remedy: the man who fears all around him, can make sure of none. If you attempt to get rid of those who seem your most formidable enemies, you do but aggravate the evil; for the hatred of those who remain will increase, and their daggers will be sharpened for vengeance. That time is not sufficient to obliterate the remembrance of freedom is most certain; on the contrary, it frequently happens that the youth of an enslaved state, who never tasted the blessings of freedom, are the most eager to acquire it: they love freedom because their fathers have painted to them its advantages, and when they have once recovered it, they will obstinately maintain and manfully defend it. And if their parents do not remind them of it, a thousand vestiges of freedom, which it will be impossible for you ever to obliterate; will keep it ever fresh in their remembrance. Is it in your power to confer advantages on the people equivalent to the sweet reflection of living free? How will you destroy their regret, how prevent them from repining after their former happiness? Though you added to their empire the whole province of Tuscany, though every day recorded some fresh triumph over the enemy, they would still be dissatisfied; for the glory would be not theirs, but yours; they would acquire not fellow citizens, but fellow slaves. Though your manners were the most pure and exemplary, though benevolence guided all your actions, though wisdom presided at all your counsels, the people would not cease to hate you. You deceive yourself if you think it possible to gain their affections; for to a people accustomed to live free, the slightest chain is heavy, the slightest manacle irksome. It is now for you to decide whether you will at

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tempt to enslave this people (to keep them enslaved will be impossible, no citadel, no guards, no foreign force will be sufficient) or be content with the authority which we have voluntarily entrusted to you. That this last may be your decision we sincerely wish, both for our sakes and your own. For once again remember, that that dominion alone is durable which is founded on the voluntary submission of the people. Do not, therefore, blinded by ambition, force yourself into a situation where you can neither remain, nor yet mount higher, but must of necessity fall, to our great detriment and your own certain destruction." Delle Historie, l. 2. p. 106.

This rational and benevolent exhortation had no effect on the callous mind of Walter. He persisted in his detestable design, and became master of Florence. But so intolerable was his yoke, that in the short space of ten months, an insurrection of the people took place, and he was compelled to fly from Florence.

The above extracts from these two works of Machiavel speak for themselves. I have only to add, that they are not partially selected, but that their spirit is that of the whole. I shall in the next section minutely examine his principal political work, "*The Prince*," and submit to the inquiry of my readers, whether it be in reality a contradiction of the other works he has left behind him. [*To be continued.*]

FOR THE PORT FOLIO.—AN OLD JOKE.

Every one has heard the story of a man who, when looking at a house, asked the servant, a pretty girl, whether she was to be let with it? "No, sir," she replied, "if you please, I am to be *let alone*."

The origin of this jest or pun is not so well known, and it will surprise some people to learn that it is to be found in a pious writer who was born in the year 1592—viz. Francis Quarles.

ON THE WORLD.

This house is to be let for life or years,
Her rent is sorrow, and her income tears;
Cupid, 't has stood long void; her bills make known,
She must be dearly let, *or let alone*.

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FOR THE PORT FOLIO.—CITY OF WASHINGTON.

COST OF THE PUBLIC EDIFICES AT THE CITY OF WASHINGTON.

MR. OLDSCHOOL,

THE following is an estimate of the value of the public property in the city of Washington, and at the quarries. This estimate is founded on a report made by the late superintendent of the city, to the secretary of the treasury, dated the 27th of February, 1816:—Of the well known rise in the value of property in this place, since that date, I have taken no account, preferring to be under, rather than over the real estimate.

9th December, 1817.

5185 building lots, estimated at $180 (the average amount of former sales) per lot,	$933,300
541 acres of ground reserved for the use of the United States, estimated at the same rate, though deemed of much greater value, would amount to	740,000
Wharves and water lots in the city, and free stone quarries at Aquica, about	40,000
	$1,713,300

The whole first cost of the public buildings, previous to the destruction by the enemy, in August, 1814, appears, from the proper books, to have been:

President's house,	$333,207 04
North wing of the capitol,	479,262 57
South wing of ditto,	308,808 51
Treasury office,	48,955 28
War office,	44,058 54
	$1,214,291 94

The actual disbursements for rebuilding these edifices, under the act of 15th February, 1815, was, on the 1st of January, 1818, as follows:

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For the capitol, including marble quarry, -	$324,103 32
President's house, - -	207,970 72
Treasury office, - -	37,262 14
War office, - -	31,541 86
	$600,878 04
Outstanding bills for materials, &c. -	80,576 13
	681,454 17
Add the sum above, - -	1,214,291 94
The account may then be thus stated:	1,895,746 11

DR. The United States.

The cost of the public buildings up to the date as above,	1,895,746 11
CR.—By the sale and value of the public lots, &c. &c.	1,713,300
Balance, - -	182,446 11
	1,895,746 11
To probable increase in value, for the balance,	$182,446 11

It results from the foregoing statements, tha no part of the cost of the public buildings will be paid by the people of the United States, as has been erroneously stated. I am, &c.

FOR THE PORT FOLIO—A SAGACIOUS CRITIC.

In one of the fables of *Lemonier*, by which the poet endeavoured to inculcate the mischievous effects of excessive taxation, the following line was inserted in the original:

"Ce que vous dis-là, je le dirois au roi."*

The censor blotted it out. The poet remonstrated, but in vain. After having taken a walk in the street, Lemonier returned, reciting this line:

"Ce que je vous dis-là——tais toi."†

This alteration was approved, and the censor did not perceive that the satire was only become more pointed.

* What I say to you there, I would say to the king.
† What I would say to you there,—hold your tongue.

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FOR THE PORT FOLIO.—SPORTING INTELLIGENCE.

THE following extracts from the minutes of a Jockey Club, which existed in 1766–73, and was composed of the most distinguished gentlemen of this city, may be interesting to some of our readers:

The races were run on the Centre Square, and the people appear to have been summoned together by the sound of a drum.

On one occasion it was "Resolved, That the bell-man be sent round the city, to request the inhabitants to keep their dogs at home."

"Mr. Vice President (S. Moylan) informed the Club, that Mr. James Pemberton had applied to him, as a member of the Club, requesting that the time of the Philadelphia races might be altered, as they were fixed for those days when the yearly meeting of the Friends is held in this city."

The day was changed accordingly.

The names of several young ladies, whom we now recognize amidst groups of grandchildren, appear as subscribers to a purse of 50*l.*

The impropriety of this practice was, however, felt: and "after much debate, it was resolved that no further application be made to the ladies for a continuation of their subscriptions."

FOR THE PORT FOLIO.—BAR JOKE.

THE members of the *Verulam* (Law) *Club*, in Lincoln's Inn, had their spoons lately stolen by a thief, who was detected in the fact; and on prosecuting him at the Old Bailey, the barristers were rather perplexed as to the *property*. The case being referred to Mr. Jekyl, he observed, that there were two points for their consideration: "these spoons," said he, "are marked with the *head of lord Bacon*, and the words *Verulam Club*. Now as to the Verulam Club, you are all subscribers, and therefore joint proprietors; but to which of you the *head of lord Bacon* belongs, I am not able to determine!"

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POLITICAL STATE OF ALGIERS.

On the Political State of Algiers, the effects of the recent English expedition, and the best line of policy in regard to the Barbary States; with observations, by an Italian gentleman, recently returned from captivity in that country.

[*Continued from page* 390.]

THE example of the Order of Malta was not lost upon the sultans. They found, in the Grecian islands, a numerous population, inured to a seafaring life; despotism had been yet unable to employ it in forming the imperial fleets; but Selim and Soliman encouraged their subjects to arm vessels to attack all the christians, as the knights of Malta attacked all the musulmen. The life of a pirate, like that of a military partisan, presents to bold and enterprising spirits all the charms of independence. Men who would have exerted their very utmost activity to avoid being put on board the fleet of the captain pacha, were eager to arm vessels themselves for this petty warfare, and excellent mariners were soon formed under the banner of the crescent. The two brothers, Horuc and Ariadeno, who bore each the surname of Barbarossa, distinguished themselves in this career. These brothers, particularly the second, founded the piratical republic of Algiers, in imitation of the Order of Malta. They even sanctified piracy by religious fanaticism, and they promised to the soldiers who combated for the faith, at once the pillage of the infidels upon earth, and a happy eternity in heaven. The supreme power at Algiers, as at Malta, was reserved to the foreign militia, who came to serve for the honour of religion in both republics; the reigning soldiery was recruited by voluntary enlistments in countries of the same faith, to the exclusion only of the country in which it reigned. In both the militia reserved to itself the right of electing its chief; and the dey, like the grand master, was, for the soldiers, the first among his equals; for the inhabitants an absolute sovereign. Distinctions of birth were not known among the Turks, so that the proofs of nobility demanded at Malta could not be required at Algiers; yet the *ortes* of Algiers were composed of freemen, while the janissaries of Constantinople, and the mamelukes of

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Egypt are enfranchised slaves. As the Islamite religion made no virtue of continence, the Barbarossas could not bind their soldiers by a vow of chastity; nevertheless, the government opposes their marriage, and studiously removes their children, the *chiloulis*, from all share in the government. The republic of Zaporavian cossacks, which the Turks say was founded in express imitation of the Order of Malta, went still farther; it absolutely excluded women from the countries which its soldiers inhabited, and whence they spread to ravage Poland, Russia, and all the shores of the Black Sea.

Thus was instituted the *religious and military order of Algiers*, but upon a far broader basis than that of Malta. A great kingdom was subjected to it; and a numerous population, considerable revenues, fortresses, seaports distributed over a long extent of coast, rendered it much more formidable; besides, its rise was precisely at the era when the mercantile marine of the christians had been greatly extended, while that of the musulmen sunk along with their commerce; the prizes of the Algerines became every day richer, those of the knights every day poorer and less numerous. The two rival military orders fought sometimes for the honour of religion; both however, preferred an encounter with merchant ships, and we have met with a person who was in more than sixty engagements in a christian galley, without recollecting to have once seen a man wounded on board.

We must not look for these details in M. Pananti's book. He gayly apologizes for not having made the researches which his readers might perhaps expect, on the ground that nothing was less voluntary than his voyage to Algiers. The truth is, that in the pages which he has entitled, *History and Revolutions of Barbary*, he accumulates a great number of errors. But he has seen facts; he is instructive when he relates them, and we recognize, even in his narrative, features of resemblance between Algiers and Malta, which he never thought of; features which must always be modified by the difference between the religious fanaticism of the Turks and that of the Christians, and which seem sometimes to make one the caricature of the other.

"The Turks of Algiers," says he, "are a foreign militia, come from Constantinople to defend the country, and to preserve it under the patron-

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age and allegiance of the grand seignior of the Osmanlis. But this daring militia has found the power in its hands, it has refused to obey, and has become sovereign. These soldiers make and unmake the heads of the government; they occupy all the offices of state, they keep the Africans in slavery, they oppress them, and their daring character renders Algiers a theatre of revolutions, where blood never ceases to flow.

"Every two years the regency of Algiers send vessels and commissioners to the Levant to obtain recruits, and thus fill the blanks which war, disease, and punishments, leave in the militia. They are drawn from the vilest of the populace of Constantinople, and from the greatest malefactors. They are so despised in the Levant, that no Turkish woman will follow them into Barbary. But scarcely are they arrived in Africa, and attached to an insolent and domineering militia, when they assume an important air, take the title of effendi, and have all the pride and arrogance of soldiers of fortune. However vain they may be of their power, they feel no shame of their humble origin; on the contrary, they seem proud of having risen so high from so low a station. A dey said one day to a consul, 'My father salted tongues at Pera, my mother sold them at Constantinople; I ought then to know tongues; but I never met a worse than thine.' Although these troops do not amount to more than twelve or thirteen thousand men, they hold in subjection five millions of people who abhor, but obey them. They deal, indeed, with a degraded race, who place their glory in humbling themselves, and who believe a man to be more honourable, the more he is a slave.

"The government of Algiers is a military republic, with a despotic chief. The administration is composed of the dey, and of a council or assembly of the principal officers, called *douans*, which we have turned into divan. But the constitution is now only a name; the whole authority rests with the dey. It is a mixed government, and the worst of all mixtures. You see a turbulent election with all the symptoms of the most restless democracy, a prince invested with the most despotic power, an insolent aristocracy, composed of the principal officers of state; in short, a military government, with all its abuses, its violence, and its brutal ferocity.

"The chief of the Algerine government, named dey, is always drawn from the body of Turkish soldiers; he obtains his post by election without a shadow of hereditary succession. Each soldier, at the death of the dey, goes to the palace and gives his vote. Whoever is proposed, if he is not unanimously chosen, is excluded, and the operation is continued till they come to a personage who obtains an unanimous vote. The elected person must be dey, whether he will or will not, because all that happens on earth has been previously decreed in heaven, and no mortal is permitted to resist this supreme command. But a seditious fellow may raise his sword against

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his prince, and violently seize his place, for that too, say the musulmen, had been predestinated, and, consequently, could not fail to happen.

"It may be easily conceived, that in an assembly of soldiers, from whom an absolute unanimity is required, cabals and factions must rage in all their fury. While a great majority has proclaimed a chief, the malcontent janissaries assemble in other apartments of the palace, they seize the hall of election, massacre the intended chief, and substitute another, who, yet covered with the blood which he has shed, puts on the royal robe, and compels the terrified assembly to silence and approbation. Frequently the soldiers, in their quarters, raise an insurrection, and send a herald to the dey with orders to quit the palace. As soon as he obeys, his head is struck off. Sometimes the prince is poisoned, sometimes he is assassinated on his way to the mosque; frequently a fanatic cuts off his head amidst the assembly of the divan, and the same scimitar which has given him authority serves to maintain it. These ferocious chiefs, elected amid blood and tumult, repeat then the maxim of a Tartar emperor, 'If you wish to preserve the state tranquil, keep the sword of vengeance always waving.'

As soon as a soldier is named dey, he is invested with the caftan, a species of royal robe; he mounts the estrade, and all present exclaim, 'We consent, be it so, and God give him prosperity.' The mufti proclaims him dey; a discourse is read to him on the duties attached to his dignity; he is reminded, that God having called him to govern the state, he ought to employ his authority in punishing the wicked, in doing justice, in securing the public safety, and in paying the soldiers regularly. Those who are nearest kiss the hand of the new prince, the militia salute him, a cannon is fired to warn the people, and the ceremony is over.

"The election is followed by an universal change of men in office; the new dey is not content with ridding himself of all his rivals, he often puts to death all the ministers of his predecessor, he seizes their wealth, he receives the presents of those whom he chooses to supply their place, he fills his treasure, but at the same time he must scatter gold among his soldiers. Hali Dey, raised to the throne after the tragic death of Ibrahim, surnamed the Madman, put to death on that occasion no less than 1700 persons. The people murmured at his barbarity, but far from moderating his fury, he pretended to have discovered a conspiracy, and caused Algiers to stream with blood.

"The dey has the right of making war or peace, he assembles the divan when he pleases, he imposes tributes, he regulates all affairs except those of religion. He is supreme judge in all civil or criminal causes, and is obliged to give account of his behaviour, or to communicate his views to no one;—to resist his decrees would be to resist those of destiny. Heaven having given him all power, is believed also to have given him all knowledge; and those who were his equals are the first to fall at his feet."

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In the narrative of a traveller, the part which most strongly attaches us is always that which places himself on the stage. We then become partners in his adventures; his emotions, in all *that* makes us live and travel along with him. We may doubt the soundness of his judgment, the accuracy of his impressions; we may often believe him prejudiced or ill-informed; but, by writing his own story, he at least succeeds in painting himself. We thus make some progress in the knowledge of man; and, even supposing him to express his sentiments in an affected manner, this affectation is one of the modes of being which we should learn to know; and, indeed, it behoves us to observe it, in order to *rectify* the judgment which we are to adopt as to the narrator.

But if ever the curiosity of the reader is excited by a traveller's personal adventures, it is when they are of a nature so extraordinary and so dismal as those to which M. Pananti was exposed;—when a man of liberal education, who had known *all the* enjoyments of life and society, is suddenly plunged into the most frightful of all misfortunes; when he becomes the slave of a barbarous master, is exposed to every severity which avarice can instigate, to draw profit from his strength, or fanaticism to humble him; when he sees no probable end to his misery, and, judging by his fellow-sufferers, has room to fear lest his soul itself should be degraded by sorrow, and lest, according to the beautiful expression of Homer, Jupiter should really take from man half his worth on the day that he is reduced to slavery. Then our curiosity redoubles to know the whole detail of such adventures. They form an awful spectacle, on which we cannot fix our eyes, yet from which we cannot turn them; they excite the most powerful and most painful of interests. Besides, they come so close to us, *that* we cannot avoid making a constant reference to ourselves. In fact, Moorish slavery has this peculiarity, that, though it be a very rare misfortune, and very unlikely to happen to each of us, it is scarcely more unlikely to one man than another. A man may be involved in this horrible calamity without being engaged in extraordinary adventures, without having sought dangers; he has as many chances of encountering it in the shortest sail as in the longest voyage. In one of those parties of pleasure which are *almost necessary* in the education of men of the world; in the almost daily

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passage from Leghorn to Genoa, from Antibes to Nice, from Cette to Marseilles, there may be, and there more than once has been found a barbarous vessel concealed behind a promontory of *that* European coast which is still in sight; he may thus be carried off from his family for ever. More than one traveller, nay, more than one peaceful inhabitant of the country, has been surprised, amid his amusements or his labours, by a landing of corsairs. Among the two or three thousand christian slaves whom M. Pananti found at Algiers, there were many who, six months before their capture, believed themselves as secure from this danger as the reader now is.

The adventures of M. Pananti are well calculated to excite this interest; but we cannot conceal that it is much diminished by his mode of relating them. He seems ambitious, above all things, of the reputation of a brilliant writer. He studies to enliven each of his short chapters by a *bon mot*, an epigram, a little story, a happy quotation. He seeks, at the same time, to make a parade of the most varied knowledge, and, in imitation of the illustrious traveller who has made us so well acquainted with Spanish America, never speaks of a country without comparing it to every other. But much of this learning, foreign to the object of the work, which is furnished to M. Humboldt from the stores of universal erudition, and an inexhaustible memory, appears in M. Pananti superficial or caught at the moment. Many of his little stories have been long familiar in conversation, or even in collections of *anas;* many of his quotations are incorrect, particularly those in verse. In the former extract, many of these passages which appeared out of place have been suppressed; the same will be done in the following, where we shall endeavour to exhibit the personal adventures of M. Pananti, and to show, after him, what is to be feared from the people of Barbary, and what, with more energetic measures, might be hoped from Africa.

M. Pananti is a Tuscan man of letters, who, during the revolution, had gone over to England. After having made a little fortune there, he wished to return to his own country, and he embarked at Portsmouth on board a Sicilian vessel bound for Palermo. From a singular negligence, he does not mention the year of his return, though it appears to have been in 1812; and he

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gives neither date nor cause of any of the events which he relates. The Sicilian captain refused to join an English convoy, and afterwards to stop at the little isle of St. Pierre, near Sardinia, where he had been warned of the appearance of an Algerine squadron. He obstinately set sail at a time when all the passengers expected to remain several days in the road.

"We spent a gloomy and agitated night. I was beginning to shut my eyes for a moment, when the chevalier Rossi, who had risen with the sun, came and told me that the same sails which we had formerly seen were still to be discovered. I sprung from bed, got on deck, and found all the passengers in anguish and confusion. The six sails appeared then only like imperceptible points on the vast plain of the waves. These vessels made a threatening evolution, which manifested their hostile designs. A cry of terror and grief burst from our sailors. They began, in their trouble, to run, to fatigue themselves, to make a hundred useless efforts for safety. Agitation is not activity, and operations without a plan produce only delay and confusion. By a horrible fatality, the wind, which till then, had blown with violence, suddenly fell; and we found ourselves fixed down in the middle of the vast element. The captain was mute and stupified; he did nothing, which was the very worst thing he could do. Let us try, said we, with all our sails, and if sails are insufficient, with oars, to gain the coast of Sardinia: if we cannot do better, let us at least take to the boat, and save our persons. But the captain pointed with his finger to a hostile vessel which was to leeward, and opposed our retreat. I know not what weight there was in his reasons; but I know that he did nothing, either to fly or to defend us. The first time that we discovered the enemy, they were eighteen miles off, and Sardinia was not three. The pirates have since told us, that we had a bad *rais;* that, if they had seen the least movement made towards the shore, they would not have so much as turned towards us; but that seeing us remain immoveable, and even approach them, they thought us enchanted, or, according to their emphatic expression, drawn by the spirit of darkness towards our inevitable ruin.

"We remained six hours in this state of horrible perplexity. When the barbarians came near, we heard their frightful cries, we saw the immense crowd of Moors make their appearance. The most courageous then lost all hope; we all fled at this cruel spectacle, and shut ourselves up in our little cells, awaiting the grand catastrophe of this tragedy. We heard the cries of the Africans, who, with naked sabres, boarded our vessel. The loud firing of a cannon sounded in our ears; we believed that it was the commencement of the action, and that we should soon go to the bottom; but it was only the signal of a *fair prize.* A second discharge announced

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the capture and the possession of the vessel. The Algerines had darted upon our ship; they made their *cangiar* and *attagan* flash over our heads; they commanded us to make no resistance, and to submit. What could we do? We obeyed. The Algerines then, assuming a less ferocious air, began to cry out, *No fear, no fear.* They demanded rum, and the keys of our trunks. They separated us into two divisions, one of which remained in the vessel, and the other was transported into the Algerine frigate. I was of the latter number.

"On reaching Algiers, we were landed in two boats, and found a numerous population assembled to celebrate the triumphant return of the fleet. Yet we were neither stripped nor insulted as christian slaves are said usually to be when they arrive on this inhospitable shore. We had a long walk before arriving at the palace where the council is assembled,—where the great examinations are made,—and the sentences pronounced. The rais entered the palace of the marine, and we remained at the gate. Then a large curtain was raised, and we saw the hall of the palace where the members of the regency, the ulemas of the law, and the first agas of the divan, appeared, seated in their barbarous pomp, and horrible majesty. Presently, without ceremony or preamble, our papers were demanded and examined. The usual formalities were observed to give an appearance of justice to acts of rapine. Our papers were presented to the English consul, who had been sent for to verify them. He saw fully their insufficiency, but, impelled by the goodness of his heart, and by pity for so many sufferers, he made the most generous efforts to extricate us from this horrible danger. His eagerness was not diminished by our belonging to a country united to France; we were unhappy, and, consequently, sacred in the eyes of an Englishman. But the rais, Hamida, insisted upon the ferocious laws of piracy; he established the nicest distinctions between domicile and nationality;—he showed himself a complete master of the African code of jurisprudence.

"We heard the council repeat, *a good prize, prisoners, slaves!* These words were echoed by the crowd assembled in the great square; who, by their cries, seemed to call for this decision. The consul then demanded the English lady and her two daughters; *granted.* The chevalier Rossi, husband of the lady, advanced with courage and dignity; he urged his claims as husband of an English lady, and father to English children. He was declared free also; he went to join his wife and children. The consul made yet one attempt for the safety of all; it was useless. The horrible cry, *Slaves, slaves!* resounded tumultuously through the hall, and was echoed by the multitude. The members of the regency rose, the council was dissolved, the English consul and vice-consul retired with the family

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of Rossi, and we remained immoveable, stupified, as if thunder had fallen on our heads.

" We arrived at the pachalic, or palace of the pacha, now inhabited by the dey. The first object which struck our eyes, and froze them with horror, was that of six bloody heads, newly cut off, which were spread round the threshold; it was necessary to remove them with the foot before we could enter. They were those of some turbulent agas who had shown discontent against the prince; but they were supposed, by us, to be heads of christians exposed there in order to fill with terror the new visiters of these fatal regions. A deep silence reigned throughout these walls; terror was painted in every countenance. We were ranged in a row before the windows of the dey, to flatter the view of the despot. He appeared at the balcony, viewed us haughtily and disdainfully; then smiled with a ferocious joy, made a sign with his hand, and ordered us to depart. We made a circuit through the winding streets of the city. We arrived at length at a large and gloomy building; this was the great *bani*, or slave-prison. We crossed its dark and dirty court, amid the multitude of slaves; they were ragged, pale, haggard, with downcast heads, their cheeks hollowed by the deep furrows of wo, their souls so exhausted by long suffering, that every affection of their hearts seemed destroyed; they viewed us with stupid indifference, and gave no sign of pity. The day on which the slaves do not go to work, they remain shut up, and wander like pale spectres in this abode of darkness.

" The first ray of morning had not appeared, when we were suddenly awaked by a confused noise of cries and blows, and a clanking of chains. The guardian of the prison instantly summoned us to rise. *To work, you cattle!* was the general exclamation of the alguazils, spurring forward the slowest by a repeated application of the whip. The black aga arrived at the prison. He had brought iron rings to be put on our left foot, and to remain there for ever in token of the abject condition to which we were reduced. These rings were very small, but how horrible is the weight of the marks of slavery. The black aga fixed the ring on my companions, but he put mine into my hand, seeing that his excellency the pacha granted me the distinguished favour of placing it on my own foot.

" We were, to the number of two hundred, unhappy men of different nations, who had been taken by the infidels in their last cruise. They set us on the road with guards before and behind; an immense band followed; a sad and deep silence reigned among us. We saw passing before us the bands of old slaves, whom their tormentors followed with whips, calling out, *To work, you cattle; to work, you infidel dogs!* We arrived at the marine, and they threw two black barley loaves to us, in the same manner as to dogs. The old slaves caught them in the air, and devoured them with

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frightful avidity. On reaching the great hall, we found seated there, in horrible majesty, and in all the pomp of this tyrannic government, the members of administration, the agas of the militia, the first rais of the fleet, the grand admiral, the mufti, the ulemas of the law, and the judges, according to the Koran. We were filed, numbered, selected, and examined, as is done in the East at the sale of the Icoglans, or in America at the great market of black slaves. A profound silence reigned. Our eyes were fixed on the ground; our hearts beat. A voice was heard. It was that of the minister of the marine, the first secretary of state. A name is pronounced: it is mine. I was desired to come forward; divers questions were put to me, as to my residence in England, my connexions, and my employments in that country. The minister terminated them by these amazing words, "You are free." A soldier was ordered to take from my foot the iron ring; he obeyed, and advised me to go and thank the minister, who squeezed my hand, and said a number of obliging things. He then ordered the dragoman to conduct me to the house of the English consul. Joy had overflowed my heart the moment I could move my foot freely; but my second thought was for my unhappy companions, who, after what had happened, gave way, in their turn, to flattering hopes. I also hoped for their liberty; I walked slowly, and paused at every step, to see if they did not follow. But the order was given to conduct them to labour; their various employments were assigned to them, and they were obliged to set out. I saw them with downcast heads, and eyes swelled with tears, sadly begin their march; they turned once again, squeezed my hand, bade me adieu, and disappeared.

"I was recalled to the marine, and the great magazine of prizes, to recover my effects, which were to be restored by order of government; but money, goods, baggage, all had been seized, plundered, carried off by the Turks and Moors, and I could recover nothing. I suffered this day an immense loss; the fruit of so many years of labour, of industry, of privation, was gone. I had suffered a still more grievous loss, that of all my books and manuscripts." [*To be continued.*]

CUSTOM OF UNCOVERING.

THE custom of men sitting uncovered in church, is certainly very decent, but not very ancient. Richard Cox, lord bishop of Ely, died 22d July, 1581, and was afterwards very solemnly buried in his own cathedral. I have seen an admirable, fair, large old drawing, exhibiting in one view, his funeral procession, and, in another, the whole assembly (and, as appears by the drawing, a very great one too) sitting in the choir, to hear the funeral sermon, all covered, and having their bonnets on. John Fox, the martyrologist, died the 18th of April, 1587, and being then a very old man, he wore a strait cap, covering his head and ears, and over that a deepish crowned shallow-brimmed slouched hat. This is the first hat I have yet observed in any picture. *Peck's Desiderata Curiosa.*

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Discourses on the Evidence of the Jewish and Christian Revelation. By Sir Henry Moncrief Wellwood, Bart. D.D., &c.

[Concluded from page 383.]

It was not unreasonable to suppose, that those who already believed in the existence and superintendance of one only God, would be much better prepared for the reception of christianity, than those who blindly invested with the attributes and honours of the Deity every object of their fear and love: and consequently that Jews would become Christians more readily than Greeks or Vandals. But in this, as in many other cases, the result to which experience conducts, is different from that which theory would lead us to expect; for it has been found much more easy to expose the absurdity of polytheism, than to demonstrate to the satisfaction of some zealous theists, that our faith is built upon a sound foundation. Where a disposition to be convinced is wanting, the progress made in religious knowledge is an impediment rather than a help to conviction on some abstruse subjects in christian theology. The founder of our religion himself, when he invites us to cultivate docility of mind, clearly intimates the necessity of it; and there is no other way of accounting for the scepticism of many men of enlarged capacity, than by supposing them unwilling to be convinced. It cannot be doubted, after what we have all seen, that prejudice is generally much more difficult to combat than ignorance; and that argument is seldom very efficacious when it opposes the passions or the interests of men. The pride of the Jew was wounded, and his ambitious expectations disappointed, by the christian dispensation; and he could not be persuaded to believe that the prophecies had been fulfilled. The less enlightened, but more humble Pagan soon discovered the superiority of the new system, and yielded to the evidence which his own senses, or the sufficient testimony of others, so amply afforded him. The correct opinions which the Jews entertained respecting the Supreme Being were accompanied with certain other opinions and traditions for which there was no good foundation; and they would have parted as readily with the one, as with the others. Their minds were satisfied as to the conduct which God had resolved to pursue with his creatures; and when given to understand that this conduct was to be different from

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what they expected, instead of applying diligently to the inquiry—whether it was consistent with what they had a right to expect, they came hastily to the fatal conclusion, that the promulgator of this disagreeable doctrine was not the Messiah of the *God of Israel.*

Besides the unfortunate position of their affairs, which seemed, as we formerly observed, to require a temporal deliverer rather than a spiritual ruler, there were other causes which served to account for their erroneous suppositions respecting the character of the Messiah. The rewards and punishments assigned to their conduct by the law were, for the most part, temporal; and they do not, except in a very few instances, appear to have been accustomed to look for any of their happiness beyond the grave. Worldly prosperity and the peaceable possession of a land flowing with milk and honey, were the inducements usually held out for obedience to the will of God; while every species of temporal adversity were threatened as the punishment of disobedience. As a nation, the penalty of their sins was that their enemies should prevail against them, that they should be deprived of the land which the Lord their God had given them, and carried into captivity among strangers: as individuals, they were taught to expect poverty, calamity, disease, and death: but further than this they had no apprehensions; they did not suppose that the sinner would have to endure, in another state of existence, the misery which his offences had entailed upon him. The most abandoned offenders received with horror the dreadful sentence—"Thy carcase shall not come unto the sepulchre of thy fathers;"—but, for their immortal part, they seem to have been under no alarm. Both their hopes and their fears regarded sublunary things; while those which they were told the christian religion would inspire, were of a higher kind. The feelings to which appeal was to be made, as well as the doctrines which were to be propagated, were quite new to them;—why wonder then that the appeal was in many instances unsuccessful, and that the doctrines frequently met with opposition or neglect?

That firm attachment to the ceremonial part of their law, for which, especially after the captivity, they were so remarkable, was an insurmountable obstacle in the way of their conversion to

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christianity; as they could not but look with a jealous eye upon a teacher, who seemed to undervalue its efficacy, and to intend its abrogation. They were not fully convinced of the important truth—that "to obey is better than sacrifice;" and their displeasure was excited by being told, that no outward sanctity, no heartless show of reverence for the Deity, no strictness of adherence to forms, though of divine appointment, could atone for the wilful violation of any of those precepts of morality and piety, of which external observances ought to be merely the signs. They certainly were not prepared to hear "that circumcision availed nothing;" and they felt the most poignant disappointment at discovering that their religious rites, instead of being made obligatory upon the rest of mankind, were, for the future, to become unnecessary even to themselves. They knew the Mosaic dispensation to be of heavenly origin, and it was their pride and delight. The person calling himself the Messiah, in his addresses to the people, annulled ancient institutions to which they were *fondly* attached; and laid additional stress upon others which were already disagreeable to them. With the multitude, therefore, a plausible argument was used;—"Will God destroy his own work? This man of Gallilee, who pretends to be the Christ, if he were sent by God, would not set himself up in opposition to God's ordinances. He is an impostor, and we will not believe on him."

It did not, moreover, serve to recommend the new dispensation to the Jews, that the benefits to flow from it were to be universally felt; although the words in which the original prophecy was conveyed, clearly expressed that *all the nations of the earth* were to be blessed in the Redeemer of Israel. The Jews, indeed, had little intercourse of a friendly kind with any of the nations that surrounded them. By all of them they were despised; by many of them they had been, at various times, cruelly oppressed; and while they must have considered it a palpable violation of the law to admit the Gentiles to an unconditional participation in their privileges, they must also have thought it disgraceful to be reconciled with their inveterate enemies, without having exacted the atonement, which, in conformity with the usual practice of nations, they regarded as justly their due. They had been accustomed to look upon an affront offered to them as to be expi-

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ated only by the utter destruction of those who offered it; and the many instances in which, as their history informs us, the wickedness of their neighbours had provoked the Almighty to command their destruction, and to make his chosen people the instrument of their punishment, encouraged the expectation that God would again fight on their side, and again enable them to triumph. The divine precepts—"Love your enemies; do good to them that hate you"—had not found their way into Judæa; and the Jews, as well as the rest of the world, thought themselves fully at liberty to usurp the peculiar attribute of the King of kings, and to execute vengeance on all who injured them.

There was also another objection, which, though of slight importance during the life-time of our Lord, and before the scheme of christianity came to be fully understood, deserves to be mentioned, on account of the consequences it afterwards produced. The Gentiles were not simply to be admitted into the christian covenant; they were to be admitted without being obliged to submit to those forms and ceremonies which God had appointed for the proselytes to Judaism. They could not help thinking that, if the heathen could be entitled to all the blessings then offered to mankind without yielding to circumcision and the other legal observances, that moral and religious pre-eminence which they trusted they had maintained, would eventually be lost, and the name of *Jew* come to denote nothing more than the nation to which the individual who bore it belonged. It must have been most unpleasing to those who valued themselves upon being God's favourite people, and elevated above the rest of mankind by a peculiar revelation, and by laws and customs established by Heaven itself, to discover that the spiritual kingdom of Christ was to embrace the whole human race alike; and that they were to receive no higher honours or rewards in it, than those to which the Gentiles might aspire. It must have mortified them to reflect, that the burden of the law had been borne by them in vain. And, on the whole, we cannot wonder that they did not witness without regret the disappointment of their long-cherished hopes of receiving in the Messiah a prince and a conqueror, who should redress their wrongs and revenge their injuries; who should reign

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over them in earthly glory, and fasten the heavy yoke of their ceremonial law upon the necks of all around them.

Such were the obstacles opposed to the reception of the glad tidings of salvation. And though we cannot, consistently with the positive declaration of scriptures, and with the rule we have ourselves laid down, allow that such arguments amount to a justification of the conduct observed by the Jews; yet it must (we think) be admitted, that circumstances like those just mentioned, when properly considered, reduce their guilt to the level of that incurred by some other nations, who have met with much more mercy from their fellow creatures. But as we do not desire for them any thing more than they are fairly entitled to, we shall proceed to consider how far their conduct has been in wilful opposition to the light they had, or might have had, from revelation.

It has been regarded as the peculiar glory of christianity, that by it "life and immortality have been clearly brought to light." If no revelation had been made to the Jews on this subject, they might be excused in having set themselves deliberately to oppose the gospel (so far as this interesting doctrine is concerned;) and all that could be urged against them would be, that they had suffered their prejudices to get the better of their reason. But, unfortunately for them, this is not exactly the case. The doctrine was not unknown among them, though by no means clearly understood. The more enlightened Hebrews, in every age, probably looked forward to a future state, to which we, who have been instructed by subsequent events, find evident allusions in many parts of the Old Testament; but the majority, we may believe, had their doubts, or knew very little, if any thing, about it. Perhaps, even the most enlightened had but an obscure idea of the divine conduct observable in this world being only part of a great plan, the operation of which was destined not to terminate with the existence of our globe, but to continue to all eternity. The Psalmist himself seems to have found considerable difficulty in accounting for the temporal prosperity of the wicked; and, though he could not think of arraigning the equity of God's government, to have often considered "the ways of Heaven as dark and intricate." Had this sublime doctrine been *clearly* understood by him, all difficulty would have vanished. It cannot be

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pretended that, in later times, even those who were not the best informed were entirely ignorant of it; as it became a point of controversy between two contending sects, the Pharisees and the Sadducees, and one of the chief marks by which they were distinguished from each other. But as the opinions of the Pharisees were probably collected as much from the writings of the heathen philosophers as from their own scriptures, we may suppose that they were very different from those which we entertain; and that they were published with a view to the display of their superior learning, rather than to the practical and moral efficacy of the truth contained in them. There is an interesting chapter on this subject in the work before us; a summary of which we shall present to our readers in the author's own words.

"Scepticism has often attempted to wound christianity by malignant strictures upon Judaism; and, in particular, has affected to consider the doctrines of immortality so intimately connected with every sound principle of religion, as having been excluded from the Old Testament revelation; and, what is much more important, some of the most learned defenders, both of judaism and christianity, have, from very different views, professed to adopt the same idea.

"On the other hand, the sacrifice of Abel;—the translation of Enoch and Elijah:—the faith of Abraham;—the vision at Bethel,—and the last demonstrations of the faith of Jacob;—the language of Job,—of Solomon,—of the most distinguished Jewish prophets in succession;—and, what is most important of all, the language of devotion which runs through every department of the ancient Scriptures, and which would lose all its force and interest, on any supposition but the firm persuasion of the certainty of the world to come, added to the animated descriptions given by the prophets of the Messiah's reign, and of the redemption of the human race, so inseparably involved with the immortality of man, go far indeed to demonstrate, that the doctrines of immortality, veiled, as they were, by the peculiar forms of the ancient dispensation, were not withheld from the Jewish people at any period of their history; but that, on the contrary, they formed at all times an important article of their peculiar faith, on which their devout men relied as their best consolation, and which, in all the ages of antiquity, distinguished Judea from every other country.

"This general representation is supported by the language of the New Testament; and, in particular, by the direct references made by Christ and his apostles to the Jewish scriptures, when they professed to illustrate the doctrines of immortality, and of the resurrection of the dead.

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"There were certainly opinions on the subject of an existence after death, among other ancient nations, as well as among the Jews. But the best of those opinions were removed far indeed from the pure doctrine of immortality which Jews and Christians embrace; and, though they had been much purer and more decided than they were, they were completely inefficient as practical doctrines, and were never promulgated, either to control the passions, or to influence the conduct of the people at large. They had a place neither in the religion nor in the morality of the western world; and in the east, they have been at all times employed to sustain the pride and tyranny of the superior orders, and to pervert rather than to ameliorate the characters of the multitude.

"On the other hand, the believing Jew rested his faith of immortality on the revelation of God, which was equally acceptable to every order of the people, and which was attested by every fact, on which the history of the government of his country depended."—p. 147 to 149.

To those who had no notion of a future state, the account of the Messiah's greatness must have seemed to apply to his earthly existence, or they must have been wholly unintelligible. Such persons could not imagine, how a man who had terminated a life of wretchedness by an ignominious death, could become the head of an empire which should extend over all the earth. They could not conceive how the followers of a Master, "who had not where to lay his head," should be rewarded with honours so transcendant as those which they had been taught to expect; or how the meekest and the most unambitious of men could be appointed by God, to take vengeance upon his enemies and vindicate his offended laws. Those who thought not of that day of final retribution which has been so clearly revealed to us, naturally expected a Saviour who was to descend, clothed in unwonted terrors, on the rebellious heathen, and triumphantly to rescue the people whom he had separated from their oppressors. They could not easily conceive how it was compatible with God's promises, that the servants of their Messiah should forsake all to be entitled to follow him, and surrender every earthly comfort they enjoyed, and every hope they had so fondly cherished, that they might enter into his kingdom. The Redeemer, it is true, was at hand to explain all this to them; but numberless rooted prejudices were to be encountered; and there is more room to regret, than to be surprised, that the darkness was not dispelled. Let us imagine

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ourselves placed in their situation; and inquire, whether, if information had been brought us, that an object on which we had fixed our hearts for ages, and which we had flattered ourselves was, at length, almost within our reach, could be obtained only in another world of which we had heard nothing distinctly,—and even there, only after a life of trouble and temptation here,—whether, I say, we should not have been somewhat startled, and have felt our constancy a good deal shaken? The Jews were as good in ancient times as circumstances would permit; and they are not worse now than ought to be expected.

The character of the Saviour had not been ascertained in the prophetical writings, so as to make an erroneous opinion respecting it inexcusable. To us, who contemplate the prophecies after they have been illustrated by events, he seems clearly enough revealed as "a man of sorrows;" but by them, who had not this assistance, the splendid descriptions of his glory in heaven were easily mistaken for allusions to his magnificence on earth. We are apt to forget, that the case of the Jews, with respect to the prophecies relating to the Messiah, once resembled ours at this moment, with respect to many of the predictions in the Revelations. Succeeding ages will probably be surprised at the number of erroneous explanations of these which we daily see offered and received as extremely just. And whoever will give himself the trouble of considering the nature and design of prophecy, will allow that such must necessarily be the case. A prediction should be expressed in terms so precise, as to leave no doubt in the minds of those who witness its fulfilment, of its having been duly fulfilled; but it should not be so plainly expressed, as to give rise to a notion, that its completion can be brought about by human means alone, and by agents interested in the event. Had not this rule obtained, one of the most important distinctions between the oracles of the God of Israel, and many of the celebrated oracles of heathen antiquity; and between the prophets of the Lord and the pagan soothsayers, could not have existed. By applying this rule to a passage we are about to transcribe, the reader will discover the infinite advantage which we of the present day possess over all those, who did not live to witness the things which we have seen and heard.

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"The prophecies which relate to christianity alone, and which cannot be intelligibly applied to any other subject, unquestionably furnish the chief argument for the authority of the gospel, which can be derived from prophetic revelation. Though originally so far obscure, as not to have deranged the order of human affairs, they appear, after the accomplishment, to have been so clear and definite, as to be then distinctly seen to have described the events to which they were intended to relate. Though they were taken separately, they would be so. They would have been so, though they had been delivered but a few years before their completion. But most certainly the evidence which they afford us is far more conclusive, when we consider them as belonging to one continued series of prophecy concerning the same person and the same events—carried on, sometimes at near, and sometimes at remote intervals, from the beginning of the world to the close of the ancient revelation.

"If some of them are more explicit than others, each of them reflects some degree of light on the rest; and the whole of them, when presented in one view, form a body of evidence for the truth of christianity, far more convincing than any proof which can result from the accomplishment of the clearest single prophecies, when unconnected with the rest of the series.

"When we see the whole succession of ancient prophecies combined, collected at last from what superficial observers had regarded as detached or ambiguous predictions; and see how closely they are linked together, as prophecies of the Messiah's kingdom,—how exactly they apply to the same events, in which they were all ultimately designed to terminate—how much light every successive prophecy reflects on the predictions given before—and with how much simplicity and depth of design, the form given them in the Old Testament scriptures is adapted to the original intentions of God, for the restoration of the human race;—it is impossible not to perceive, that the common objections made to prophecy are taken from the very circumstances, which most obviously indicate profound and unerring wisdom.

"He who will not believe that such a series of prophecy, clearly fulfilled, affixes the authority of God to that to which it bears testimony, or that a revelation, to which such a series of prophecy applies, is entitled to our faith and confidence, would not be easily convinced by any other species of proof which could be offered."—p. 454 to 456.

It will be observed that, till after the *death* of our Redeemer, it was impossible to lay before any man such a body of evidence of this kind as that which has just been described, and which so many enlightened persons of our own time have disdainfully re-

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jected. The Jews, then, before the *Advent*, may well be excused for having entertained an erroneous expectation; and surely, by a christian, the chief characteristic of whose profession is charity, prejudices so strong, and handed down through many generations, may be received as some palliation of the conduct of their descendants.

If some among the Jews had been thoroughly enlightened by the gospel, we should have had a right to maintain that others ought to have been enlightened in a considerable measure; for the same sources of information were open to all. But all were nearly alike—the high and the low, the learned and the unlearned, those who were the chosen followers and disciples of our Lord, and those who persecuted and rejected him—the whole nation, in short, was subject to deep-rooted prejudices, which, though fatal to many among them, were however necessary, that the purposes of God might be attained. Who was there, of the thousands who occasionally followed the steps and listened to the instructions of the blessed Jesus, who did it not in the hope that he would soon be induced to make himself known as a king; and, by the exercise of those miraculous powers of which they knew him to be possessed, to perform deeds like those of the days of old, and establish an universal dominion? Did the disciples, his companions in every toil and distress—those faithful servants of whose good qualities we have the fullest evidence, whose readiness to follow him at the risk of every earthly interest was so remarkable, and who had the incalculable advantage of being constantly admitted to his company and conversation; did they—even they, understand the nature of that kingdom which their Divine Master came to found? The reader of sacred history can tell you, that they continued, almost to the last, anticipating earthly honours and distinctions as the reward of their services and attachment; and that even among them dissensions were excited by worldly ambition. The assistance of the Holy Spirit was necessary, to enable them to comprehend the real character and object of their Lord. In the prophetic song of Simeon, it is true, "the Glory of Israel" is hailed as "the light which was to lighten the Gentiles;" but it was long before any of the apostles could ad-

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mit the universality of Christ's church; and longer still before they could all agree in admitting it.

We know how they were all affected by the near prospect of his death; how—when his enemies seemed to prevail against him, and their hopes of empire appeared to be at an end, they all "forsook him and fled." Would they have forsaken him in his utmost need, had they been fully persuaded that he was "the Christ, the Son of God?" Had their faith been such as it might have been, and as it afterwards became, "though they had died with him, yet would they not have forsaken him." But, like the rest, they distrusted his power to save himself and them. They had not yet been made to understand that, by the tragedy of horror about to be performed, that which was spoken by the prophets would be fulfilled. Even after his death, when they must have recovered from their panic, they deeply regretted his loss, as that of "a prophet mighty in deed and word before God and all the people;" but they did not regard him as the Saviour. "We trusted" (it is their own prophetic expression) "we trusted that it had been he which should have redeemed Israel." And surely, if this defection of the very disciples of our Lord admits of any excuse, something may justly be conceded in favour of the conduct of the great body of their countrymen. These crucified him; those betrayed, deserted, and denied him.

We pursue this ample theme no further. A complete treatise on such a subject is not to be expected within the limits to which we are confined; and the reader's own reflections will easily supply much of that which we know to be wanting. Our purpose will be answered, if the claims of the descendants of the people of God to a somewhat larger portion of candour than they have hitherto experienced, should come to be impartially considered.

Cape Diamond, the summit of the promonotory on which Quebec is situated, rises abruptly 365 feet above the river, and is fortified in the strongest manner, with a town, batteries and walls.

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AGRICULTURE.

A number of the most distinguished gentlemen in *Virginia* have recently established an *Agricultural* Society. The zeal with which the individuals appear to be animated, and the practical knowledge displayed in their papers, bid fair to produce important results. We are indebted to a friend for the following copy of a communication from Col. JOHN TAYLOR of *Caroline*, who is the president of the society, and author of the very useful essays on rural affairs, which are so well known under the title of "*Arator*." In publishing this paper we cannot avoid a comparison between the Virginian liberality, and the little vanity of similar institutions in which information is hoarded up for years, in order that a VOLUME may be produced. *Communiter bona profundere Deorum est*, should be the motto of all societies of this description; and we shall take great pleasure in promoting the views of the patriotic gentlemen of the south, by recommending their example to our brethren of the east, the west, and the north.

THE NECESSITIES, COMPETENCY, AND PROFIT OF AGRICULTURE.

However superfluous it may seem to the learned, an inculcation of correct elementary ideas of agriculture, will be highly useful to the ignorant. Even a profound geologist, or a skilful chemist, if he is an agriculturist, may derive some benefit from practical essays, referring to the surface of the earth, and the visible course of vegetation. Milton makes an angel warn Adam against star gazing, and Eve damned mankind by an intemperate curiosity for unprofitable knowledge. To be diverted from the use of warmth, by contemplating the sun, or from a thrifty cultivation of plants, by profound researches after their food, would evince a disregard to these admonitions. By shooting our thoughts on the wings of imagination into the regions of abstruse knowledge or equivocal conjecture, far beyond pressing necessities and immediate benefits, we should advance in the improvement of agriculture, as a student would advance in arithmetic by beginning with algebra. An attempt to soar at a bound to the summit of agricultural science, would retard a progress, step by step; and by suffering our attention to be absorbed by the end, we should be seduced into a forgetfulness of the means. Whatever useful results may occasionally proceed from profound inquiries into the arcana of agriculture, it is not improper to moderate the disposition of the human mind for penetrating into obscu-

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rity, and discovering secrets, by shedding new light upon known truths, and soliciting a greater respect for acknowledged facts. We are more pleased with being reminded of what we know, than with being instructed in that of which we are ignorant. Intellectual contemplation is sometimes an obstacle to judicious exertion, and too often alluring as an agreeable luxury, instead of being devoted to beneficial effects. New attitudes may recal us to a more careful consideration of old certainties, and rouse us to efforts, which lead to the beneficial employment of present time, and save us from the disappointment of distant anticipations. The food of plants, like that of man, is sufficiently known for general use; they are nourished by rich earth, as men are by fat meat; and whatever benefits may ensue in particular cases from abstruse prescriptions, yet an exchange of the plainer suggestions of nature, for the conjectural diet of the most profound physicians, would hardly add to the general health of either. Had we exhausted the obvious means for improving the state of our agriculture, and propelled it to the point of perfection to which these can conduct it, imagination might give itself the rein, dive into theories, and soar in speculation, after discovery—but where it now stands we *must* start, before we can gain the station, which may suggest other resources, inspired by necessity, or derived from new circumstances. These considerations have suggested the propriety of treating of agriculture, in a state of infancy or decay, rather than as having arrived at a great degree of perfection; and of preferring an attempt to awaken the mind to a more attentive contemplation of what it knows, to adventuring upon the more arduous task of bestowing recondite instructions, of which it may be unwilling to accept. "I tell you that which you yourselves do know."

The Necessities of Agriculture.

These are fertility, tools, industry and houses. Without fertility, tools are useless; without tools, industry must fall; without industry, fertility and tools are unproductive; and without houses, crops are lost and stocks perish. A capacity in land to produce something, does not satisfy an indispensable necessity of agriculture. It must produce enough to defray all the expenses of cultivation, to supply the inevitable wants of the labour employed on it, and to pay the taxes. If it produces less, the farmer must perish, or resort to some other mode of subsistence. Hunger, the loosest professor of moral rectitude, must become his preceptor; and the poverty arising from heartless attempts to gain subsistence, is his last comforter. No refuge exists from a calamity, produced with inflexible certainty by an insufficiency in the soil to supply him with necessaries, but to desert his home, to enlist under the banner of vice, or to improve his land. The insufficiency of a great number of farms in Virginia to yield the bare necessaries recited, must drive many farmers to one of these remedies. The

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first is a voluntary banishment from our country and our friends; the second, a banishment from heaven; and the third, an exertion of a strong, virtuous and patriotic mind. The success of the last is certain, if we use the means placed by Providence within our reach. Land, in proportion to our numbers, abounds; nor are we less bountifully endowed with simple means for its improvement, which carefully husbanded, and skilfully applied, will save us from exile or guilt, and bestow upon us subsistence and wealth.

These means are, manuring, good ploughing, grass seeds sown with or upon small grain, and inclosing. An opinion exists, that the common resources for manuring, are scanty, and unequal to the end of fertilizing a poor soil. This opinion is the offspring of a want of industry or skill to collect, or combine them with the other specified means. The Deity, far from committing an egregious blunder in balancing expenditure and supply, has provided the latter amply for the encouragement and reward of industry. By absolute sterility, nothing is produced, and of course nothing is furnished for improvement; but whatever be the degree of productiveness, it furnishes resources for improvement, which will exceed the expenditure of the soil. By preserving every species of litter, especially cornstalks, and applying it before or about the commencement of fermentation; by penning every species of stock in summer, slightly littering their pens even with leaves or broom straw, and folding them on litter in winter: and by preserving the manure arising from both means from being wasted by premature putrescence or evaporation, a poor farm may be gradually improved, until it will yield internal resources, adequate to a copious annual manuring of one-seventh at least of its arable contents.

Such cultivation, as will produce both subsistence and an improvement of the soil, is indispensable to any tolerable system of agriculture. On rich lands, that which is bad, applied to a large space, or that which is good, applied to a small one, may yield subsistence; but a large space of poor land badly cultivated, or a small one well cultivated, are equally incompetent to the object. A multitude of farms in Virginia are so exhausted as to be unable to supply the wants of their cultivators, the expenses of cultivation, and the taxes. Good ploughing is an essential ally of manuring, for redeeming their owners from a state of bondage to indigence. Not that kind of ploughing by which the earth is exposed to reiterated strokes of the sun, or a thin soil is exchanged for a barren one, by a deep reversal of a level surface; but that, which by the use of narrow ridges, will diminish the injury from too much heat, deepen the soil by a revolution between ridges and furrows, and admit gradually of being very deep, without exchanging a surface having some fertility, for a substratum having none.

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The efficacy of good ploughing towards fertilizing the earth, depends in a great degree upon embalming a mass of vegetable matter below the surface, and thus protecting it against the depredations of heat, moisture, and air, until its essence is caught and absorbed by the crop, instead of being evaporated into the atmosphere. Manure is vegetable matter, and of course vegetables are manure. By sowing grass seeds with grain, we prepare a coadjutor for the plough, from which it derives its chief efficiency in fertilizing the earth; and provide a copious supply of food for other vegetables, which, like fish, subsist and fatten by eating each other.

Inclosing vastly accelerates the process for fertilizing the soil, by increasing the quantity of vegetable matter or manure to be consigned to the plough. To practice it successfully, however, it must be combined with some resource equivalent to the loss of the scanty pasturage, from which it excludes the emaciated cattle. Artificial grazing and hay meadows, of high or low land, is a resource, by which, whilst nineteen acres are manuring themselves, without human toil, one may be made to produce more grass, than the whole twenty now do; and stocks of every kind may be thus rendered infinitely more valuable, both for furnishing subsistence to man, and for fertilizing the earth.

Such are the elementary principles for coming at the first necessity of agriculture, which, if too simple for a country, wherein this science exists in practical perfection, may yet be more suitable for our circumstances, than the chymical experiments of Sir Humphrey Davy himself. The vast portion of our lands deficient in fertility, ought to be the object of solicitude, and a mode within the reach of every farmer, for removing this barrier to his prosperity, and destroyer of his hopes, is preferable to a vain reliance upon gypsum, lime or marl, so generally unattainable; or to curious inquirers after new discoveries, so frequently abortive. From an experience of many years, during the use of several hundred tons, I believe that even gypsum, the prince of mineral manures, whatever may be its temporary effect, will have no lasting influence in fertilizing a farm, unless it is associated with the four specified means. Then, indeed, it becomes an ally, which will accelerate a victory they are able to gain in its absence, but to which gypsum is wholly incompetent without their assistance.

This plain and practicable mode of coming at the cardinal agricultural necessity, is not less adapted for feeding the moral nature of man, than for supplying his physical wants. Hope, however liable to be mortified by disappointment, or satiated by gratification, continues to animate the human mind, and will forever be the best source of human happiness. A discovery by which it might be constantly enlivened, without being discouraged by fruitless efforts; and constantly gratified, without being cloyed; would satisfy the utmost wish to which man can aspire, and disclose

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the utmost felicity, of which he is capable. Some approach towards this moral longitude, is made by the farmer who gradually enriches his land. Though fruition increases, as he proceeds, it generates new hopes, and kindles new ardour; nor will he in fertilizing his land, during the longest life, have occasion, like a satiated conqueror, to weep, because he has nothing more to attain.

Tools are a necessity of agriculture, next to fertility. I will not assert, that the difference between a water mill and a mortar for reducing corn to meal, could be used as a just illustration of the difference in effect between an excellent stock of agricultural tools, and those now used in the state. But as I admit my own title to a share of the censure, I may say, that our tools are extremely defective. Even Freeborn's cast iron ploughs, of his largest size (a recent invention) saves one half of the labour necessary to do the same work, with those I used a few years past, which were at least equal to the average of the ploughs used in the whole state. This immense saving results in some measure, from the superior facility with which they work, but chiefly from the superior effect of the work itself, which renders the customary repetitions, not only superfluous, but pernicious. These ploughs remove the necessity of repeated exposure to the sun and laceration of roots, required by bad ploughs, and bestow a larger crop from diminished labour. The loss from bad ploughs, and from the deficiencies of other tools, weighs heavily upon private industry and national prosperity. To exchange this silly debit for the gain arising from good tools, would manifestly produce both a private and public profit of double the loss. My unskilfulness in mechanism, and inexperience of the great variety of agricultural tools, compels me to regret an inability to display the vast importance of this subject. But I am so thoroughly impressed with it, by the inefficacy of most of the tools we possess, and the total absence of many, undoubtedly, of great value, that I believe a tool office, for effecting improvements unclogged by monopoly, and collecting foreign models, which might be used with impunity, would be more useful than the patent office for new inventions. A practical agricultural commissioner, whose duty it should be to collect and try agricultural tools in use throughout the world, applicable to our circumstances; at the public expense; and to make annual experimental reports of their efficacy, might be a great national benefit. Blinded perhaps by fervour, I do not discern that even this suggestion is extravagant or impracticable; but one plainly practicable, and not less beneficial to Virginia, may perhaps obtain more approbation. The imperfect state of our tools, will be perceived every where, by mixing with the class of farmers of inferior wealth, but of high national importance, and much individual merit. They have no means of travelling abroad to look for them, and if they had, it would be better to find them at home. Next in importance

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to arms for defending our country, should be instruments for cultivating it; and the latter enhance the value of the former, in the degree that they render the country more worthy of being defended. Next also to improving the soil, this object deserves the attention of our society, and the fitness of Richmond for effecting it, looks us full in the face. Water, wood, iron, coal, and a wide communication with the state, decide it to be the proper place for the experiment: and with adequate funds, the society might awaken a degree of individual enterprise, not liable to the inertness of public undertakings, which might contribute largely towards diminishing a national misfortune; and become a nest from which would issue broods for propagating throughout the state samples which might relieve us from it entirely. As an humble illustration of the importance of tools, drafts of three, namely, a plough for opening a furrow on a ridge for planting corn by a string, a skimmer, and a pronged hoe, are herewith forwarded. They are very simple instruments, and yet by the first, the corn ground receives a valuable working when it is ploughed; by the second, one-third of the labour formerly applied to its cultivation is saved; and by the third, at least half of that usually applied to raising and scattering manure. [To be continued.]

SINGULAR CIRCUMSTANCE.

Dr. Thomas Wharton, of Woodstock, (Vir.) has confined in a wire cage two live rattle snakes, a male and female; the male has nine rattles, the female seven; the male black, the female of a yellowish cast. The male was put in the cage on the 5th of August; it was quite cross the first day. On the 6th the female was put in, and appeared quite passive, but in a few minutes she showed her anger in biting a mouse that was put in soon after her; the little creature's fate was anticipated—it died in less than a minute. On the 7th, a large rat was put in with them; it did not appear in the least daunted, but made a most spirited attack upon the rattle of the male, and bit off one half of it: at this time it received a bite from the female, which enraged it more, and it made a second attack upon the male, and bit off the balance of the rattle entire. While in this act, it received two bites from the male, and was immediately taken out, and put in a wire trap, to observe what effect the bites would have on it, and, to the astonishment of all who witnessed the scene, it sustained no injury. The snakes now appear quite harmless. The doctor intends presenting them to the proprietor of the Alexandria museum.

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PROGRESS OF BENEVOLENT INSTITUTIONS.

Public Instruction.—We are sorry to observe in that part of the Report of the British and Foreign School Society, which relates to France, that the cause of public instruction appears to have experienced a retrograde movement in that country. It is said that two-thirds of the children in France, who are "of age to attend schools," and who amount to "upwards of two millions, are growing up in ignorance; and of the whole mass of the inhabitants of France, about sixteen millions are unable to read or to write." In the Report of the Parisian Society for Elementary Instruction, many important facts are disclosed respecting the present intellectual state of the French; we are told that, in the ancient province of Berry, "there is not always a single school for every twenty villages; that instruction is often restricted to reading; that one-tenth only learn reading and arithmetic; that it is difficult to find persons to fill the office of mayor, who have so much education; and certain individuals exercise that office, although unable to read."

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Report of the committee of the House of Commons on the employment of boys in the sweeping of chimneys.—The evidence before parliament amply proves, in the first place, that the trade cannot possibly be taught, by the mildest master, without extreme suffering on the part of the infant-learner; that great and unnecessary cruelties are practised by many, to oblige the reluctant apprentice to mount the disgusting and dangerous passage; that, when taught, the boy is liable to be suffocated, or to be burnt, or to be jammed to death; that infants so young as five years old are often employed; that they are frequently decoyed from workhouses, and stolen from their parents; that their growth is stunted, their health injured, their limbs deformed, and their lives shortened; and that, even if they survive, most of them are prevented, by the increase of their size, and by the overstocking of the trade, from continuing in it, and are turned adrift with bad habits, a decayed constitution, and an untutored mind, again to begin the world in some other calling, or not finding any, to pick

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up an idle and a scanty pittance by beggary, or an immoral and adventurous subsistence by theft. It is fully proved, in the second place, that Smart's machine can sweep ninety-five out of every hundred chimneys, in as clean a manner, as efficiently, and as cheaply as if performed by boys; and that the remainder, which generally occur in the houses of the opulent, and which are most dangerous for boys to climb, may be cleaned by other and unexpensive means.

MODERN POETRY.

Parnassus, at present, is divided into parti-coloured fields of separate hues, which, at a distance, give it the appearance of a corn country. Or it may be compared to a chess-board, where a good deal depends upon the dexterous moves of booksellers. The poets themselves have their respective attributes as distinct and settled as those of the nine Muses. Walter Scott should never be painted without the herald's office in the back ground—at least when he sits as a poet. Lord Byron should be presented dining in state upon his own heart, before a numerous and delighted assembly. Mr. Moore should be drawn with a rose in one hand, and a bulbul perched on the other. Mr. Crabbe sweeping a dirty garret, and shaking his head philosophically over every stain in the floor, while a volume of Malthus peeps out from his pocket. Campbell, clearing Johnson's Dictionary of inelegant words, until it is reduced within the compass of twelve pages. Mr. Wilson, putting forth laurel branches from an hospital window; and Dr. Mead looking on him with astonishment. Mr. Southey, crowned with a paper cap made out of his earlier productions. Mr. Hogg, seeing Satan's invisible world through a Scotch mist; and Mr. Wordsworth, accompanied by the Solitary, inviting them all to take an excursion with him to refresh and vary their ideas.

Mr. Young, of Philadelphia, has been fined $300 and sentenced to hard labour for three years, for seducing and carrying away three people of colour.

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ANECDOTE.

LORD NORTH, at the close of his life, was affected with the total loss of sight. At Bath he met col. Barré, who had been his warm opponent in the house of Commons, who was also blind. On being introduced to each other, lord North said, "Colonel, you and I have been at variance; but I believe there are no two persons in the world who, after all, would be more glad to *see each other.*"

CAPTAIN SYMMES TO DR. MITCHILL.

CIRCULAR.

Light gives light to light discover—"ad infinitum."

St. Louis, (Missouri Territory), North America,
April 10, A. D. 1818.

To all the World!

I DECLARE the earth is hollow, and habitable within; containing a number of solid concentric spheres, one within the other, and that it is open at the poles twelve or sixteen degrees. I pledge my life in support of this truth, and am ready to explore the hollow, if the world will support and aid me in the undertaking.

JOHN CLEVES SYMMES, of Ohio,
Late captain of infantry.

N.B. I have ready for the press, a Treatise on the Principles of Matter, wherein I show proofs of the above positions, account for various phenomena, and disclose Dr. Darwin's golden secret.

My terms are, the patronage of this and the new worlds. I dedicate my labours to my wife and her ten children. I select Dr. S. L. Mitchill, sir H. Davy, and baron Alexander de Humboldt, as my protectors.

I ask one hundred brave companions, well equipped, to start from Siberia in the fall season, with reindeers and sleighs, on the ice of the frozen sea. I engage we find warm and rich land, stocked with thrifty vegetables, and animals, if not men, on reaching one degree northward of latitude 32. We will return in the succeeding spring.

J. C. S.

To S. L. Mitchill, F.R.S. &c.

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DR. MITCHILL TO CAPTAIN SYMMES.

The following letter has appeared in the public journals, and we believe it may be relied upon as an authentic production from the pen of "one of the men, who honour America most by his information and talents;" and who has "a great share in the new glory which awaits our country." The letter from the explorer will be found (ante p. 445), and we thought we had saved the learned professor the trouble of writing a reply, by our voluntary communication on this important scheme. (vide ante p. 123.) But some men will manage their own affairs in their own way. The doctor is a worthy old gentleman, and whether he encourage the wild adventures of Symmes, or flatter the "dear girls" of New York, we believe he means no harm to any body. His first object is to gratify a most inordinate vanity, but in seeking the means of administering to this passion, it must be admitted by all that *Dr. Mitchill has done the state some service.*

New York, 16*th June*, 1818.

Sir—The important enterprise sketched in your letter lately received by me from St. Louis, brings to my recollection several facts and occurrences relative to the polar regions of our planet.

You doubtless know the zeal and perseverance with which our countryman John Churchman, urged to Congress and to other bodies, the importance of a voyage toward the North Pole. His object was to find the magnetic pole of the earth, which he affirmed to be several degrees from the axis on which it seems to revolve. But he did not live long enough to prove his doctrine, nor to ascertain the revolutions of his magnetic poles around the two extremities of the globe's axis. I remember him very well. His book is extant.

The departure of the ice in vast masses from the arctic regions, began to excite general attention in 1805. During that year

* See a *philosophical* letter from "the president of the Institute of France to the president of the Lyceum at New York," which will, no doubt, be answered in kind. It has been given to the public by our learned doctor, under the pretence that it "sheds much light upon the enterprise under major Long;" although the name of that gentleman does not occur, nor is his *enterprise* mentioned in the epistle.

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I investigated the subject, and wrote a memoir upon the Greenland ice, which overspread the northern Atlantic ocean, and cooled the water and the atmosphere enough to be felt in our climate as far south at least as 40 deg. north. I consider the Gulf stream as acting by its current to carry the ice away to the eastward, and by its warmth to melt it. Thereby this marine river saves the bays and harbours of our coast from obstruction and blockade by these congealed masses. This essay, with the testimony of many ship masters, is registered in the tenth volume of the Medical Repository.

A few evenings ago, captain White, now of New York, told me he had, in the year 1774, penetrated on a whaling expedition as far as 82° 30′ north. He was incompassed by floating fields of ice. The water of the ocean frequently curdled or thickened to icy crystals between them. The ship's rudder was unhung and taken on board, as being of no use; and the needle of the compass became torpid, or sluggish, to such a degree, that there was a necessity to shake the card, for rousing and waking it up, as it were.

I wish success to the enterprise of the English for visiting once more the high latitudes. It would be gratifying to me that the inhabitants of our continent, which reaches very far to the north, should be foremost in exploring its extent and boundary. Men of ardour in the cause, and of hardy resolution, and of prudent foresight, are the proper persons for engaging in such adventures.

There have been various speculations, on the constitution of the internal nucleus, or core of the earth; some considering it as occupied by *solid rock*, others by *water*, and others again by *fire*. Ulysses is represented by Homer as penetrating to the nether abodes by the way of *Cimmeria*—and Æneas is said by Virgil to have descended to the lower regions at *Avernus*. Dante has given a map, or profile, of the spaces between the crust of the globe and its centre of gravity, as an embellishment to his poem *Inferno*.

But all these are visions of the imagination, or fictions of poetry: we stand in need of better information; one actual explorer would be better than a thousand inventors of stories.

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How rare and extraordinary would it be to converse with you, on your re-appearance from the internal worlds! I told captain Lewis and captain Riley, on the return of the former from the northwest coast of America, and the latter from the frightful deserts of Africa, that I beheld them as, in some sort, visiters from another sphere; so would you really be after the performance of the project contained in your letter. Adieu, and be happy!

SAMUEL L. MITCHILL.

John Cleves Symmes, Esq.

FORMER APPROACHES TO THE NORTH POLE.

Col. Beaumont, in his edition of the work of the hon. Daines Barrington, upon the possibility of approaching the North Pole, after recording, at some length, the different latitudes which are said to have been reached by navigators referred to, recapitulates them as follows, taking credit for nearly a degree to the northward of their several situations, because the blink or glare of the packed ice is distinguishable at this distance when the weather is pretty fair.

Captain John Reed, - - -	80°	45′
Captain Thomas Robinson, (for three weeks),	81	
Captain John Phillips, - - -	81 odd min.	
James Hutton, Jonathan Wheatly, Thomas Rouinson, John Clark, (four instances), - -	81	30
Captains Cheyne and Thew, (two instances),	82	
Clymy and David Boyd, (two instances), -	82 odd min.	
Mr. George Ware, - - -	82	15
Mr. John Adams and James Montgomery, (two instances), - - -	83	
Mr. James Watt, lieutenant of the British navy,	83	30
Five ships in company with Hans Derrick, -	86	
Captain Johnson and Mr. Dallie, (two instances, to which, perhaps, may be added captain Monson as a third,) - - - - -	88	
Relation of the two Dutch masters to captain Goulder,	89	
Dutch relation to Mr. Grey, - - -	89	30

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FOR THE PORT FOLIO.

A VIEW OF THE FALLS IN CONNECTICUT RIVER.

(Which embellishes the present No. of THE PORT FOLIO.)

THESE falls are between the towns of Montague and Gill, Franklin county, eight miles from the north line of the state. The height of the main fall is considerably increased by an artificial dam, and the perpendicular descent is thirty feet. The water continues falling and broken nearly two miles. The width of the river at the falls is forty rods. Above the cataract it flows in a direction nearly northwest; but a few rods below this it is forced, by a precipitous hill, to make a curve to the left of ninety degrees. Standing on the northeast shore, on elevated ground where the present view was taken, and a few rods below the falls, you can see the river above, more than a mile, perfectly calm to the very verge of the cataract; and below, an equal distance, in much commotion among the broken rocks. In front, you have the falls, presenting at most seasons, an unbroken sheet of water, except where the view is interrupted by two small rocky islands; one of which extends a few feet beyond the verge of the cataract, and can be reached by a canoe in safety. These islands, and another, thirty rods below, are picturesque and interesting objects, and add much to the view.

The country, on the opposite side of the river, is, in a great measure, uncultivated, except a narrow tract on the bank, where a few buildings and the locks of a canal appear. Standing on the southwest shore, you can have a partial view of the falls, and on the opposite side of the river, you see a handsome amphitheatre of greenstone hills, through which a small river empties into the Connecticut, at the bend of the last below the cataract.

E. H.

Deerfield, (Mass.) 1818.

A private letter from the expedition lately fitted out by the British government, dated 1st of August, lat. 75, 48, N. long. 61, 30, W. says—"I have but a few moments to tell you, that we have now every prospect of success; the ice is clearing away fast, and the wind is at N.E. Our variation observed on the ice, 88, 13. We have killed a whale, and laid in a stock of blubber for our winter's fuel."

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USEFUL ARTS.

A Lactometer.—Mr. Fane, president of an agricultural society in G. B. has discovered a method of ascertaining the comparative value of the milk of each cow in a dairy. The principle of the invention is, that if milk is poured into a glass, and suffered to remain, the division between the cream that swims upon it, and the milk below, will be so plain and evident, that the depth of the cream may be easily measured; of course, if the milk of any cow produce more cream than that of any other cow, the difference may be correctly ascertained.* This may be done in any glass vessel having upright sides: a tumbler, for instance, or, what is better, one of those glasses in which shopkeepers preserve their sugar plums, and such like wares. If the depth of milk poured into a glass, be exactly 6⅔th inches, every $\frac{1}{3}$th of an inch in depth of the cream, swimming upon it, will be equal to 2 per cent. of the amount of the whole of the milk.

The apparatus, made by Mr. Newman, consists of tubes of glass about $\frac{1}{3}$ an inch in diameter, and about 4 inches long, fixed upright in a wooden frame, each tube having a line round it, marked exactly 10 inches from the bottom. At milking time, each tube is filled up to the line with the milk of a cow; after standing twelve hours, the cream, which floats upon the milk, is measured by a scale of 10 parts to an inch. As the whole depth of the milk and cream is 10 inches, each division will represent 1 *per cent.* of the whole; of course, if the milk given by a cow at a meal is one gallon, or eight pints, and the thickness of the cream that floats upon it measures 14 divisions, multiply the number of pints of milk (8) by the depth of the cream (14) and the result will be, that the produce of the cream of that meal is 112, or one pint $\frac{12}{100}$. Care must be taken to fill the tube as soon as the pail is taken from under the cow; for if any delay takes place, some of the cream will have ascended towards the top.

* It is said that the milk of some cows produces no cream. It contributes, therefore, nothing to the butter, and must be an incumbrance in the churn. Such cows may be discovered by the invention of Mr. Fane, and they should be set apart for the butcher. ED. P. F.

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The milk should be taken from the middle of the pail, and poured into the tube without froth, which is done by dipping a cream-pot below the froth, and filling the tube from thence, after having struck off the froth with the blade of a knife.

Rich milk is not white but brown, as is evident by comparing the milk of different cows when in the glass tubes; by the colour of the milk a tolerable estimate may be formed of its produce in cream. The richness of the cream may also be estimated by the colour of the cream floating in the tubes. The best Alderney cream has a yellow hue, almost as deep as the flower of the buttercup, while the cream of a Holderness cow, fed upon sour grains, is as white as chalk, as the cream separates itself. Rich milk first becomes white, and then takes a bluish hue.

Fattening of Hogs.—A practice has recently found its way into Essex, and the other parts of England, of fattening swine, which has been found extremely beneficial: viz. that of feeding large hogs in separate stalls, so constructed that the animal can, at his pleasure, conveniently rise up or lie down, but cannot turn round. A Mr. Pattison, of Malden, observes, that they will thrive faster in this manner than in any other way. The stalls are upon an inclined plane from the head to the tail of the animal, and are cleaned out every day. Barley meal mixed with water is the food, and this farmer says, he will engage that a pig forward in flesh, weighing 70lbs. shall, in twenty-eight days, increase in weight to 140lbs.: the gain of 70lbs. live weight may be called 45lbs. dead, which at 8d. per lb. is 7s. 6d. sterl. per week. The quietness of these styes cause them to fatten more quickly, as they have only to eat and sleep.

Mr. Arthur Young supposes the most profitable method of converting grain of any kind into food for hogs, is to grind it into meal, and mix this with water in the proportion of five bushels to one hundred gallons, stirring it thoroughly several times a day for three weeks in cold weather, or for a fortnight in a warmer season, by which it will have fermented well, and become acid; till which time it is not ready to give. This mixture must always be stirred immediately before feeding, and two or three cisterns should be kept for fermenting in this manner, and giving the

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grain whole, or partially ground, is so profitable, that whoever tries it once, will not, he thinks, be apt to change it. The food, of whichever kind, must be given to animals in such sufficiently short intervals, as to keep them in a state of rest: since on this principle it is that they become fat in an expeditious manner.

—

Method of making Leather impervious to water.—The New England fishermen preserve their boots tight against water, by the following method, which, it is said, has been in use among them above an hundred years. A pint of boiled linseed oil, half a pound of mutton suet, six ounces of clean bees wax, and four ounces of rosin, are melted and well mixed over a fire. Of this, while warm, not so hot as may burn the leather, with a brush, lay plentifully on new boots and shoes, when they are quite dry and clean. The leather is left pliant: fishermen stand in their boots, in water, hour after hour, without inconvenience. For three years past, all my shoes, even of calf-skin, have been so served; and have, in no instance, admitted water to pass through the leather. It is also a good salve—a basilicon.

—

Gathering Potatoes.—It has been affirmed that potatoes keep best when gathered damp, with considerable earth adhering to them. It is said that if they are housed when clean and dry; they soon become spongy, and cut, when boiled, like a piece of liver. This, though contrary to the generally received opinion, is certainly worth the experiment.

CHARACTERISTIC ANECDOTE.

When lord Amherst, on his return from his late embassy to China, mentioned to Bonaparte that the interesting people of the Loo Choo islands, according to captain Hall's account, used neithera rms nor money, Bonaparte broke forth—"No arms! *Sacre!* how do they carry on war then?" When the same circumstances were related to the chancellor of the exchequer, he exclaimed—"No money! bless me! how do they carry on the government?"

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THE LONGITUDE.

The following is an extract of a letter from an American gentleman now in England, to Dr. Joel Abbott, of this state, dated 18th May, 1818.

[FROM THE SAVANNAH REPUBLICAN.]

"On my return to this place a few days ago, I learned from some of my American acquaintances, that a new instrument for the discovery of longitude, made by a Mr. Wood, of this place, had excited considerable attention, and some speculation among the *savans*. Your name was mentioned, and it was said the instrument was made on a theory, or principles suggested by you—but in opposition to this, Mr. Wood contended, he had thought of and lectured on the subject twelve or fourteen years ago. I said you had made a short communication of your theory in the Medical Repository, at an anterior period, and on inquiring of a friend of mine in this place, I was fortunate enough to find the volume containing your paper. He was kind enough to lend it to me, and it has been forwarded to Mr. Rush, in London. He, with our countryman, Dr. Henry Jackson, is attending to the subject, and will enforce your claims. There is surely, some mystery in this affair, and this will be the more evident, from the extract with which I shall forward you; although Mr. Wood admits, he had thought of the subject so many years, he says he never made an instrument for testing his theory until he saw Dr. Hall's last year.

"This instrument (Wood's) I have seen. To the one described by you, it has little resemblance in mechanism, whatever affinity it may have in principle. From a little I have seen of Dr. Hall's, he seems to think he has been infringing on your fair claims; and it appears to me there is piracy some where. It seems most evident there is collusion and fraud some how or other.

"The fact is somewhat singular, that two such important instruments as the quadrant and the one just noticed, should have originated in our country, and the merit of both discoveries are claimed in this. But, my good sir, these are not the only instances of that unwilling spirit on the part of the English to allow the Americans that fair meed of praise to which their genius, talents, and enterprize may entitle them. They would, if they dared, assert, as Monsieur Buffon did of the animals of the new world, that the mind of an American is modelled differently from theirs; and, that it is incapable of attaining the same powers of research or judgment. Facts strangely prove the contrary, and the films of prejudice which covers their mind's-eye, must and will be removed. The people of this country, I find, after a residence of two years, in various parts of it, are jealous of our ri-

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sing greatness; and the old leaven from which sprang the revolution, and all its blessings, is still fermenting. To this paltry—this mean and petty spirit may be attributed the disinclination in the English to allow any thing excellent, or ingenious, or praise-worthy, to originate with the Americans. In the science of war, the late contest taught them a lesson which they have not forgotten, and however galling to their feelings, they are obliged to admit that the boy had grown a man! To return to the subject which induced me to address you, I am really most anxious to know what would be the result; to whom the honor will attach, if the *desideratum* should be at last obtained. And if you think I can aid your interests, or forward your views in this country, you may command my services. The following is the extract alluded to, from the European Magazine, for 1802, page 217:—

'NAUTICAL DISCOVERY.*

'The following is extracted from a letter by a gentleman in Glasgow to his friend in Greenock, dated 2d August.

'An affair of so much consequence to mankind as the following, it were criminal in me to conceal; I therefore request of you to make it as public as possible among your seafaring and philosophical friends. Our mutual friend, before his departure last fall for Philadelphia, constructed a machine, apparently simple, but which is infinitely more valuable to navigators than the compass. It was brought to me, together with his log-book,

* This extract went the rounds of the newspapers in this country in 1803, previous to the publications of Dr. Abbott's ideas on magnetism. But the invention is his; and the probable manner in which they were ushered to the world, through the European Magazine, is thus accounted for. As far back as the year 1795, Dr. Abbott, on a journey from Augusta to New York, fell in, on his way, with a very intelligent and interesting gentleman by the name of —, to whom he communicated with frankness his ideas on magnetism, embracing all the rational thoughts concerning the magnetic ball, or mercury, as described by the "gentleman in Glasgow." Mr. — took unusual interest on the subject, and required reiterated statements of ideas for the sake of distinctness of perception' till he seemed to have a clear notion of the doctor's theory of magnetism for defining longitude. It is also true, that on —'s arrival at New York he described properties in magnetism, which applied to the discovery of longitude—and spoke of a magnetic ball: and asserted that he had no doubt that longitude would one day or other be much easier kept by magnetism than the latitude is by the quadrant. Now it is not unlikely that Mr. —'s public display of Dr. Abbott's theory of magnetism was taken hold of by some ingenious mind, reflected on, and afterwards published in the form we find it in the magazine, than that two persons would hit on the same thoughts at the same time, so much out of the way of common inquiry. Dr. Abbott is now engaged in writing a book on the subject, which, when presented to the world, will have its due weight.

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by a fellow passenger homewards, who, unluckily, has paid no attention to the use of the apparatus; which was the more unfortunate, as our friend died within three leagues of the land. It is a magnetic ball, floating in a basin of quicksilver; the ball is painted all over, to keep the quicksilver from penetrating the pores, which might embarrass the evolutions; which coating I dare not destroy, to examine the materials of the ball; but from its weight it must be metallic, yet it floats high in the fluid; since he took it from this place, I perceived he has marked it with lines of longitude and latitude, like a geographical sphere. This I presume he has done in his voyage outward, the journal of which is likely left in America. But this which I possess begins with the exact point of latitude and longitude of Philadelphia, and records the zeth of every day, as accurately as if he had been all along on *terra firma*. In bed, he told the captain his distance from the coast of Ireland to a minute by looking at his machine.

'The properties of magnetism are not yet sufficiently known, and they have heretofore been applied to use only in the form of the needle. But it appears to possess, besides its well known polarity, a proximity to retain its native relative position on the earth; that is to say, it turns upon an axis like the earth, one point always pointing at the pole star. Beyond the time, this point upon the ball is below the horizon, and the shores of America, longitudinal line, which which now in its meridian, was far down the side; so that if he had sailed round the earth, this little ball would have made a complete revolution upon its axis.'

"The above, you will find, was published in this country, before the date of your paper in the Medical Repository. Could your's have been seen in manuscript, or could you have communicated your thoughts in a letter to some one who has purloined the idea? Something mysterious hangs about the affair, and I most ardently wish, that not only the long-desired secret may be at last discovered; but that to you may attach all the merit, honour, and reward, of which a thing so valuable is worthy."

PUNNING.

Rowe was a great taker of snuff, and Congreve happening to have some, to which Rowe took a fancy, the latter sent his box several times to be replenished. At length Congreve thinking him too importunate, gave him a gentle reproof, by writing on the lid of his box, the two Greek letters φ! R (*fye! Rowe.*) This being told to Dennis, the critic, he said, he was sure that the man who could make so vile a pun, would not hesitate to pick pockets.

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SOLOMON'S TEMPLE.

The following will, perhaps, be interesting to the Christian reader, as well as useful; by showing the difference of one's own zeal for Christianity, and that of the Israelites for their religion; "for by their fruits ye shall know them." I was, indeed, astonished at the incredible expense of the building of king Solomon's Temple, and have no doubt many others will be likewise, when they see the estimate; in making which I have followed chiefly the computation of Villalpandus.

Dimensions of the Ark and Temple.

Length of the ark 300 cubits, (equal to 450 feet); breadth, 50 cubits, (75 feet); heighth, 30 cubits, (45 feet)—Length of the house which king Solomon built for the Lord, 60 cubits, (90 feet); breadth, 20 cubits, (30 feet); heighth, 30 cubits, (45 feet); length of the porch, 20 cubits, (30 feet); heighth, 120 cubits, (180 feet).

Computation of cost, vessels, vestments, &c. of the Temple.

By Villalpandus's computation of the talents of gold, silver, and brass laid out upon the Temple, the sum amounts to 9,904,822,350*l.* sterling; and the jewels are reckoned to exceed this sum, but will estimate them at the same amount. The vessels of gold (*vasa aurea*) consecrated to the use of the Temple, are reckoned, by Josephus, 140,000 talents, which, according to Capel's reduction of the tables, contained in them, amount to 545,296,203*l.* sterling. The vessels of silver (*vasa argentea*) 1,340,000, computed at 489,344,000*l.* sterling. Priests' vestments of silk, 10,000*l.* sterling. Purple vestments for singers, 2,000,000*l.* Trumpets, 200,000*l.* Other musical instruments, 40,000*l.* Besides these expenses, there were those of the other materials, viz. timber and stones, hewn and costly; and of 10,000 men per month in Lebanon to hew down timber (*silvicidæ*); 70,000 to bear burthen (*vectores*); 20,000 to hew stones (*caticidinæ*); and 3,300 overseers (*episcopi*); who were all employed for seven years; to whom, besides their wages and diet, Solomon bestowed 6,733,977*l.* sterling (*donum Solomonis.*) Now if we estimate the wages and diet

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of their men at 4s. 6d. sterling per diem, the sum will be 93,877,088*l.* The costly stones and the timber in the rough, I will count equal to one-third of the gold, or at about 2,545,296,000*l.* sterl. The several estimates will then amount to 17,442,442,268*l.* sterl. which is equal to $77,521,965,636.

In order to give those who are not well skilled in numbers, an idea of the value of this sum, I will illustrate it by one example. Suppose the city of Philadelphia to contain 15,000 houses, (the precise number I have no means of ascertaining at present), and each house to be worth $30,000, the value of all the houses will be $450,000,000: now divide the cost of the Temple, 17,521,965,636 dolls. by this 450,000,000 dolls. the quotient is 172¼ nearly, which is the number of cities, equal to Philadelphia, that might be built for the money laid out upon the Temple! Or, if we conceive the city to be extended from N.E. to S.W., allowing Philadelphia to extend 4¼ miles along the Delaware, we shall then have one continued city 775 miles (and equal in breadth to Philadelphia) sufficient to reach from Maine to Virginia along the coast.

J. HOLT.

Harrisburgh, 8th April, 1818.

A SMALL JOB.

A PERSON advertises, in this city, for brickmakers "in a section of the United States where the business can be carried on at all seasons of the year." He also would contract for the making of from 10 to 15,000,000 of bricks, "to be finished in THREE years." To crown the climax, he wants to employ from 110 to 150 labourers. Look out for speculators.

A COUNTY in the Alabama territory, called Madison, only 22 miles square, will, it is said, export the present year, 8,000 bales of cotton, which would be sufficient to employ ten of the largest steam boats to carry it from the Muscle Shoals to market.

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FOR THE PORT FOLIO.—CRITICISM.

A Grammar of the English Language, in a series of Letters. Intended for the use of Schools, and of Young Persons in general; but, more especially for the use of Soldiers, Sailors, Apprentices, and Plough-boys. By Wm. Cobbett. New York, 1818. 1 vol. 12mo. pp. 184. 75 cts.

MR. COBBETT is one of the most popular and vigorous writers of the age, and there is such an appearance of honest intention in what he says, that his writings always excite interest, though he is well known to the public as one who changes

Tenets with books, and principles with times.

He has not had the advantages of what is denominated a liberal education. For this deficiency, however, he feels no regret; insensible of its importance, he denies the value of what others seek with so much toil; he exults in his self-taught proficiency, and has no toleration for those who bear the titles with which science has distinguished the names of her favourite votaries. To denominate the Latin and Greek "the learned languages," subjects a person to the imputation of being an "impostor, or a dupe," in the estimation of this very liberal and candid writer, (p. 152,) though he makes many blunders himself for want of this knowledge. Thus Dr. Blair is classed with "chamber-maids," (p. 111), for employing the phrase "esteem themselves happy;" while every reader who knows the different senses of the verb *esteem*, will *think* that our grammarian is himself mistaken.

We have no objection to the position that "a knowledge of the Greek and Latin is not sufficient to prevent men from writing bad English," (pp. 92, 151); but if the mind of our author had been embellished by the treasures of the ancients, he might have avoided numerous errors which are scattered throughout his book; he would have required no apology for declining to *jester* his pupil "with a philological examination *into* the origin and properties of words," (p. 135); he would have been at no loss for the meaning of the phrase "called getting *a thing by heart*;" nor would he have been reduced to the necessity of asking why, instead of *and*, "you often see people put &, which is no more than

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the obvious union of *E* & *T*, the Latin word *et*, being equivalent to our *and*.

So much stress is laid upon errors which he thinks he has discovered in the writings of Johnson and Watts, that superficial readers will deem these eminent writers far inferior to Mr. Cobbett. Men of great minds, abstracted in speculation, often neglect minute matters. They rarely pause to measure a sentence by the rules of grammar, and it remains for more humble pens to perform what has been attempted in the present instance by Mr. C. This species of criticism neither augments nor diminishes the reputation of the writer, excepting in the opinions of weak and uninformed men. We do not mean to accuse our author of imitating the valour of a redoubtable pedagogue of this city who conceals his system, lest he should blazon his own ignorance, and barks at the heels of some of the learned Thebans "here in *Athens*," to the vast amusement of the printers' devils, and the edification of his form-boys. We wish only to caution young readers not to slight the imperishable pages of these illustrious writers, because they may be tarnished by some trifling blemishes, nor to be seduced into a belief that they will write more incorrectly if they should be "deeply skilled in Latin and Greek." (p. 154.)

Mr. Cobbett has produced a useful book. He exhibits, with much plainness, his views of the grammatical principles of the English language, and has happily avoided many of those servile imitations of the Latin language which are daily taught in our schools, at a great expense of money, labour, and time, without the least advantage to the pupil. In the following language we cordially acquiesce:

"257. Why should we perplex ourselves with a multitude of artificial distinctions, which cannot, by any possibility, be of any use in practice? These distinctions have been introduced from this cause: those who have written English grammars have been taught Latin, and, either unable to devest themselves of their Latin rules, or unwilling to treat with simplicity that, which, if made somewhat of a mystery, would make them appear more *learned* than the mass of people; they have endeavoured to make our simple language turn and twist itself, so as to become as complex in its principles as the Latin language is." p. 134.

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All this is true, and our only regret is, that a man who thinks so justly, is himself too much an imitator, and has not abandoned many things which we find in this Grammar.

The work consists of letters, in which the epistolary style and manner are properly supported. It has been termed, by the author, a Grammar, as we conjecture, because it is his opinion that verbal rules ought not to be committed to memory. He gives this advice to his son:

"*Never attempt to get by rote any part of your instruction.* Whoever falls into that practice, soon begins to esteem the powers of memory higher than those of reason; and the former are despicable indeed when compared to the latter." p. 73.

This is partly correct. It is a great error in modern education, when teachers satisfy themselves with making their appeal to the memory of their pupil, instead of making him comprehend what they wish him to learn. To compel children to commit to memory large portions of rhetoric, geography, natural history, and other branches of science, is a great saving of labour to the instructor, and such exercises are admirably calculated for those ridiculous parades called public examinations; but they are a cruel mockery of the children, and a gross fraud upon their parents. A deliberate conviction is not more wide from courteous affirmation, than real knowledge is from such hollow but specious instruction; for they who are competent to the important task of education, ought to form the understanding as well as embellish the memory. As grammar is usually taught at a very early period, the rules should then be impressed upon the mind, and the pupil will, perhaps, never forget them. At more advanced age, it is learned, chiefly, by the exercise of the reason, in the manner recommended by Mr. Cobbett, and he himself appears to be an example of what he inculcates upon others. Few, however, are gifted with his extraordinary powers, and therefore his success must not be drawn into precedent. He is himself a proof that the experience of a long series of years, employed in the art of composing, and a very acute attention to the laws of grammatical construction, cannot entirely retrieve the defects of an imperfect education. His style is very inferior to that of either of the three writers from whose works he has selected instances of erroneous construc-

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tion. This assertion we shall fortify by a few instances of the careless, feeble, and vulgar writing with which these pages abound. "But, now," says Mr. C., "let me stop a little to guard you against a puzzle," (p. 118;) "if we said this, there would be no puzzling;" "a little puzzled here," (p. 20.) This paltry word occurs perpetually; it is used no less than four times in the page last quoted. We proceed to other citations: "look back *at* the explanations *about* the persons in the etymology," (p. 48;) "consistency is the main thing *to keep* in view, (p. 126;) "when the pronouns *thou* and *you* are put after the verb, (p. 53,) "they are relatives, and they frequently stand as the representative(*s*) of that which," &c. (p. 40;) "remarks to be made by-and-by," (p. 117;) "come to a stand," (p. 91.) These quotations might be multiplied; but a sufficient number has been made to show that the style of this *writer on grammar* is not so chaste as that of ordinary conversation in the better circles.

From the grammarian's sovereign contempt for what is called liberal or learned education, it requires very little discernment to deduce the inference, that we are to expect neither logical definition nor correct expositions of words. His aim is, generally, without defining terms, to make his meaning clear by examples; and notwithstanding the very strange topics of these illustrations, on which we shall presently remark, he is often successful, at least so far to make *himself* understood. "Grammar," he says, "teaches us how to make use of words," (pp. 9, 13;) yet orthography is made a "branch, or part" of grammar, and as it is "a word made up of two Greek words, which mean word-making, or spelling," we suppose he alludes to ὀρθος, *rectus*, & γραφω, *scribo*—"so, orthography means neither more nor less, than the very humble business of putting letters together properly, so that they shall form words." How the "*word-making*" should be a "*branch*" of "*business*" or "part" of grammar, and grammar, at the same time, teach no more than how to make use of words" is not easily perceived. But "orthography is so very childish a concern, that" our grammarian "will not appear to suppose it necessary" for him "to dwell upon it," (p. 15,) and therefore we are to presume that the *plough-boys* and *sailors*, for whom the book was chiefly intended, are sufficiently initiated in this branch, although our author does conde-

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scend to observe, in another place, (p. 54,) that "there are some little irregularities" which must be very well attended to, because a want of attention to them leads to very great errors, even *as to spelling*."

It is very evident, if we may judge from the Letters themselves, that the author intended to treat only, or chiefly, of Etymology and Syntax, but it was a gross error to say that these parts embrace the whole system of grammar.

"Etymology," he observes, "is a word which has been formed out of two Greek words; and it means the pedigree, or relationship of words," (p. 16.) The two words to which he alludes are ἔτυμος, *verus*, and λογος, *verbum*. As he despises Greek, he is not aware of his blunders in etymology, nor should his ignorance be exposed here, if we did not flatter ourselves that the notice of them might have some weight in favour of that species of learning which he endeavours to ridicule.

It has been usual, in modern times, to particularize adjectives as expressing qualities; that is, such as are concrete. But Mr. Cobbett has discovered, that "there are many words, which are adjectives, which have nothing to do with the quality of the nouns to which they are *put*. *Good* and *bad* express qualities, but *long* and *short* are adjectives," (p. 22.) Some difficulty arises here from the use of the word quality in the singular, with the article *the* before it, which article, we are told, very properly, in another part of the book, "determines the particular object of which we speak." (p. 27.) If he means by "the quality," as we suppose he does, "any quality" of "the nouns to which they are put," then his position is, that *long* and *short* do not express qualities of the things which are *long* or *short*. Quality, in Latin *qualitas*, comes from *qualis*, which word signifies *such as*. Whatever conduces to render any thing *such as* it is, must be admitted to be a quality of that thing. Thus, to be *long* or *short* must be a quality of that which is rendered *such as* it is by *length* or *shortness*. *Dimension* and *duration*, according to this writer, are not qualities, and yet they signify bulk, extent, capacity, and power of continuance. If this author had been educated in one of those seats of learning which he affects to despise, he would have known that a quality means, *that in any thing which can produce an idea in our mind*.

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and he would have escaped one more blunder. While he exercises his good sense in retrenching what is useless, he is generally successful; but he rarely turns a single step from the beaten path, without discovering his defect in that liberal education which he contemns. "Verbs," he says, "are—a sort of words, the use of which is to express the *actions*, the *movements*, and the state or manner of being, of all creatures and things, whether animate or inanimate." (p. 23.) This atheistical definition will include a multitude of nouns, and is therefore good for nothing. A *speaking*, or writing against "borough tyrants," an *imprisonment*, a *flight*, and a *banishment*, all belong to "a sort of words, the use of which is to express the actions, the movements, or the state or manner of being of creatures which are animate," as Mr. Cobbett well knows, and, consequently, by his definition, they are verbs.

It might have been expected that a grammarian, who censures so severely the servile herd of imitators of Latin Grammars, would have been very cautious not to be included in the list; but with all his boldness, he seems sometimes to lose confidence in himself, and to follow them. "Of late" he denominates an adverb, (p. 24,) though two distinct words, one of which is a preposition. In the same manner, "to march is a verb;" "the little word *to* makes, in fact, a part of the verb." (pp. 49, 50.) The reason plainly is, because the prepositions *of* and *to*, joined with these words, are translations of single words in other languages. The same ignoble imitation of other languages, with respect to prepositions, he must have deemed necessary to preserve uniformity; "they are in most cases placed before nouns and pronouns." (p. 24.) They are also placed before verbs and adverbs; these are described by Mr. Cobbett as words, and not as combinations of verbs; as certainly therefore as *of* and *late* are distinct words, they do not constitute one adverb. So, according to this Grammar, "*of the apples*," (p. 133) must be received as one word in the possessive case; yet from the same book we learn, that a preposition is a word, an article is a word, and a noun is a word; also that *of* is a preposition, *the* is an article, and *apples* is a noun! But *of the apples* is expressed by one Latin word, *pomorum*, and therefore the phrase *of the apples*, common sense to the contrary notwithstand-

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ing, constitutes one word: moreover, they are one case, yet if case be the state or situation, (p. 33) of a noun, and a noun be a word, *of the apples* cannot be a case of a noun.

The author has found an *it*, which he supposes to have been misapplied in a charge of a Doctor of Divinity to a senior class in this city. The gentleman in question is an old friend and correspondent, and even baptized some of the children of Mr. Cobbett, as we learn from this work; but even these circumstances will not screen him from criticism. He is arraigned by name, and coupled with Lindley Murray, who republished the ruinous *it*. This formidable attack on the learning of our city is prefaced with the following assertion: "the word *it* is the greatest *trouble* that I know of in language," (p. 102;) and the author adds, "when I see many *its* in a page I always tremble for the writer," (p. 104.) Mr. Cobbett thinks that this terrible pronoun does not always stand for a noun, but for "a state of things or circumstances," or "the *cause* of something produced, (p. 38;) or, "for a state *of being*," (p. 102.) Let us take one of his instances:—"*it* froze hard last night, and *it* was so cold that *it* was with difficulty the traveller kept on his journey. Now what was it," our grammarian asks, "that froze so hard? Not the frost, because frost is the effect, and not the cause of freezing. We cannot say it was the weather that froze; because the freezing constituted in part the weather itself. No. The pronoun *it* stands, in this place, for *state of things*, or *circumstances*." So far Mr. Cobbett; and if he be in the right, the sense of the passage will be safe if we should substitute for *it*, that which it signifies, and the passage will stand thus: *the state of things froze hard last night, and the state of things was so cold, that the state of things was with great difficulty that the travellers kept on their journey.* If this learned grammarian could really find a Doctor of Divinity vending such nonsense, there might be some ground for his railing against liberal institutions and learned instructors.

As Mr. Cobbett, with all his opposition to the corruptions of a monarchy, is strenuously devoted to that form of government, so with all his apparent contempt for Latin and Greek, he still wishes to take from those languages many things which have nothing to do with our own. A subjunctive mode should no more exist in the

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English grammars, than a fifth wheel be given to a wagon. Yet he is afraid to omit what his judgment seems to have condemned; "observe, however," he says, "that in our language there is no great use in the distinction of modes," (p. 50.) "Grammarians, generally, make a present and a past time under the subjunctive mode, but the truth is, that any of the *signs* may apply to the present, past, or future of that mode," (p. 53.) He should rather have said, the truth is, that the words here called *signs*, placed with the infinitives or participles of verbs, constitute all the various combinations found in English grammars under the examples of subjunctive and potential modes. But we acquit him of any predilection for the potential mode, and must do him the justice to give his own elegant language on that subject: "All the *fuss*, which grammarians have made about the potential mode and other fanciful distinctions of the kind, only serve to *puzzle* and perplex the learner." (p. 145.)

We should give a very imperfect account of these grammatical epistles, if we were to omit the author's views of signs. These, he informs us, are "little words—which we use with the verbs instead of varying the form of the verbs themselves." (p. 49.) Thus the "word *to* is, of itself, a preposition; but as prefixed to verbs, it is merely a *sign* of the infinitive mode." (p. 50.) Sometimes he loses the idea of a *sign*, and good sense makes him confess that "the word *let*" is a verb—"in the present tense—and in the imperative mode," (p. 63,) when used as an auxiliary, as, "*let me go*," which he honestly explains by "leave me to go." But after all, *go*, in *let me go*, is classed by him in the imperative instead of the infinitive mode, and supposed to coalesce with *let* in one word, though divided by the pronoun *me*. This is in direct contradiction to the genius of our language, and to the experience of every one, that a command is directed only in the second person.

The verb *do* he degrades also from its own character. This is not done, however, without some hesitation; for, he says, "it *seems* to denote the time of the principal verb, (p. 64;) yet he acknowledges that "it does a great deal more than merely expres time." (ib.)

The verbs *to have* and *to be*, he denominates "the two great

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auxiliaries," (p. 64.) *Have* he pronounces "absolutely necessary in forming what are called, the compound times of other verbs," (p. 64;) yet he is compelled to say, in another place, (p. 53,) that they "can only serve to fill up a book, for all these consist merely in the introduction and use of the verb *to have* in its various parts." With respect to the verbs *to have* and *to be*, used "as auxiliaries to *other* principal verbs," we find the same acknowledgment, that "they retain, upon all occasions, their full meaning of *possession* in the one case, and of *existence* in the other, (p. 65.)

Mr. Cobbett very properly omits a passive voice, denies the existence of impersonal verbs in the English language, and rejects all the factitious tenses except one, the future. Whilst we regret that we are obliged to record his admission that *may*, *might*, *can*, *could*, *will*, *would*, *shall*, *should*, and *must*, are signs, it is but justice to the author to state his opinion, that all these "have, originally, been verbs, (p. 68;) and that *would* is, certainly, the past tense and passive participle" (p. ib.) of the verb *will*. His admissions, with respect to compound tenses, ought to have operated equally to the exclusion of a future tense, which is a stranger to our language. But he has taken a middle course; he has accommodated his grammar to both schemes, and whilst he justly censures the imitators of other languages, he is himself, in many instances, obnoxious to the same objection. Thus he gives to every personal pronoun a possessive case, and plunges himself into inextricable difficulties. "The pronouns *mine*, *thine*, *theirs*, *yours*, *hers*, *his*, stand frequently by themselves, that is to say, are not followed by any noun. But then, the noun is understood. *This is hers*. That is to say, is her property, her hat, or whatever else. No difficulty can arise in the case of these words." (p. 100.) Thus this grammarian, whose boldness enables him to despise a classical education, discovers no difficulty here: yet it appears strange that he did not perceive, that if in the sentence, *this is hers*, the noun *hat* be understood, as he asserts, it might be supplied without affecting the sense. Then it would be, *this is hers hat*. If *hers* be a possessive case, *hat* may be put with it; but *hers* is substituted both for the person and the property, and equally excludes them both.

We cannot conclude these desultory strictures without a few

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observations upon the singular manner which the author has adopted of making his examples a medium for the expression of his political feelings. We should be disgusted by them, if we could avoid laughing. "The great evil is the borough-debt."—"Sidmouth, with Oliver the spy, have brought Brandreth to the block."—"The Doctor did not say, 'myself, than whom few men have been found more base, having, in my Dictionary, described a pensioner as a slave of state, and having afterwards myself become a pensioner.'"*

Examples in illustration of grammatical principles, should be couched in the most familiar and perspicuous language, and it is possible that the author's son, to whom these letters are addressed, may have obtained such an acquaintance with the vocabulary of the Palace Yard, as to comprehend this vulgar jargon. But we are told in the title page, that this book was "intended—more especially, for the use of soldiers, sailors, apprentices, and plough-boys," and we may add, from the circumstances, that it is first printed and published in New York, and the copy-right secured according to the laws of the United States, it must have been designed for the edification of the youth of our own country. Now, we beg leave to ask how many persons of this description will understand such examples as these? "The gang of borough-tyrants *is* cruel, and also notoriously as ignorant as brutes." (page 126.)—"The borough-tyrants, generally speaking, are great fools, as well as rogues." (page 130.)—"Mr. Speaker, I do not feel so well satisfied, as I should have *done*, if the right honourable gentleman had explained the matter more fully. You constantly hear talk like this among the babblers whom corruption makes lawgivers." (page 140.) To the ears of our young republicans, this *babbling* is much more perplexing than the word *done*, to which Mr. Cobbett objects. Without intending any ill-natured reflection, we cannot but remark that the author's fortunate escape from England, seems scarcely to be realised in this land of liberty; former scenes still haunt his imagination, and in the rear of a harmless front of nouns and verbs, we behold a dreadful array of monsters, tyrants, dungeons, ministers, irons, axes, blood, mob, parli-

* Dr. Johnson is meant in this passage. One reason why the moralist did not utter this defamation, may have arisen from his strict regard for veracity.

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ament, rabble, house of commons, regiment, court of King's Bench, den of thieves, etc. etc. Whether the following elucidation be intended for America or England, can be divined only from the circumstance that the author is all along dreaming that he is still in the midst of his former associates: "As the curse of the country is the profligacy, the rapacity, the corruption of the law-makers, the base subserviency of the administrators of the law, and the frauds of the makers of paper money."* (page 129.) In this incessant reiteration of unmeaning sounds, Mr. Cobbett forcibly reminds us of the French parrot, which being frightened out of its senses during an engagement at sea, passed the remainder of its life in *dodging its head*, and imitating the sound of the cannon, in a mournful cry of *poum! poum! poum!* *

But we do not mean to decry Mr. Cobbett's book; on the contrary, we think that it is a performance which may be useful to those who are too far advanced in life to submit to the labour of committing rules to memory, and it will also be found worthy of the attention of men of liberal education, who will derive no small share of amusement from the tremendous denunciations which are hurled against them, like so many harmless javelins. It is improperly denominated a Grammar, being entirely unfit for schools, not intended to be committed to memory, almost destitute of definitions, and inaccurate in most of those which are given, and wholly deficient in many of the radical principles of grammar. Yet with all these serious imperfections, it is calculated, as far as it goes, to give a more just view, and a more correct knowledge of the English language than any of the numerous grammars which have pursued the scheme of Dr. Lowth. Of these not one of them, in our opinion, has essentially improved upon the learned prelate, who is himself very distant from perfection. It is in vain to expect from men who provide their daily subsistence by teaching, that they will retrench all that is foreign to our language, or reduce its grammar to that simplicity which belongs to it. Such a service can only be performed by men whosese interests would not be threatened by a reformation; by men of acute, active, and original minds. Mr. Cobbett is entitled to the thanks of the public for boldly releasing us from much that was useless; although he has left much to be accomplished.

* See this fact related in the Port Folio for May, 1818, page 364.

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It is astonishing what speculations are going on in lands, &c. A sale of 284 lots of lands has been made in Florence, Alabama territory, for 226,411 dollars, and the average price was nearly 800 dollars for half an acre of woods.

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On the 10th of August a great shooting match took place at Milledgeville (Georgia) for a bet of fifteen hundred dollars, which continued three days. It commenced near the boundary line between Baldwin and Jones counties. The challenge was given by Mr. Reed, of Milledgeville, that he, with two others, would shoot against any three in Jones county, the rub in 61, one hundred yards. The words were no sooner said than he was, in a spirited manner, taken up by James K. T. Walton, of Clinton. After depositing the money, they fixed on the day abovementioned. The three from Baldwin were Messrs. Reed, Patton, and Wooton; and those from Jones were Messrs. Mitchell, Weathers, and Feagin, all respectable citizens, who, together with a vast concourse of friends on both sides, met punctually at the time and place appointed. They accordingly commenced: Weathers against Patton, Mitchill against Wooton, and Feagin against Reed. For the first two days they all performed wonders, they having struck the cross almost every shot; the third day the Clintonians seemed to be gaining ground, which was supposed to be a finesse of the Baldwin party, in order to divert the Clintonians; but it proved quite the reverse, for the Clintonians continued battering the cross every shot until the whole number were fired. On counting the shot, it was given up by the managers in favour of the Clintonians: Mitchill having 16 shot ahead of Wooton, Weathers 10 ahead of Patton, and Feagin 3 ahead of Reed. The Clintonians, after getting the better of the Baldwin party (who have been considered, and justly merited, the name of first rate rifle shooters), CHALLENGE THE WORLD!

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House of Commons.—The following are some of the old standing orders of the House of Commons; they serve to give us a few features of the portraits of our ancestors:

1641.—Ordered, That all the members who shall come to the house after eight o'clock, shall pay one shilling; and that if any member shall forbear to come for the whole day, he shall pay five shillings.

1642.—Ordered, That whosoever shall not be at prayers every morning, shall pay one shilling to the poor.

1647.—Ordered, That as soon as the clock strikes 12, Mr. Speaker do go out of the chair, and the house shall rise: and that in going forth, no member shall stir until Mr. Speaker go before; and then all the rest shall follow. Whosoever shall go out of the house before Mr. Speaker, shall forfeit ten shillings; but then the reporters may go first.

Ordered, That while any stranger is in the house, no member to stir out of his place, or speak unto another; and if any member shall whisper, or cross the house, or read any printed book in the house, he shall pay one shilling into the poor's box.

1692.—That no member do accept of any entertainment at any public house, for the carrying on any matter under the consideration of the house; and that the offer of any money, or any gratuity, to any member, for any matters transacted in the house, shall be deemed a high crime and misdemeanor.

Ordered, That no member ought to receive or give any visit to any foreign agent or ambassador, without the consent of the house.

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Equal to English Wonders.—A long account is given in a Virginia paper of a pair of twin sisters in that state, who, when in different rooms, have the same thoughts, make the

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same remarks, and reply in the same words to the same questions. They are about 21 years of age, and so much alike, that it is difficult to distinguish one from the other. When one is sick the other is—what one dislikes the other dislikes—what pleases one, pleases the other—an injury done to one is received in the same way by the other. Each has had three teeth extracted for the tooth-ache, and all the same teeth. Each has now one decayed tooth, and it is the same with each. The parents had six children at three births; one died in infancy, and its twin is now living, a dwarf, at 30 years of age.

—

Specimen of Western Rhetoric.—Every now and then we meet in the western papers with an address from some illiterate would-be statesman, offering himself to the people as a candidate for office. Sometimes the candidate is accused of having his address written for him; but in this instance, we are confident no such suspicion will be entertained, for it beats all hollow any thing of the kind we ever came across—we will not except the "unimaginable speech of Mr. Channing in the Connecticut legislature, or the sublime and beautiful performance of 'squire M'Bane of Indiana, published a few days since. The following is copied from the Kentucky Luminary. *N. Y. Ev. Post.*

"Permit me, fellow citizens of Madison county, to thank you for the honour you have bestowed upon me formerly, and at the same time to let you know that my principle and sentiment upon our government are as they then were; of which you were then acquainted. Therefore (big fool as I am) it emboldens me to say, that if you will make me your senator, at our next election, I will *represent* you or *resign;* for was you to elect me, it would become my duty to ascertain, and your duty to give me all matter you will'd me to do, and whatever matter I obtained from you, if I did not do it, when in my power, surely I would not represent you, for we all know that the people have the power of governing by their representatives; therefore the people are the sovereign, and the representative the *serving man*, and in my view ought to be as desirous to know and to do his constituents' will, as to be elected; for a majority ought to rule. For how heavenly our constitution doth "declare that all power is inherent in the people, and all free governments are founded on their authority, and instituted for their safety and happiness; for the advancement of these ends, they have at all times an unalienable and indefeasible right to alter, reform, or abolish their government in such a manner as they may think proper." And may the people for ever exercise their authority, and never lose one jot of their power of governing, is the sincere prayer of

Your friend and very humble servant,

DANIEL MILLER."

—

The following words, with their significations, are extracted from a vocabulary of provincialisms in the county of Somerset, in England; they remind us of many New-England expressions; many of them are identically the same as our own vulgarisms.

Crips, adj. Crisp. A common corruption; we have *claps* for clasp, *haps* for hasp; and numerous others.

Clear, adv. Completely—as, I got *clear* through, *clear* out, &c.

Comical, adj. Add—singular.

Drowth, s. Dryness, drought.

Fags. inter. Truly, indeed.

Heft, s. Weight.

Hearum skearam, adj. Wilp—irregular.

Hitch, v. To hang up as on a hook, to affix temporarily. We frequently say, "Hitch up your horse while you stay;" to a lady, "Take care or the brambles will hitch in your clothes."

Kit, s. A tribe, collection, or gang: as, the whole *kit* of them.

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May-be, adv. Used instead of perhaps.

Pip, s. An apple or pear seed; but it is not applied to globular or minute seeds.

Scrunch, or *crunch*, v. We know not any synonym for this word. Crushing with a kind of noise, is the idea implied by it. A person *scrunches* or *crunches* an apple, if he make a noise by eating it. Southey has used the word in Thalaba:

"No sound but the wild, wild wind,
And the snow *crunching* under his feet."

Spry, v. To become chapped with cold. (In New-England it indicates activity, quickness.)

Swop, v. To exchange one thing for another, to barter.

To-do, s. Bustle, confusion.

Whap, s. A heavy blow.

Testimony of Respect.—The late Mr. *James B. Thompson*, was for nearly three years a member of the common council of this city, during the whole of which period his intelligence and zeal in the service of the public were eminently conspicuous. At a meeting of that body held shortly after his death, the following resolution was introduced in a very feeling manner by a member, and unanimously adopted.

Whereas we have been deprived by death of our late fellow member, James B. Thompson, who was endeared to us in an uncommon degree; as well by his exemplary virtues in private life, as by his usefulnes as a member of society: and as it is but just to his memory, and not inconsistent with submission to the inflictions of Providence, publicly to express our regret:

Therefore be it resolved, by the the common council of the city of Philadelphia, that they do sincerely lament the death of the late James B. Thompson, and that they deeply feel that in him society has lost a member equally distinguished by the brightness of his domestic virtues, and by his unremitting assiduity in the service of the public.

Captain Symmes again.—Captain Symmes' theory of the earth is not so quite so novel as is generally thought: the idea of the globe being hollow at the poles was suggested many years since. In a work published in Paris by an anonymous writer, called "New conjectures on the Globe of the Earth," the author asserts, "that in examining the internal parts of the globe, it is not possible to doubt, but it is a composition of several beds of slime arranged upon each other by the waters of the rivers, and consisting of the substances which they contain, and which these rivers carry off from the rising grounds, in order to deposite them on their banks, or in the bottom of the sea, to which they run; that the globe of the earth was originally formed of a flat crust, composed of these depositions; that this crust being very thin (only two thousand three hundred and eighty fathoms thick) includes a very subtle air, is supported by the weight of a double atmosphere which surrounds it; that this equilibrium having ceased at the time of the deluge, this crust was broken and scattered; that its wrecks floated in the sea, as the clouds do in the air, and were heaped on each other, and in certain parts so accumulated as to form certain prominences; that our mountains proceeded from this; that by this substraction from the crust of the earth, of the pieces by which the mountains were then formed, there remained vacuities in this crust two or three hundred leagues in diameter; that it is by means of these apertures that the seas of both surfaces of this crust, at present communicate with each other, that these seas enter by the poles into the cavity of the globe, and turning round this cavity in a spiral line, they come out between the tropics, and causes the flux and reflux of the sea, which are more sensible in one part than another, according to the position and largeness of the passages through which these seas enter or come out."

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For the Port Folio.

TO H—— ——.

(*Slightly altered from Moore.*)

"So Ellen turns her back on me,"
Thou walking monument! for thee;
Whose visage, like a grave-stone scribbled,
Wita vanity bedaub'd, befribbled,
Tells only, to the *reading* eye,
That underneath corruptions lie,
Within thy heart's contagious tomb,
(As in a cemetery's tomb)
Suspicion, rankling to infection,

And all the worms of black reflection!
And thou art Ellen's dear elect,
And thou hast now the lovely maid,
And I must bear repulse, neglect,
And I must all my anguish hide:
While thou for ever linger'st nigh,
Scowling, muttering, gloating, mumming,
Like some sharp, busy, fretful, fly,
"About a twinkling taper humming."

—

TO CHEERFULNESS.

The hunter on the mountain's brow,
The rosy youth from study free,
Ne'er breath'd, O Cheerfulness! a vow
More fond, than I have breath'd to thee.
Yet sometimes, if in lonely hour
I leave thy loved, enchanting bower,
By glooms of wayward fancy driven;
And from thee turn my languid eyes,
Nor longer deem thy pleasures wise,
Oh! be my suffering heart forgiven.

Not always can the varying mind
Bear to thy shrine an homage true;
Some chains mysterious seem to bind
Some sullen sorcery to subdue:
Nor always can the heart be gay,
Nor blest the morning as to-day,
And musing thoughts will sadness bring:
Can time so near me hourly fly,
Nor I his passing form descry
Nor ever hear his rustling wing!

E'en now I feel with vain regret,
How soon these happy days must end;
Already seems my sun to set,
I mark the shades of eve descend;
The visto catch, where sorrow gray
And weary pain are on their way;
Beyond with startled glance I see
The billows dark, the fated shore,
The forms that sink and rise no more,
The ocean of eternity.

* *

—

FOLLY.

Away, ye grave—I war declare,
For I the praise of Folly sing;
She gives my looks their careless air,
She gives my thoughts eternal wing;
She gives me bliss—can you do more?
Oh! never gave ye such a treasure!
Be wisdom yours—I'll not deplore,
Be folly mine—and all her pleasure.

Ah! what were life, of Folly reft?
A world, which no kind sun could warm,
A child, to step-dame Reason left;
No sweet to please—no toy to charm;
Where, mirth, where them thy frolic gleams;
Where, wit, thy whims and gay effusions?
And where, O Hope, thy golden dreams,
Enchanting smiles and dear delusions?

How, think you, would poor Friendship fare,
Did Folly never Friendship blind,
And had not Love found Folly there,
How soon had Love the world resigned:
And it is not at honey-moon
That Hymen laughs at melancholy,
And would he mournful look so soon,
If still he kept on terms with Folly?

What soldier would consent to fight,
What tar be to the bottom hurl'd,
What poet sing—what scholar write,
Were Folly banished from the world!
Tell me, whom most this goddess rules,
Is it the patient or physicians,
Whom shall we call the greatest fools,
The people or the politicians?

What charms in opera, ball, or play,
Did Folly not the scene attend,
How poor the rich, how sad the gay,!
Were Folly not their truest friend;
How ever should we hope to find,
Pleased with itself each happy creature,
If all were wise and none were blind,
And Folly never succoured nature.

For once be wise, ye grave ones hear,
Why need I more my theme pursue,
If all alike such fools appear,
Let me with smiles be pardoned too;
Wisdom you love—and so do I—
Am no derider—no despiser,
But I of fools the graver ones fly,
And think the merry fools the wiser.

* *

—

INSCRIPTION.

Farewell, farewell, thou noisy town,
Thou scene of restless glare;
Thine hours no real pleasures crown,
No peace—no love is there;
How dull thy splendid evenings close!
How sad thy joys to me!
Thy hollow smiles, thy rival shows,
And all thy misery.

But welcome to my longing eyes
Dear objects ever new;
My rural cot, yon varying skies,
Streams, woods, and mountains blue!
With these my humble spirit finds
Health, liberty, and rest;
The silent joys of simple minds,
And leisure to be blest.

* *

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PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS.

The congress of the United States assembled as usual on the 1st of December, 1817. In the senate, Mr. Gaillard, the president *pro tem.* at the time of the last adjournment, resumed that station, and Mr. Clay was again called to the chair by an almost unanimous vote, in the house of representatives. As soon as the two branches of the legislature were organized, committees were appointed to wait upon the president to inform him, that they were ready to proceed to business. On the ensuing day, the following message was transmitted to both houses of congress.

Decr. 2d

Fellow citizens of the senate, and of the house of representatives:

At no period of our political existence had we so much cause to felicitate ourselves at the prosperous and happy condition of our country. The abundant fruits of the earth have filled it with plenty.—An extensive and profitable commerce has greatly augmented our revenue. The public credit has attained an extraordinary elevation. Our preparations for defence, in case of future wars, from which, by the experience of all nations, we ought not to expect to be exempted, are advancing, under a well digested system, with all the despatch which so important a work will admit. Our free government, founded on the interest and affections of the people, has gained and is daily gaining strength. Local jealousies are rapidly yielding to more generous, enlarged and enlightened views of national policy. For advantages so numerous and highly important, it is our duty to unite in grateful acknowledgments to that omnipotent Being from whom they are derived, and in unceasing prayer that he will endow us with virtue and strength to maintain and hand them down, in their utmost purity, to our latest posterity.

I have the satisfaction to inform you, that an arrangement, which had been commenced by my predecessor, with the British government, for the reduction of the naval force, by Great Britain and the United States, on the lakes, has been concluded: by which it is provided, that neither party shall keep in service, on lake Champlain, more than one vessel; on lake Ontario, more than one; and on lake Erie, and the upper lakes, more than two; to be armed, each, with one cannon only; and that all the other armed vessels, of both parties, of which an exact list is interchanged, shall be dismantled. It is also agreed, that the force retained shall be restricted, in its duty, to the internal purposes of each party; and that the arrangement shall remain in force until six months shall have expired, after notice given by one of the parties to the other of its desire that it should terminate. By this arrangement, useless expense, on both sides, and, what is of still greater importance, the danger of collision, between armed vessels, in those inland waters, which was great, is prevented.

I have the satisfaction also to state, that the commissioners, under the fourth article of the treaty of Ghent, to whom it was referred to decide, to which party the several islands in the bay of Passamaquoddy belonging under the treaty of 1783, have agreed in a report, by which all the islands in the possession of each party before the late war have been decreed to it. The commissioners acting under the other articles of

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the treaty of Ghent, for the settlement of boundaries, have also been engaged in the discharge of their respective duties, but have not yet completed them. The difference which arose between the two governments under that treaty, respecting the right of the United States to take and cure fish on the coast of the British provinces north of our limits, which had been secured by the treaty of 1783, is still in negotiation. The proposition made by this government, to extend to the colonies of Great Britain the principle of the convention of London, by which the commerce between the ports of the United States and British ports in Europe, had been placed on a footing of equality, has been declined by the British government. This subject having been thus amicably discussed between the two governments, and it appearing that the British government is unwilling to depart from its present regulations, it remains for congress to decide whether they will make any other regulations, in consequence thereof, for the protection and improvement of our navigation.

The negotiation with Spain, for spoliations on our commerce, and the settlement of boundaries, remains, essentially, in the state it held, by the communications that were made to congress by my predecessor. It has been evidently the policy of the Spanish government to keep the negotiation suspended, and in this the United States have acquiesced, from an amicable disposition towards Spain, and in the expectation that her government would from a sense of justice, finally accede to such an arrangement as would be equal between the parties. A disposition has been lately shown by the Spanish government to move in the negotiation, which has been met by this government, and, should the conciliatory and friendly policy, which has invariably guided our councils, be reciprocated, a just and satisfactory arrangement may be expected. It is proper, however, to remark, that no proposition has yet been made, from which such a result can be presumed.

It was anticipated, at an early stage, that the contest between Spain and the colonies would become highly interesting to the United States. It was natural that our citizens should sympathize in events which affected their neighbours. It seemed probable, also, that the prosecution, of the conflict along our coast, and its contiguous countries, would occasionally interrupt our commerce, and otherwise affect the persons and property of our citizens. These anticipations have been realized. Such injuries have been received from persons acting under the authority of both the parties, and for which redress has, in most instances, been withheld. Through every stage of the conflict, the United States have maintained an impartial neutrality, giving aid to neither of the parties in men, money, ships or munitions of war. They have regarded the contest, not in the light of an ordinary insurrection or rebellion, but as a civil war between parties nearly equal, having, as to neutral powers, equal rights. Our ports have been open to both, and every article, the fruit of our soil, or of the industry of our citizens, which either was permitted to take, has been equally free to the other. Should the colonies establish their independence, it is proper now to state, that this government neither seeks, nor would accept, from them any advantage, in commerce or otherwise, which will not be equally open to all other nations. The colonies will, in that event become independent states, free from any obligation to, or connexion with, us, which it may not then be their interest to form on the basis of a fair reciprocity.

In the summer of the present year an expedition was set on foot against East Florida, by persons claiming to act under the authority of some of the colonies, who took possession of Amelia Island, at the mouth of the St. Mary's river, near

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the boundary of the state of Georgia. As this province lies eastward of the Mississippi, and is bounded by the United States and the ocean on every side, and has been a subject of negotiation with the government of Spain, as an indemnity for losses by spoliation, or in exchange for territory of equal value westward of the Mississippi, a fact well known to the world, it excited surprise that any countenance should be given to this measure by any of the colonies. As it would be difficult to reconcile it with the friendly relations existing between the United States and the colonies, a doubt was entertained whether it had been authorised by them, or any of them. This doubt has gained strength, by the circumstances which have unfolded themselves in the prosecution of the enterprise, which have marked it as a mere private unauthorised adventure. Projected and commenced with an incompetent force, reliance seems to have been placed on what might be drawn, in defiance of our laws, from within our limits; and of late, as their resources have failed, it has assumed a more marked character of unfriendliness to us, the island being made a channel for the illicit introduction of slaves from Africa into the United States, an asylum for fugitive slaves from the neighbouring states, and a port for smuggling of every kind.

A similar establishment was made, at an earlier period, by persons of the same description, in the Gulph of Mexico, at a place called Galvezton, within the limits of the United States, as we contend under the cession of Louisiana. This enterprise has been marked, in a more signal manner, by all the objectionable circumstances which characterized the other, and more particularly by the equipment of privateers which have annoyed our commerce, and by smuggling. These establishments, if ever sanctioned by any authority whatever, which is not believed, have abused their trust, and forfeited all claim to consideration. A just regard for the rights and interests of the United States required that they should be suppressed; and orders have been accordingly issued to that effect. The imperious considerations which produced this measure will be explained to the parties whom it may, in any degree, concern.

To obtain correct information on every subject in which the United States are interested; to inspire just sentiments, in all persons in authority, on either side, of our friendly disposition, so far as it may comport with an impartial neutrality; and to secure proper respect to our commerce in every port, and from every flag, it has been thought proper to send a ship of war, with three distinguished citizens, along the southern coast, with instruction to touch at such ports as they may find most expedient for these purposes. With the existing authorities, with those in the possession of, and exercising the sovereignty, must the communication be held; from them alone can redress for past injuries, committed by persons acting under them, be obtained; by them alone can the commission of the like, in future, be prevented.

Our relations with the other powers of Europe have experienced no essential change since the last session. In our intercourse with each, due attention continues to be paid to the protection of our commerce, and to every other object in which the United States are interested. A strong hope is entertained, that, by adhering to the maxims of a just, a candid, and friendly policy, we may long preserve amicable relations with all the powers of Europe, on conditions advantageous and honorable to our country.

With the Barbary states and the Indian tribes our pacific relations have been preserved.

In calling your attention to the internal concerns of our country, the view which they exhibit is peculiarly gratifying. The payments

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which have been made into the treasury show the very productive state of the public revenue. After satisfying the appropriations made by law for the support of the civil government, and military and naval establishments, embracing suitable provision for fortifications and for the gradual increase of the navy, paying the interest of the public debt and extinguishing more than 18,000,000 of the principal, within the present year, it is estimated that a balance of more than 6,000,000 of dollars will remain in the treasury on the 1st day of January, applicable to the current service of the ensuing year.

The payments into the treasury during the year 1818, on account of imposts and tonnage, resulting principally from duties which have accrued in the present year, may be fairly estimated at 20,000,000 of dollars; internal revenues, at 2,500,000; public lands at 1,500,000; bank dividends and incidental receipts, at 500,000; making in the whole, 24,500,000 dollars.

The annual permanent expenditure for the support of the civil government, and of the army and navy, as now established by law, amounts to 11,800,000 dollars; and for the sinking fund, to 10,000,000; making in the whole 21,800,000 dollars; leaving an annual excess of revenue beyond the expenditure of 2,700,000 dollars, exclusive of the balance estimated to be in the treasury on the 1st day of January, 1818.

In the present state of the treasury, the whole of the Louisiana debt may be redeemed in the year 1819; after which, if the public debt continues as it now is, above par, there will be annually about 5,000,000 of the sinking fund unexpended, until the year 1825, when the loan of 1812, and the stock created by funding treasury notes, will be redeemable.

It is also estimated that the Mississippi stock will be discharged during the year 1819, from the proceeds of the public lands assigned to that object; after which the receipts from those lands will annually add to the public revenue the sum of 1,500,000 dollars making the permanent annual revenue amount to 26,000,000 of dollars, and leaving an annual excess of revenue, after the year 1819, beyond the permanent authorised expenditure, of more than 4,000,000 of dollars.

By the last returns from the Department of War, the militia force of the several states may be estimated at 800,000 men, infantry, artillery and cavalry. Great part of this force is armed, and measures are taken to arm the whole. An improvement in the organization and discipline of the militia, is one of the great objects which claims the unremitted attention of Congress.

The regular force amounts nearly to the number required by law, and is stationed along the Atlantic and inland frontiers.

Of the naval force, it has been necessary to maintain strong squadrons in the Mediterranean, and in the Gulf of Mexico.

From several of the Indian tribes inhabiting the country bordering on lake Erie, purchases have been made of lands, on conditions very favourable to the United States, and, as it is presumed, not less so to the tribes themselves. By these purchases, the Indian title, with moderate reservations, has been extinguished to the whole of the land within the limits of the state of Ohio, and to a great part of that in the Michigan territory, and of the state of Indiana. From the Cherokee tribe a tract has been purchased, in the state of Georgia, and an arrangement made, by which, in exchange for lands beyond the Mississippi, a great part, if not the whole of the land belonging to that tribe, eastward of that river, in the states of North Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee, and in the Alabama territory, will soon be acquired. By these acquisitions, and others, that may reasonably be expected

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soon to follow; we shall be enabled to extend our settlements from the inhabited parts of the state of Ohio, along lake Erie, into the Michigan territory, and to connect our settlements by degrees, through the state of Indiana and the Illinois territory, to that of Missouri. A similar, and equally advantageous effect will soon be produced to the south, through the whole extent of the states and territory, which border on the waters emptying into the Mississippi and the Mobile. In this progress, which the rights of nature demand, and nothing can prevent, marking a growth rapid and gigantic, it is our duty to make new efforts for the preservation, improvement, and civilization of the native inhabitants. The hunter state can exist only in the vast, uncultivated desert. It yields to the more dense and compact form, and greater force, of civilized population; and of right it ought to yield, for the earth was given to mankind to support the greatest number of which it is capable, and no tribe or people have a right to withhold from the wants of others more than is necessary for their own support and comfort. It is gratifying to know, that the reservations of land made by the treaties with the tribes on lake Erie, were made with a view to individual ownership among them, and to the cultivation of the soil by all, and that an annual stipend has been pledged to supply their other wants. It will merit the consideration of congress, whether other provision, not stipulated by the treaty, ought to be made for these tribes, and for the advancement of the liberal and humane policy of the United States towards all the tribes within our limits, and more particularly for their improvement in the arts of civilized life.

Among the advantages incident to these purchases, and to those which have preceded, the security which may thereby be afforded to our inland frontiers, is peculiarly important. With a strong barrier, consisting of our own people, thus planted on the lakes, the Mississippi and the Mobile, with the protection to be derived from the regular force, Indian hostilities, if they do not altogether cease, will henceforth lose their terror. Fortifications in those quarters, to any extent, will not be necessary, and the expense attending them may be saved. A people accustomed to the use of firearms only, as the Indian tribes are, will shun even moderate works, which are defended by cannon. Great fortifications will, therefore, be requisite only, in future along the coast, and at some points in the interior, connected with it. On these will the safety of our towns, and the commerce of our great rivers from the bay of Fundy to the Mississippi, depend. On these therefore should the utmost attention, skill, and labour, be bestowed.

A considerable and rapid augmentation in the value of all the public lands, proceeding from these and other obvious causes, may henceforward be expected. The difficulties attending early emigrations, will be dissipated even in the most remote parts. Several new states have been admitted into our union, to the west and south, and territorial governments, happily organized, established over every other portion in which there is vacant land for sale. In terminating Indian hostilities, as must soon be done, in a formidable shape at least, the emigration which has heretofore been great, will probably increase, and the demand for land, and the augmentation in its value, be in like proportion. The great increase of our population throughout the union will alone produce an important effect, and in no quarter will it be so sensibly felt as in those in contemplation. The public lands are a public stock, which ought to be disposed of to the best advantage for the nation. The nation should, therefore, derive the profit proceeding from the continual rise in their value. Every encouragement

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should be given to emigrants, consistent with a fair competition between them, but that competition should operate, in the first sale, to the advantage of the nation rather than of individuals. Great capitalists will derive all the benefit incident to their superior wealth, under any mode of sale which may be adopted. But, if, looking forward to the rise in the value of the public lands, they should have the opportunity of amassing, at a low price vast bodies in their hands, the profit will accrue to them, and not to the public. They would also have the power, in that degree, to control the emigration and settlement in such manner as their opinion of their respective interests might dictate. I submit this subject to the consideration of congress, that such further provision may be made in the sale of the public lands with a view to the public interest, should any be deemed expedient, as in their judgment may be best adapted to the object.

When we consider the vast extent of territory within the United States, the great amount and value of its productions, the connexion of its parts and other circumstances, on which their prosperity and happiness depend, we cannot fail to entertain a high sense of the advantage to be derived from the facility which may be afforded in the intercourse between them, by means of good roads and canals. Never did a country of such vast extent offer equal inducements to improvements of this kind, nor ever were consequences of such magnitude involved in them. As this subject was acted on by congress at the last session, and there may be a disposition to revive it at the present, I have brought it into view, for the purpose of communicating my sentiments on a very important circumstance connected with it, with that freedom and candor which a regard for the public interest, and a proper respect for congress, require. A difference of opinion has existed, from the first formation of our constitution to the present time, among our most enlightened and virtuous citizens, respecting the right of congress to establish such a system of improvement. Taking into view the trust with which I am now honoured, it would be improper, after what has passed, that this discussion should be revived, with an uncertainty of my opinion respecting the right. Disregarding early impressions, I have bestowed on the subject all the deliberation which its great importance, and a just sense of my duty, required—and the result is, a settled conviction in my mind, that congress do not possess the right. It is not contained in any of the specified powers granted to congress; nor can I consider it incidental to, or a necessary mean, viewed on the most liberal scale, for carrying into effect any of the powers which are specifically granted. In communicating this result, I cannot resist the obligation which I feel to suggest to congress the propriety of recommending to the states the adoption of an amendment to the constitution, which shall give to congress the right in question. In cases of doubtful construction, especially of such vital interest, it comports with the nature and origin of our institutions, and will contribute much to preserve them, to apply to our constituents for an explicit grant of the power. We may confidently rely, that if it appears to their satisfaction, that the power is necessary, it will always be granted. In this case I am happy to observe, that experience has afforded the most ample proof of its utility, and that the benign spirit of conciliation and harmony which now manifests itself throughout our union promises to such a recommendation the most prompt and favourable result. I think proper to suggest, also, in case this measure is adopted, that it be recommended to the states to include, in the amendment sought, a right in congress to institute, likewise, seminaries of learning, for the all-important purpose of diffusing knowledge

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among our fellow citizens throughout the U. States.

Our manufactures will require the continued attention of congress. The capital employed in them is considerable, and the knowledge acquired in the machinery and fabric of all the most useful manufactures is of great value. Their preservation, which depends on due encouragement, is connected with the high interests of the nation.

Although the progress of the public buildings has been as favourable as circumstances have permitted, it is to be regretted that the capitol is not yet in a state to receive you. There is good cause to presume that the two wings, the only parts as yet commenced, will be prepared for that purpose at the next session. The time seems now to have arrived, when this subject may be deemed worthy the attention of congress, on a scale adequate to national purposes. The completion of the middle building will be necessary to the convenient accommodation of congress, of the committees, and various offices belonging to it. It is evident that the other public buildings are altogether insufficient for the accommodation of the several executive departments, some of whom are much crowded, and even subjected to the necessity of obtaining it in private buildings, at some distance from the head of the department, and with inconvenience to the management of the public business. Most nations have taken an interest and a pride in the improvement and ornament of their metropolis, and none were more conspicuous in that respect than the ancient republics. The policy which dictated the establishment of a permanent residence for the national government, and the spirit in which it was commenced and has been prosecuted, show that such improvement was thought worthy the attention of this nation.—Its central position, between the northern and southern extremes of our union, and its approach to the west, at the head of a great navigable river, which interlocks with the western waters, prove the wisdom of the councils which established it. Nothing appears to be more reasonable and proper, than that convenient accommodations should be provided, on a well digested plan, for the heads of the several departments, and for the attorney general; and it is believed that the public ground in the city, applied to those objects, will be found amply sufficient. I submit this subject to the consideration of congress, that such further provision may be made in it, as to them may seem proper.

In contemplating the happy situation of the United States, our attention is drawn with peculiar interest, to the surviving officers and soldiers of our revolutionary army, who so eminently contributed, by their services, to lay its foundation. Most of those very meritorious citizens have paid the debt of nature, and gone to repose. It is believed that among the survivors there are some not provided for by existing laws, who are reduced to indigence, and even real distress. These men have a claim on the gratitude of their country, and it will do honour to their country to provide for them.—The lapse of a few years more, and the opportunity will be forever lost; indeed, so long already has been the interval, that the number to be benefited by any provision which may be made, will not be great.

It appearing in a satisfactory manner that the revenue arising from imposts and tonnage, and from the sale of public lands, will be fully adequate to the support of the civil government, of the present military and naval establishments, including the annual augmentation of the latter, to the extent provided for; to the payment of the interest on the public debt, and to the extinguishment of it at the times authorized, without the aid of the internal taxes; I consider it my duty to recommend to congress their repeal. To impose taxes, when the public exi-

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gencies require them, is an obligation of the most sacred character, especially with a free people.—The faithful fulfilment of it is among the highest proofs of their virtue and capacity for self government. To dispense with taxes, when it may be done with perfect safety, is equally the duty of their representatives. In this instance we have the satisfaction to know that they were imposed when the demand was imperious, and have been sustained with exemplary fidelity. I have to add, that however gratifying it may be to me, regarding the prosperous and happy condition of our country, to recommend the repeal of these taxes at this time, I shall nevertheless be attentive to events, and, should any future emergency occur, be not less prompt to suggest such measures and burthens as may then be requisite and proper.

JAMES MONROE.

Washington, 2d *December*, 1817.

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Dec. 3. On the following day the house resolved itself into a committee of the whole, and Mr. *Taylor* moved that so much of the message of the president of the United States, as relates to the subject of foreign Affairs, and to our commercial intercourse with British colonial ports, be referred to a select committee: that so much as relates to military affairs; so much as relates to an improvement in the organization and discipline of the militia; so much as relates to the improvement of the Indian tribes in the arts of civilized life; so much as relates to roads, canals, and seminaries of learning; so much as relates to the illicit introduction of slaves from Amelia island into the United States; so much as relates to the public buildings, and to the erection of new edifices for the accommodation of the heads of departments and the attorney general; so much as relates to the surviving officers and soldiers of the revolutionary army; be severally referred to select committees, with leave to report by bill or otherwise.

That so much as relates to manufactures, be referred to the committee of commerce and manufactures; so much as relates to the subject of revenue; and a repeal of the internal taxes, be referred to the committee of ways and means; so much as relates to purchases of lands from the Indian tribes, to the committee on public lands.

The Speaker proposed to amend the first resolution by adding these words:

"And that the said committee be instructed to inquire whether any, and if any, what provisions of law are necessary to insure to the American colonies of Spain, a just observance of the duties incident to the neutral relation in which the United States stand, in the existing war between them and Spain."

He said, that his presenting at so early a period of the session, this subject to the consideration of the house, was in consequence of certain proceedings which he had seen represented in the public prints as having taken place before certain of our courts of justice. Two or three cases bearing on this subject had come to his knowledge, which he wished to state to the house. The first had occurred at Philadelphia, before the circuit court of the United States held in that city. The circumstances of the case, for which however, he did not pretend to vouch, having received them through the channel already indicated, were these; if they were incorrectly stated, he was happy that a gentleman had taken his seat this morning from that city, who would be able to correct him; that nine or ten British disbanded officers had formed in Europe the resolution to unite themselves with the Spanish patriots in the contest existing between them and Spain; that to carry into effect this intention, they had sailed from Europe and in their transit to South America had touched at the port of Philadelphia; that during

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their residence in Philadelphia, wearing perhaps the arms and habiliments of military men, making no disguise of their intention to participate in the struggle, they took passage in a vessel bound to some port in South America; that a knowledge of this fact having come to the ears of the publick authorities, or perhaps at the instigation of some agent of the Spanish government a prosecution was commenced against these officers, who from their inability to procure bail, were confined in prison. If said Mr. C. the circumstances attending this transaction be correctly stated, it becomes an imperious duty in the house to institute the inquiry contemplated by the amendment which I have proposed. That this was an extraordinary case was demonstrated by the fact of the general sensation which it had excited on the subject, in the place where it had occurred. Filled as that respectable and populous city is with men differing widely on political topics and entertaining various views of public affairs, but one sentiment Mr. C. said prevailed on this subject which was favourable to the persons thus arraigned. With regard to the conduct of the court on this occasion, he would say nothing. The respect which whilst he had a seat on this floor he should always show to every department of the government, the respect he entertained for the honourable judge who had presided, forbade him from pronouncing the decision of that court to have been unwarranted by law. But he felt himself perfectly sustained in saying, that if the proceeding was warranted by the existing law it was the imperious duty of congress to alter the law in this respect. For what he asked was the neutral obligation which one nation owed to another engaged in war? The essence of it is this: that the belligerent means of the neutral shall not be employed in the war in favour of either of the parties. That is the whole obligation of a third party in a war between two others: it certainly does not require of one nation to restrain the belligerent means of other nations. If those nations choose to permit their means to be employed in behalf of either party it is their business to look to it, and not ours. Let the conduct of the persons prosecuted be regarded in its most unfavourable light; let it be considered as the passage of troops through our country and there was nothing in our neutral obligations forbidding it. The passage of troops through a neutral country according to his impressions, was a question depending on the particular interest, quiet, or repose of the country traversed, and might be granted or refused at its discretion, without in any degree affecting the obligations of the neutral to either of the parties engaged in the controversy. But surely, Mr. C. said, this was not a case of the passage of troops: the persons apprehended not being in sufficient number, not organized or equipped in such a manner as, under the construction, to constitute a military corps. On this case he would detain the house no longer, he said, for he was satisfied they could not but agree with him, if the law justified the proceeding that had taken place, that law ought to be immediately amended. Other cases had occurred, in which it appeared to him it became the Congress to interpose its authority. Persons sailing under the flag of the provinces, had been arraigned in our courts and tried for piracy; in one case, after having been arraigned, tried, and acquitted of piracy, the same individuals on the instigation of a Spanish officer or agent, had been again arraigned for the same offence. The gentlemen from Massachusetts would correct him if he was wrong, for the case had occurred in the town of Boston. We admit the flag of these colonies into our ports, said Mr. C; we profess to be neutral; but if our laws pronounce, that, the moment the property and persons under that flag enter our ports, they shall be seized

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the one claimed by the Spanish minister or consul as the property of Spain, the other prosecuted as pirates, that law ought to be altered if we mean to perform our neutral professions. I have brought the subject before this house thus promptly, said Mr. C. because I trust that *in this house* the cause will find justice; that, however treated elsewhere, on this floor will be found a guardian interest attending to our performance of the just obligations of neutrality. Hitherto, he said, whatever might have been our intentions, our acts had been all on the other side. From the proclamation of 1815, issued to terminate an expedition supposed to be organizing in Louisiana, an expedition existing only in the mind of the Chevalier de Onis, down to the late act—whether the measure was a proper one or not, he did not say; his confidence in the executive led him to suppose it was adopted on sufficient grounds, down to the order for suppressing, as it was called, the establishments at Amelia Island and Galvestown; all the acts of the government had been on one side; they all bore against the colonies, against the cause in which the patriots of South America were arduously engaged. It became us, he said, to look to the other side, honestly intending neutrality, as he believed we did. Let us recollect the condition of the patriots: no minister here to spur on our government, as was said in an interesting and it appeared to him a very candid work, recently published in this country, respecting the progress of the South American revolution—no minister here to be rewarded by noble honours in consequence of the influence he is supposed to possess with the American government, No: their unfortunate case, Mr. C. said, was what ours had been in the years 1778 and 1779, their ministers, like our Franklins and Jays at that day were skulking about Europe, imploring of inexorable legitimacy one kind look—some aid to terminate a war afflicting to humanity. Nay, their situation was worse than ours: for we had one great and magnanimous ally to recognise us, but no nation had stepped forward to acknowledge any of these provinces. Such disparity between the parties, Mr. C. said, demanded a just attention to the interests of the party which was unrepresented; and if the facts which he had mentioned, and others which had come to his knowledge, were correct, they loudly demanded the interposition of Congress. He trusted the house would give the subject their attention, and show that here, in this place, the obligations of neutrality would be strictly regarded in respect to Spanish America.

Mr. *Sergeant* rose, in consequence of the gentleman having appealed to him, not to enter into any discussion of the question presented by the amendment, but to speak of the facts which were within his knowledge. The statement made by the speaker, was substantially correct; it was also correct that the circumstance had occasioned considerable sensation among all parties in the city of Philadelphia. Mr. S. recapitulated the principal facts, adding that the vessel in which these persons embarked was laden with munitions of war As respected the views and intentions of the persons apprehended, Mr. S. said, he believed they had neither any intention nor idea of violating the laws of the United States, and that their conduct had been perfectly decorous and correct. The court had thought they had offended against the act of Congress of the last session; or were so far at least of that opinion that they thought it necessary to detain them. The bail demanded was not high; but they were not able to procure it, and were therefore committed to gaol. It was because of the correct deportment of these persons that the sentiment in their favour had been so general—but no complaint was made of the court, for which the same respect was entertained with which the speaker himself had regarded it. He had mentioned these facts only, that the

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house might when the time came for acting on it, be aware of the construction put on the existing law, so far as any had been given. The resolutions with the amendment were adopted without opposition, and the committees were appointed.

Dec. 11. A repeal of the internal taxes having been recommended as we have seen, by the president, this important measure received a very early attention. The nett revenue for the year 1817 was estimated, by the secretary of the treasury, at about 24 millions and a half, while the ordinary annual expenditure, including the provision for the extinguishment of the public debt, would be less than 21 millions and a half. The estimate of the treasurer appeared to be a safe criterion for future years, and as the receipts would exceed the expenses of government, at least half a million without the internal taxes, the committee of ways and means, made a report in favour of their repeal, and, a bill to that effect was accordingly laid on the table.

When the bill for the abolition of the internal duties was about to pass, the yeas and nays were called for. Mr. *Hopkinson* of (Penn.) rose, to oppose a measure which had been recommended by the president, and would probably be most joyfully received by a great majority of the people, he said, would be an effort so utterly hopeless of success, as almost to amount to an absurdity. He held it to be unwise in any nation, particularly in a nation now mingling largely, and somewhat keenly too, in the great national concerns of the world, and of course exposed to all the dangers resulting from such connexions, to deprive itself of the only sources of revenue which it can command and rely upon, at all times, and in all seasons whether the political atmosphere be disturbed and shaken by the storms of war, or reposes in the tranquillity of peace. We are, said he, not without a sad and calamitous experience on this subject; and have seen and felt how ruinous it is to wait until the enemy lines our coast, and cuts off the possibility of receiving supplies to our treasury from external sources, before we set about to organize a system for producing revenue from within. If the people are ever so willing to bear the burden when necessary, the time required to raise the revenue will be a period of embarrassment to the government, of distress to the public credit, and disreputable loans, allowing a heavy discount to the lender. I would avoid such calamities by keeping up a reasonable and moderate system of internal taxation on objects properly selected, and judiciously collected. I have no fondness for oppressing the people. Why should I have? I must expect to bear my share of the burden. But it is better to draw a moderate supply from them in the time of their prosperity, than to come down upon them with a pinching oppression in the day of difficulty. The honourable chairman of the committee of ways and means, with the discretion and reflection which belong to him, admits the proposed repeal is founded on our state of peace, and its probable continuance with all the world, and frankly declares, that if our foreign relations were otherwise, he would oppose the repeal. Are we not, Sir trusting too much to his *if*. Yes, Sir, *if* we could be assured of perpetual peace, we might do many excellent things, and avoid many evils. Do we not keep up our armies and navy because war *may* come; and should we not, for the same reason, keep up the means, and the only means, by which we can maintain this army and navy when their aid shall be required? We are to expend a million a year to augment the navy, and much more than this to support the army, both of which will be useless if we are never again to be troubled with war. Besides, Sir, if I do not misjudge some indications already exhibited, we are about entering a path, which, if pursued, may lead us to tread down the powerful hypothesis rest-

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ing on this momentuous *if;* and bring us again to the field of slaughter. If we really have too much money, (which, by the bye, said Mr. H. is a story we heard once before) why not remove the impost from salt; reduce the tonnage: reduce the duties on sugar, coffee, tea, and other articles, no longer luxuries, but necessities of life for the poor as well as the rich; why not expend the surplus in the internal improvement of our country, so loudly called for, and so much required? I shall trouble the House no further on this subject, than to say, that while I oppose the general destruction of all the internal taxes, there are some of them I would gladly dispense with.

Mr. *Baldwin*, (Penn.) said it appeared to him to be a singular thing, that, whilst, only three years ago, congress were legislating these taxes into existence, and paying a premium of 30 per cent. to the usurers for money, they should now be legislating on what was called a surplus revenue; not surplus in fact, but in anticipation. He knew, he said, that it was not permitted to him, and to other young members to take time to give a due examination to the subject—he had requested it yesterday, and been refused, and he was therefore obliged to go into the subject without consideration. Referring to the estimate of the treasury, of the expenditures for the ensuing year, he found a variation between those for the present year and for the next, for which he could not account. The estimate for the army, for instance, was two millions less this year than the last—on what data formed he did not know. Nothing had appeared which satisfied him that congress could do justice to the country in taking off the taxes on estimates of this kind, when there was no certainty that they were correct. If we have this surplus revenue, why not, as had been justly remarked by his colleague, take off the taxes from the necessaries of life? It had been said that the imposts were collected at less expense than the internal revenue. But what was the comparitive expense to the consumer? If he pays his money in taxes directly to the collector, he pays no more than that: but if he pays it on the increased price of the commodities he consumes, he pays heavy commissions likewise to the importer, the wholesale and the retail dealer, through whose hands the articles pass. I do not know (said Mr. B.) why we in the West, who are so much interested in this view of the question, should not be permitted to pay our taxes directly to the government, instead of paying the increased amount charged on foreign goods. The repeal of these taxes, he said he believed to be fraught with consequences highly injurious to manufactures, as tending to produce objections to the imposition of any protecting duties on imported manufactures, which would be asked of congress. He was sure, he said, that public opinion did not require the repeal of the internal duties; and he believed, that those who should vote for this bill, under the impression that they ought to follow, and were following, public feeling, would find they were taking a wrong course.—He believed that the repeal would be unpopular; that the people were no longer to be misled by names, and already saw that it was better to pay their taxes directly than indirectly to the government. Mr. B. said he was unwilling to trust to the assurance of the committee of ways and means, that taxes would be again laid whenever necessary. When were *these* taxes laid, Mr. B. asked? Not until the third session after the war was declared—it was not until the government was destitute of means, that the taxes were imposed and before the proceeds of them flowed into the treasury, the stock of the government had been hawked about to any bidder, and the government itself had become the prey of every shark and usurer in the stock alleys of the nation. When the taxes should be again wanted, they

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would be again delayed, till the nation was on the verge of bankruptcy. If the gentlemen who were pressing forward the measure thought they were running the race of popularity, he should impede their progress but a few minutes. He wished them to reflect a moment, whether the substantial interests of the country would not be seriously injured by the measure.

Mr. Sergeant, (Penn.) next spoke. He disclaimed all intention to enter into the race for popularity, which had been spoken of. On a subject of this kind, there ought to be a belief that the members were all actuated by fair motives, particularly on a question where, it appeared to him the weight of the arguments was in favour of the repeal; and it was to endeavour to show, that, in voting to repeal the Internal Duties, the members of the House might act from reason, and not from a desire of popularity, that he rose. In the first place, with respect to the *system* of internal taxation, he said he was not apprized how the argument applied which recommended the continuance of a system; because the greater part of the system which had been established, the very bone of it, had been taken out, and there remained some half dozen of taxes which seemed to have been left, not as constituting a system certainly, but to guard against the possible chance of a deficiency in the revenue. Now instead of talking about maintaining a system, gentlemen should turn their attention to the taxes individually, and see whether there was any one of the taxes which, on the ground of its own merits ought to be preserved. To at least four out of six of the taxes which remain, Mr. S. said he had decided objections, and would prefer very much, if the revenue derived from them was necessary, that it should be collected from other objects. He instanced as a duty particularly objectionable, that on the refining of sugar—a valuable branch of domestic industry, which at former periods had been specially fostered and encouraged, by drawbacks, &c. This branch of manufactures was exceedingly oppressed by this tax, as was well known to many members who represented the towns where it was carried on. The tax on retailers of foreign articles was also extremely oppressive, falling without discrimination on every one who was honestly endeavouring by retailing to obtain a livelihood, and who was obliged to mix the smallest particle of foreign produce in his assortment: and we have seen the small dealers vanish under the operation of the tax. The duty on stamps too, was objectionable as operating only on a particular class of citizens, and that class the industrious and enterprising one. It operated not on the capitalist; not on the man who has money—for he has no occasion to go into bank for more; but on those who are benefiting the public by their activity and employment of borrowed capital. To the remaining taxes he had no particular objection, and if he saw any necessity for it, would be willing to continue them. But why continue them? To be prepared for war hereafter, and not overtaken by difficulty when it comes? If ever (said Mr. Sergeant) there was a period in this country when there was a stronger possible appearance of a continuance of peace, he had no knowledge of it. He knew not from what quarter hostilities could be expected; and he was sure he saw no disposition in this House to involve the nation in war. Mr. S. said he would not recur to the period when these taxes were laid, nor say whether it was too soon or too late; but the argument which had been derived from that retrospect seemed to him to prove too much. For a man puts on his armour when he goes into battle and when he comes out puts it by. If you foster the interests of the citizen, by relieving him from burdens in those avocations which enrich him and the country, it is then you prepare the armour to be put on in war. Mr. S.

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said he had still another objection to retaining these taxes. He believed we could not long have a surplus in the treasury. If we began with a large surplus, means would speedily be found of spending it, and that probably in projects not the most useful or advantageous to the community: and, if the taxes were retained, we should find ourselves soon without a surplus, and in the case of emergency, instead of reinstating repealed taxes, would have to lay new taxes, in addition, to the same amount as those already existing. He would not inquire he said, whether it was popular to keep the taxes on or to take them off; but he held it to be the duty of this House to the people, when there was revenue enough to meet the public expenditure, not unnecessarily to continue the public burdens.

He should be unwilling, for himself, to take any share of the responsibility of continuing a broken system, as it had been aptly described, an imperfect and unequal system of internal taxes. If the system were a perfect one; if it bore equally on all classes of citizens; if it were such a system as was both necessary and proper, there might be a reason for retaining it; but, having none of these qualities, he would put an end to this mutilated fabric of taxation. He was, he said, in favour of keeping up the army as a military school; the navy, too, he hoped would be always cherished, to defend our rights on the ocean, as it once has done. Both these objects should be well attended to: but, if we had already revenue enough for both, and for all other expenses of the government, and for the rapid redemption of the public debt, without the aid of these taxes, why should they be retained? He was for giving an opportunity for our people to be prosperous, that, when their direct aid shall again be necessary, they may be in a condition and disposition to come forward and cheerfully contribute it. But Mr. H. said, he apprehended the recurrence of no such state of things as we had lately seen. Our trials have passed: we have seen the worst evils of our day.

Mr. *Barbour*, (Virginia) said, that when it is demonstrated that any part of these taxes are not wanted, it is not only the duty of government, but it is its soundest policy to repeal them. Are they then wanted? said Mr. B. Look at the exhibition of the state of our finances, and a bare glance affords an answer to the question. It appears, that such is the state of our revenue, that we have within the past year redeemed eighteen millions of the public debt, the whole amount of which did not much exceed an aggregate of an hundred and twenty millions. It appeared also, that, after the Yazoo stock and Louisiana debt were paid off, we should have, not only a sum equivalent to all the expenditures of the government, but exceeding that amount by five millions annually, up to the year 1825, which is the first moment that the war loan of 1812, is redeemable, by the terms of the contract for it. Shall we undertake, then, to lay or to continue taxes, not because we do, but because we may want the money? I shall not, said Mr. B. be among the number of those who refuse to lay taxes when the present necessities of the government require it, or when it is probable that they will. But, he said, he held it to be bad policy to lay taxes when not wanted; not only because useless, but because the people could always make the best use of their own money, and to collect it into the treasury would be to withdraw the means by which manufactures, agriculture, and commerce were fostered, and the national wealth enlarged. And to withdraw it for what? To lie idle in the treasury? It could not Mr. B. said, be the object of gentlemen to take from the people money which was advantageously employed in their own occupations, and thereby enhancing the general prosperity, to become a mere *caput*

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mortuum in the treasury of the United States, and thus lose the advantage of capital otherwise actively employed. The wealth of the people is the wealth of the government, which is enriched by the prosperity of the people. It remained to see whether the government could use the revenue arising from internal duties. Mr. B. proceeded to show that they could not. Up to 1812, he said the Louisiana debt could not be extinguished. What then should be done with the surplus revenue? Should it lie idle, or should the government go into the market, and purchase up the public stock. That stock was already above par; and was it not evident, that every dollar purchased, at least until the time approached when it might be redeemed, would contribute to put it more above par? From Mr. B's examination of this point, he inferred that the government could not make use of the proceeds of these taxes, if they should be retained. He could not see the correctness of the reasoning, he said, which would lead the House to the conclusion that, because it was proper in peace to prepare for war, therefore money should be drawn from the pockets of the people which could not be used. He would keep up a small army; he would increase the navy, because it could not at once be called into being on occasion. But though a navy could not, a system of taxation might, and there was therefore the less occasion unnecessarily to draw money from the pockets of the people. If the government did not redeem that part of its funded debt, which constituted its portion of the capital of the Bank of the United States, the money accruing to the treasury (without these taxes) could not be used: but, if that stock was to be redeemed, which was optional with the government, still there would be money enough, without these internal taxes, for all the purposes of the government.

Mr. *Johnson*, complained of the insinuation of *Mr. Baldwin*, which the latter immediately explained.

Mr. *Pitkin*, (Conn.) rose to correct an erroneous impression which appeared to exist on the mind of Mr. Baldwin, respecting the amount of public debt paid in as part of the capital stock of the Bank of the United States; which amount, it being optional with the subscribers to pay either in stock or in gold and silver, Mr. P. showed, had, owing to the recent rise of stocks above par, been considerably less than by law it might have been. He understood that of the debt thus subscribed, the commissioners of the sinking fund had already paid every cent, not only the six but the seven per cent, stock all but their own seven millions, which bore but five per cent, interest, and might or might not be paid, at the pleasure of the government. The taxes, therefore, were not wanted to redeem that stock. The same gentleman had also noticed various projects on the table of this House, which might occasion the expenditure of money. When that honourable gentleman had been longer in this House, Mr. P. said he would know that there might be many projects offered, which would involve the expenditure of money, but which would never pass. But was the House to legislate on the possibility of expenditures being authorized? Surely not.—Some of these taxes, Mr. P. said, were not only inconvenient but oppressive: he instanced the dollar carriage tax, producing, small as it was, 70,000 dollars, and operating with extensive and vexatious inconvenience in particular small states. He regretted extremely that the gentleman from Pennsylvania had not more time to examine the facts respecting the revenue and estimates, to enable him to decide with more satisfaction to himself; but the peculiar situation of this bill forbade a delay, which he should otherwise be glad to afford

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to gentlemen desiring it. If the gentleman had examined the bill and the whole subject with that acuteness of which he knew him to be capable, he would not have supposed that gentlemen, in voting for the repeal were running a race of popularity.

The bill passed, ayes 161, noes 5.

Mr. *Robertson* (Louisiana) renewed a motion which he made some years ago, for a bill to provide by law the manner in which a citizen may exercise the *right* of expatriation. He stated that during the late war, many citizens, who were native born Englishmen, were captured by the enemy and treated not as prisoners of war, but as traitors. Admitting this to be true, it does not appear how any act of our Congress could prevent a foreign power from the exercise of those principles of law which they deem essential to the welfare of society. He next adverted to the decision of judge Ellsworth, denying the right of expatriation, in the case of Isaac Williams.*

It was certainly proper, Mr. R. said, that there should be some decision of the legislature on a question of this nature and magnitude, which at present depended on the opinions of the judiciary; and, as far as acts of congress can regulate judicial opinions, that such directions should be given on this head as he thought were obviously just and necessary. By the existing treaty with Spain, a citizen of the United States, holding a commission under any government at war with Spain, whilst we are at peace with her, is considered as a pirate. This extraordinary provision of the treaty must have escaped the attention in that power of our government which makes treaties, or it would have been rejected, as well for its cruelty as because it is an act of legislation to define and punish piracies, and not a power confided to the treaty-making authority. To say nothing more of that, however, Mr. R. observed, that he deemed it necessary to protect the citizens of the United States from punishment, due only to piracy, when found with commissions, in their hands from any government at war with Spain. He wished to see our citizens at perfect liberty to become citizens of what nation they chose, on such terms as that nation should prescribe. It would appear, moreover, from what he had said, Mr. R. remarked, that there was not that neutrality in our conduct towards the two parties, in the war between Spain and her colonies, which we all profess. In this respect the parties were certainly not on the same footing; since a citizen of the United States in the employ of Spain against the colonies is not considered as a pirate, but, engaged in the service of the colonies against Spain, he is. He did not know that this fact would have induced him to have brought the question before the house, but for the deep impression he felt of the justice and propriety of adopting the principle, abstracted from the existing state of things.

The motion of Mr. Robertson was adopted without opposition, and without a division.

Dec. 23. On motion of Mr. *Holmes* of Massachusetts, it was

Resolved, That the committee on the Judiciary be instructed to inquire into the expediency of providing by law for appointing Justices or Conservators of the Peace, or other Magistrates, authorized to enforce the execution of the laws of the United States.

Mr. *Trimble* of Ky. offered for consideration the following resolution:

Resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to cause to be laid before this House any information he may be able to

* Vide 4 Hall's Law Jour. 461. The "Discussions" on the case of Aaron Burr, who claimed the rights of a subject of Great Britain, in 1810 will be found in 6 Hall Law. Jour. 30.

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communicate relative to the impressment and detention in confinement of Richard Cowles Meade, a citizen of the United States.

Mr. Trimble made some remarks on the case, which were calculated to stimulate an inquiry into the conduct of the Spanish government towards Mr. Meade, as involving considerations in which the dignity of this country was implicated.

The motion was agreed to without opposition.

Dec. 24. The bill providing for certain surviving officers and soldiers of the Revolutionary army, was read a third time.

A motion was made by Mr. *Lowndes* to recommit the bill to a committee of the whole House, with instructions "to limit the benefits of the act to soldiers who were enlisted for a term of three years, or for the war, and who did not desert; and to officers who continued in the service of the United States to the conclusion of the war in 1783, or were left out of the service in consequence of disability, or in consequence of some derangement of the army."

The question being stated on thus recommitting the bill, Mr. *Edwards* moved to amend the said instructions by striking out the words "*three years*," and to insert in lieu thereof the words "*one year*," it was decided in the affirmative.

After a considerable debate, in which Messrs. Johnson, of Ky. Miller, Ogle, and Rhea, took part, a division of the question being required, it was taken on recommitting the bill, and decided in the negative, ayes 57.

The question was then taken on the final passage of the bill, and decided in the affirmative without a division.

On motion of Mr. Drake of Mass. it was:

Resolved, That the committee of Commerce and Manufactures be instructed to inquire into the expediency of granting bounties to manufacturers who manufacture a given number of yards of woollen and cotton cloths, of a certain width, and that a permanent fund be appropriated for that purpose.

Tuesday, January 6. The bill providing for the compensation of members of the Senate and House of representatives, was taken up, and after considerable debate, the allowance was fixed at eight dollars *per diem*, and the same sum for every twenty miles travel.

Jan. 6. *Mr. Williams* (N. C.) submitted to the house a letter which he had received from a person, named John Anderson. The writer had made certain claims for indemnification which had been referred to a committee, one of which was Mr. Williams. Some of those claims had been favourably received, and others were still pending. Under these circumstances the writer commences his letter by thanking Mr. Williams for the attention which he had bestowed on these concerns. He then proceeds to offer the sum of 500 dollars which he promises to pay as soon as he receives some money from the government. This he states to be given for *extra trouble*. He hopes his motives will be duly appreciated, but if he should be so unfortunate as to be misunderstood he prays to be excused, and that the affair may be kept secret.

Mr. Forsyth, of Georgia, moved that the House do come to the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Speaker do issue his warrant, directed to the Sergeant-at-Arms attending the House, commanding him to take into custody, wherever to be found, the body of John Anderson, and the same in his custody to keep subject to the further order and direction of this House.

Mr. Terry, of Connecticut, inquired whether, according to our form of proceedings, and to our constitutional provisions, a general warrant, as proposed, could be issued? Was it not opposed, in its nature, to the principles of civil liberty.

The Speaker observed, that in

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the practice of the house, happily, instances were extremely rare, where such a warrant became necessary; no such a case had occurred within his observation. But, there could be no doubt, when an offence was committed against the privileges or dignity of the House, it was perfectly in its power to issue a warrant to apprehend the party offending.

Mr. Forsyth turned to a case on record and he was sorry there was such case on record—where this proceeding had taken place in the year 1795, in which a bribe in land had been offered to one or more members. Mr. F. then conformed his motion to the terms of that precedent (as above stated) from which it had before a little varied.

Mr. Livermore of New-Hampshire asked for information, merely whether the facts on which the warrant was to be issued, should not first be substantiated by oath. The statement came, he knew, from a most respectable source, but was not an oath necessary to justify such a warrant.

The Speaker said, certainly not.

The question on Mr. Forsyth's motion was then decided in the affirmative, and ordered to be entered unanimously.

Jan. 7. On the following day, Mr. Anderson being in custody, a committee was appointed to consider the proper mode of proceeding, and the following resolution was adopted, after some opposition on their report.

That John Anderson be brought to the bar of the House, and interrogated by the Speaker, on written interrogatories, touching the charge of writing and delivering a letter to a member of the House, offering him a bribe, which, with his answers thereto, shall be entered on the minutes of the House. And that every question proposed by a member be reduced to writing; and a motion made that the same be put by the Speaker; and the question and answer shall be entered on the minutes of the House. That after such interrogatories are answered, if the House deem it necessary to make further inquiry on the subject, the same be conducted by a committee to be appointed for that purposes.

Jan. 8. The prisoner was immediately brought to the bar and addressed by the speaker in terms to this effect:

"John Anderson—You are no doubt aware that your are brought before this House in consequence of having written and delivered to a gentleman who is a member and chairman of the committee of this House, a letter, of the contents of which your are apprized. Before I proceed to propound to you any interrogatories on this subject, I will apprize you that, if you have any request to make of the House; if you wish for counsel; for reasonable time for witnesses; for any of those privileges belonging to persons in similar situations, the House is disposed to grant it. If you do not wish for time for counsel or for witnesses, the Speaker will proceed to put to you such interrogatories as may seem proper."

To this the prisoner at the bar replied, in substance although indistinctly, that, in his peculiar situation he desired the assistance of counsel; he desired time until tomorrow, and the opportunity of summoning witnesses to testify to the character he had sustained through life.

Whereupon the sergeant-at-arms was directed to take the prisoner from the bar.

Some conversation took place as to the precise mode of proceeding, which resulted in drawing up a resolution that the Speaker be authorized to inform the accused, that the House comply with his requests.

Mr. Herrick moved to amend the motion, so as that the accused be furnished previously with a copy of the written interrogatories to be put to him.

To this Mr. Forsyth objected, because it would be inconsistent with

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the object of this examination. The object was to ascertain whether the accused admitted or denied the offence imputed to him. If he denied it, it would be for the House to substantiate it: if he admitted it, it was for the House to proportion its decision thereon to the magnitude of the offence.

Mr. Herrick withdrew his first motion, and moved that the accused be furnished with a copy of the letter which was the ground of this proceeding; to which was added, on suggestion of Mr. Rich, a copy of the statement of Mr. Williams accompanying the letter.

Thus amended, the resolution according these privileges to the accused, was agreed to.

Jan. 9. Mr. Spencer (N. Y) moved the following resolution.

The House of Representatives, entertaining great doubts of its possessing the competent power to punish John Anderson for his contempt of the House and his outrage upon one of its members:

Resolved, That all further proceedings in this House against the said John Anderson do cease, and that he be discharged from the custody of the Sergeant-at-arms.

Resolved, That the Attorney-general of the United States be directed to institute such proceedings against the said John Anderson, for his said offence, as may be agreeable to the laws of the United States, and of the district of Columbia.

Resolved, That the committee of the Judiciary be instructed to inquire into the expediency of providing, by law, for the punishment of any contempt of the Senate or House of Representatives of the United States, and of any breach of the privileges of either House.

It was the object of the honourable mover to procure a decision of the abstract question of the right of Congress to punish the flagrant misconduct of the prisoner. The house had proceeded in this case without "oath or affirmation," as the 4th art. of the amend. of the constitution requires; and they had also neglected the provision in the next article, that no person should be held to answer for any infamous crime, except on indictment. He was supported by *Mr. Anderson of Kentucky*; and they were answered by *Mr. Forsyth* (Georgia,) who declined following their argument, but made a sufficient reply from their own admission. Mr. Barbour, (Virg.) followed. He considered the subject under two aspects; 1. as a crime to be punished of its own enormity; 2. as a breach of the privileges of the house. On the first point, he supposed there would be no difference of opinion; but on the second he contended that there had been no infringement. He denied that such a privilege had ever been given by the constitution where the only immunities had been so particularly described, (*art.* 3. *sect.* 6.) as to exclude all addition, but by the same formal authority. He was followed by *Mr. Robertson*, (Louisiana) who contended that this contempt could not be punished, because it had not been committed in presence of the house. *Mr. Tucker*, (Virginia) urged that the idea of a legislative body existing without any power to punish the offence of bribing its members, was too monstrous to be entertained. It is inconceivable, said he, that the convention which framed the constitution, should have intended the creation of a legislative body, which should be without the power of self-protection; without the right to assume to itself freedom from disturbance; without the means of securing order in its deliberations; and without the privilege of preserving itself entirely free from the influence of fear, or the corruptions of gold.—Some of these incidents to legislation, gentlemen have been compelled to admit. In what a situation should we be, if our deliberations were to be affected by the hisses or the applauses of the gallery; if an obnoxious member were to be put down by the threats or tumult of the audience, and a fa-

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vourite speaker cheered on a favourite subject, by shouts of approbation? Can gentlemen deny that we have power to prevent these things? The gentleman from Virginia appears to confine us, even under these circumstances, to the remedy of excluding those who are riotous. Within the walls alone have we power to act, and then only power to exclude—not to punish. Suppose, then, the rioter returns, or betakes himself to the street, and throws stones at your windows. He is without your doors. Have you no power over him? Have you not accessarily even those powers which every court of justice possesses, without the express provisions of law?

Mr. T. said, that if it had been sufficiently established, that the power of punishing an attempt to bribe a member of this House is vested by the constitution somewhere in the federal government, it would not be less easy to prove that the power must exist in this House independantly of the other branches of the government. In other words, however advisable it may be to provide by law for the punishment of the offence, this House may protect itself, even if there be no such law. For how do we deduce the power to pass a law? From the delegation of an express power? By no means: but from the necessity of its existence to enable the legislative body to perform its high and important functions, without the taint of corruption. If then this *necessity* gives the power at all, it equally requires the authority to exercise it to be vested in this House, independently of the Senate and particularly of the Executive. For, if the House of Representatives can only be protected by the passage of *a law*, it must depend for its protection on the Senate at least, and perhaps on the Executive also. And what may not be the situation of this House if it is hereafter to depend for its privileges, and its protection from the influence of corruption, upon the Executive branch of the government? It is that branch of the government from which, according to the true theory of our free constitution, the great danger of corruption is to be feared. It is from that branch of the government that the purity of the legislative body has been always most in danger, and by which it has been always most assailed. Gentleman will not understand me as having the remotest allusion to the present executive, for whom, under varying circumstances whether popular, or unpopular, I have always entertained respect.—But we are told, and truly told, by the gentleman from Virginia, (Mr. Barbour) that laws and constitutions are made for bad men, and have their deep foundations laid in the iniquity of our nature. When the days of purity and virtue shall have passed away, and an Executive magistrate shall attempt to influence this House, or any of its members, by its corruptions, how deplorable will be the condition of this body, if it must depend upon such an executive to give its assent to laws to preserve the house of the people from such pollution.

Mr. *Hopkinson* considered the subject in a new point of view. The members of this house, he said, personally, individually, as for themselves, claim nothing in this argument; they ask no protection—they assert no privileges. The pretension, such as it is, is made in our collective, representative capacity; standing in the place of the whole people of the United States, maintaining their dignity, asserting their rights, providing for their safety. It is we, then, that are with the people, and the people with us, in this controversy; and on the other side we see but John Anderson, an acknowledged criminal, who has insulted, and endeavoured to corrupt, the representatives of the people of the United States, to the great injury and disgrace of that people. If, therefore, I could ever be influenced in my conduct by mere popula-

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rity, I could never feel myself safer in that respect than at this moment. We contend that this legislative body of the people of the United States has, and must necessarily, from the very nature and uses of its existence, have, within itself, and of itself, the power to protect itself and its members, while acting under its authority and in its service, from every attempt to overawe its deliberations by violence, or pollute them by corruption. This, we say, is a power inherent in, and inseparable from, the existence of the body—created with it, and derived from the same authority. All this is denied by our opponents. You will observe, sir, I keep out of view, in stating this proposition, every idea of punishment for an offence or crime; thus avoiding a great mass of objections growing out of that view of the subject, and founded on the provisions in the constitution for the trial and punishment of crimes. I consider the right contended for, solely as a protecting, not a vindictive or punishing power; and of course the exercise and extent of the right is determined and limited by the protection required, be that more or less. Is there, sir, any right, any principle, more familiar with the nature of man than this, of self-protection from every species of injury? Nor, indeed, is this all-pervading principle confined to animal life; the vegetable world claims it also. Such is our ground; what, then, is opposed to opinions apparently, at least, so strong and unimpeachable? Why, sir, the constitution—the rights of the citizen—the danger of privileges undefined and undefinable. It is not denied that other similar bodies in other countries, as well as our own, that courts, great and small, down to a petty justice, possess the power now contended for; but the congress of the United States must not have it, because of the provisions of the constitution. Where are they then? In what article or section of that instrument? I agree, most explicitly, that it is vain to show the reasonableness, the necessity, the antiquity, the universality, of the principle we contend for, if the constitution prohibits it to us. In that case we must pardon it. I surrender every thing to that supreme power. But, sir, I may be permitted to say, that if the constitution of the United States really has taken from this body a power heretofore belonging to every similar body, we have a right to expect and demand that it be clearly and explicitly shown; and that it would be most easy to show it. Yet we find the gentlemen who hold this ground have no concert or agreement as to what part of the constitution contains this important prohibition. One finds it in certain express provisions, which he asserts to be clear and conclusive; another infers it from certain given powers, which are alleged to be exclusive of all others; and a third class deduces it from the nature and spirit of our government. Now, sir, it is not unfair to say, that a prohibition so difficult to be fixed to any part of the constitution, really exists in no part of it; and that we need not fear to violate an instrument which takes so little care of itself in this respect. The hon. gentleman from New York, who introduced the resolutions, relied on express prohibitions, which he thought he discovered in those parts of the constitution which require an oath previous to the issuing of a warrant; which protect the citizen from being called to answer for any crime, unless on the presentment or indictment of a grand jury, securing him from being put twice in jeopardy for the same offence; and which assure to him a public trial by an impartial jury. The security of these important rights is found in the 4th, 5th, and 6th amendments of the constitution. I shall omit to trouble the house with the answers I had intended to make to these several objections, because they have been sufficiently refuted already, and because, in the subsequent stages of the debate, they seem to have been abandoned by

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every body. I consider them to have died a natural death; and would not disturb their repose. As to our having issued the warrant for arresting Anderson, without a previous oath of his offence, it is obvious that, if the objection be well founded, it comes too late; and can be no reason for passing the resolution directing his discharge. The utmost effect would be to acknowledge and correct the error, and detain him until it was done. But in truth it was no error, provided we have power to proceed in the case at all. I need not repeat what has been so well said, to show that the clause in the constitution on this subject has not, and never was intended to have any possible relation to a case like this. It looks wholly to other objects. I defend the warrant without oath on this ground. We assume the right to act at all in the case, from the powers we allege to be necessarily vested in every public body; and, this established, we look for the mode of proceeding in the exercise of this power, to the precedents and practice of similar bodies acting in similar cases. We take the whole system together, as well the power claimed as the means of giving it effect and operation. Now, without looking to the precedents of the British parliament, we have the example of our own congress, in a case in every respect the same with this, even to the nature of the offence. In the case of *Randall* and *Whitney*, so often mentioned, the warrants were issued on the representation of the facts made by members in their places, and it never was required that they should verify their representations by oath. So in every other instance. The hon. gentleman from New York having established himself, as he supposed, on his constitutional ground, of which I shall make no further remark, proceeded to assault that of his opponents. He says we resort to *necessity*, that plea of tyrants. Why, sir, it may be the plea of tyrants, but assuredly it is not exclusively theirs. It is the plea of every body, whenever it exists. It is regarded by every body, and recognized by the law. Your courts daily depart from general and established rules, on the plea of necessity. Men are permitted to justify or excuse themselves on this plea, for acts otherwise indefensible; nay, insomuch, that the necessity a man may be under to save his own life, may justify him in taking that of another. I hope, therefore, we shall not fall under a heavy condemnation for resorting to this plea, if we fairly make out a case under it. This, however, is denied. We are told that, as any actual violence to the house itself, disturbing its proceedings, there is no necessity for this proceeding, because you may remove the offender. First, let me ask the gentlemen who are so liberal as to grant us this power, and yet will allow us nothing not found in the constitution, where they find it in that instrument; and if they claim a right, and imply or assume, from necessity, so far, what is to prevent other gentlemen who think the necessity goes much farther, from implying or assuming it to the extent of their notions of the necessity? Can it be pretended that this necessity, that is, the necessity of preventing actual violence and interruptions to the body while sitting, calls for no more than the right of putting out the offender, and that the moment he is thrust over your threshold your power over him ceases? What, sir, is the value of putting him out without the right of keeping him out? This, then, is substantially the great difference between us. Our opponents are satisfied with the right of putting the offender out of our hall; and we claim the further right of keeping him out. Without this he may return instantly, again and again, and the time and attention of this body would be wholly consumed in this pitiful contest with a ruffian. The right to put out is worth nothing, while you couple it with a right and power to come in. Sir, every mem-

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ber of this body, and more especially such as compose the important committees, is in a peculiar manner exposed to a variety of assaults upon his honour, his feelings, his integrity, and his person. Did the people, continued Mr. H., place us in these posts of danger uncovered and unarmed for defence? Peculiar hazard demands and justifies peculiar safeguards; and the people of the United States are not so unwise or unjust as to say to us, you shall encounter uncommon dangers, and have no more than common protections. For their own sakes they could not say so; for, inasmuch as it is for them we act and legislate, it is all-important to them we should do so without fear, without favour, and, above all, without corruption. The disgrace may be ours, but the injury will be theirs. If members of congress are to redress personal affronts and injuries, attacks made upon them as members of congress, and only because they are so, the people hereafter must choose their representatives, not for their wisdom, experience, and integrity; but for the strength of their nerves, and the power of their arms.

The hon. gentleman from New-York, next attacks us for relying on *precedents* to support us, declaring that they are the expedient of a bad cause. Not so say my books and experience—On the contrary, I have been taught to consider an adherence to precedents, as the certainty of the law; as the great safety of every right to the citizen. To have the law fixed, and to know what it is, is the great desideratum in the administration of justice, civil and criminal; insomuch that learned judges have said it is of more importance, in many cases, that the law should be certain than right. If precedents are disregarded; if what is the rule of action to day was not the rule yesterday, and will not be so to-morrow, what guide has the citizen for his conduct; what security has he for his person, his property, his most sacred rights? What then are the precedents we rely on, in support of the power in cases of contempt? They are furnished from the examples of the British Parliament; of our own Congress; of our State Legislatures; and of every Court in the country; making a body and weight of precedent which we cannot disregard, without more confidence in ourselves and more responsibility than I am willing to assume. I beg leave to inquire into the objections to these several authorities; first premising, that I do not mean to found the right upon them, or to consider them as creating or giving the right, but merely as evidences of its existence and utility. They furnish argument rather than authority: First, as to the usage of the British Parliament. I will not, said Mr. H. be understood as pretending this usage has any binding force upon this house of any sort or in any degree. But I may say there is such similarity in many of the great principles of the construction of the British government and our own, that we may wisely take into our consideration what they have found expedient and safe to be done. We may look to them for instruction in legislation as we do in law, medicine, or any of the sciences; we may use the lessons of their experience and the light of their knowledge without degradation or subserviency. But, to break us up in this part of our arguments we are told, with some exultation, that this is the common law of England, and which has no authority or force in this country, and that it has been so repeatedly decided by the Supreme Court of the United States.—Both positions are unfounded. In the first place, the power in question is not derived from the common law of England; and, in the second place, the Supreme Court never has decided that that common law has no force or authority in this country; but exactly the reverse. As to the first point—the right we contend for has neither its authority in the common law of nature and necessity. It

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is a coeval with the first assemblage of men that ever met together for deliberation or action; for, without it, they could neither have deliberated or acted. It is long antecedent to the common law of England herself; and is now known and practised where neither England or her common law have ever been heard of. You will find it asserted and understood equally in the legislative assemblies of Greece and at the council fires of the Cherokees. It belongs to no state of society or period of time; but is as universal as the law of self-preservation from violence and injury. The decision of the Supreme Court on the subject of the common law of England, if we can properly say any thing has been decided, applies only to the question whether the courts of the United States have jurisdiction of offences at common law; that is, whether they can undertake to try and punish a crime, the trial and punishment of which is not expressly given to them by the constitution or some law of the United States—Even this limited question can hardly be said to be settled; although two hon. gentlemen in the course of this debate, the one highly respected in his professional and the other in his judicial character, have declared it has been repeatedly decided, but they have not been good enough to refer us to these repeated decisions. The gentleman from *Mississippi* read the opinion of a single Judge of the Supreme Court, with whom, I believe, the doubt originated; but this cannot be called the opinion of the court. The gentleman from *New-York* referred to another case, which, it is true, as far as it goes, was the opinion of the court. But it passed without argument: and the Judges of the Supreme Court have been so far from considering the question settled by that case, that, so late as in the year 1816, they invited an argument of the question, some of them indeed declaring they considered the point settled, and others as expressly saying they did not so consider it; and all being willing to hear the argument which is never allowed on a decided question. Let that point, however, be or be not decided, it is widely different from the position now taken, that the common law of England has no force or authority in the courts of this country; the contrary of which is recognized daily almost by every court in the country. It is remarkable that its authority has been particularly acknowledged, and by the Supreme Court too, in the very matter of contempt; the whole manner of proceeding incases of that kind being derived from the common law. The gentleman from N. Y. in order to prove that, even in relation to contempts, the courts act under a statute of the United States, and independant of the common law, has referred to an act, passed 24th Sep. 1789, by the 17th section of which it is enacted, that the courts of the U. States shall have power to grant new trials, for reason heretofore allowed, &c. to impose and administer all necessary oaths, &c. and to punish all contempts, &c.: and this is the law relied upon to show, that the common law has been driven out of our courts. Really I may say to the gentleman, in relation to this act, "I thank thee for that word;" for if there ever was an act of a legislature which recognizes the power of the common law, and relies upon it for all its force, efficacy and execution, it is the very one referred to. The courts are to grant new trials, for reasons for which they have been usually granted. And how are the courts to discover what these reasons are, but by the decisions of courts founded on the common law? They are to impose and administer all necessary oaths; is no reference to be had to the common law to ascertain what oaths have been considered as necessary and proper to be imposed and administered? They are to punish contempts against their authority; and how shall they decide what is or is not contempt of that authority, in the understanding of the law, but by re-

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ference to precedents and the common law? If we reject the aid of the common law, we are absolutely without a guide or rule, either for the court or citizen. The truth is, sir, there is no cast of legal controversy, civil or criminal, which can be carried through our courts, from its commencement to its final issue, without in some stage of it, or in some manner, applying to the common law.

If, however, the precedents of the English parliament are to have no weight with us on this occasion, what objection can be made to those of our own congress, sitting under the same constitution which governs us, and having the same obligation to observe it. Several cases have been produced, in which the congress have exercised the power of proceeding in the way we are proceeding, against a citizen guilty of a contempt of its authority, and one of them precisely the same as this. It is not controverted that all the state legislatures assume this power, and, in some instances, have exercised it; and it cannot be questioned, that every court in the country, from the highest to the lowest, even to a justice of the peace, has exercised this power, it never having been doubted, nor its utility and necessity denied. This mass of precedent proves, beyond all question, that by a sort of universal consent, it has been conceded and understood that every body, created either to make or administer the laws of the country, must have a power within itself, and independent of the other tribunals of justice, to protect itself from violence, from insult, from every thing and every body that would interrupt or corrupt its deliberations and decisions; and that the use and exercise of this power must be left in a great degree to the sound discretion and responsibility of the body exercising it.

The gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Barbour) places his opposition to our proceeding upon ground wholly different from the honourable gentleman from New-York. He does not pretend to discover any absolute prohibition of this power in the constitution; but comes at it argumentatively, by inference. The gentleman maintains his argument, not only by rejecting altogether the doctrine implied, inherent or incidental powers in congress, but thinks he finds provisions in the constitution which, by fair inference, at least, negative the power now contended for. He relies, first, on the 6th sect. of the 1st art., which relates to the privileges of members of congress, and, second, on the general ground that the power we claim, not being found among the enumerated powers of the house, it follows that it does not possess it; in both points relying on the known maxim that these affirmative grants or expressions of right must be taken to be exclusive of all others. We will consider the objections separately. As to the first, the section of the constitution alluded to provides, that senators and representatives shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place; and it is contended this section contains all the privileges intended to be given to either house of congress, or their members: there being no right to assume any power not thus given. It is the danger of every argument of this sort, that it must be overthrown by a single exception. If I maintain that a particular clause in the constitution contains all the power intended to be given on that subject, and it can be shown that there exists any power not there given, the argument is destroyed; it is proved that all the power was not intended to be expressed, and the barrier once broken down, the whole subject is thrown open to be governed by general and acknowledged principles and pre-

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cedents in similar cases. I ask, then, whether it can be pretended that the section referred to really contains the whole system and doctrine of privilege extended for the protection of congress and its members? Has not the contrary been admitted again and again, by every gentleman who has shared in this debate? If, then, it does not contain the whole, where are we to look for the rest, but to the sources to which we have applied! In the first place, it is obvious that this section provides nothing for the protection of the house, collectively, while actually sitting and deliberating on the public business. How, then, can it be the whole law and power of privilege? Surely it was known to the framers of the constitution that it was possible the body of congress might be disturbed by violence or rude interruption, as well as that one of its members might be arrested or questioned for his speech in the house; and yet they have so carefully provided for the lesser evil, leaving the greater one without guard. This is a strange omission in a deliberate digested system of the privileges of congress, intended to exclude every pretence of every other power for its protection. The truth must be, that there were certain known and accustomed privileges and powers in every legislative body, which were not intended to be taken away or diminished, further than they may be considered to be regulated or limited in the particular cases mentioned. If, indeed the convention intended, for the protection of the citizen from arbitrary and undefined power, to fix precisely the whole power of parliamentary privileges, and to exclude every thing which before had been so considered and used, they would have put the matter past all doubt, by saying so; and not leave so important a change in the received doctrine on the subject, to the uncertainty of inference and argument. But how is the house, in actual session, to be protected against violence and interruption? We are told that, in such a case, we may put the offender out. But I ask, by what authority are you to lay your hands on a citizen and thrust him out of your doors? I do not find this power in the constitution, and I am told that I must not go out of the line and the letter of that charter of our rights. Why here it is agreed that the necessity of the case justifies his removal, and that we may exercise the force required, because this is our house; and any man may remove an intruder from his own house. As to the necessity, if that is once admitted as giving power, it must be given to the whole extent of the necessity; and that must be judged of by every member and every house of congress for itself. Where then is the constitutional barrier? Precisely where we would place it—in the necessity of the case, fairly and discreetly judged of and decided by the body offended, governing itself by established principles and precedents. As to our deriving the right from the right we have in this house, as our house, and on the same principle on which we would assert it in relation to our private property, I ask if the gentleman can possibly be correct in this assertion, however ingenious? This is not our house, as private property is, nor do we hold it in the same right or on the same principles. It is not our castle, as our homes are, from which we have a right to exclude any body and every body, as we may please. Can we shut our doors, and say that nobody shall be admitted within these walls but ourselves? The experiment would be a dangerous one. To remove difficulties so obvious, it has been suggested in Mr. Jefferson's Manual, as well as in the course of this debate, that we should pass a law on the subject of contempts, and prescribe the mode of proceeding. I beg to ask, sir, what sort of law would you pass? Not surely to describe the offence,

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or fix the cases or conduct that shall be deemed contempts! for if these are limited to the two instances put in the constitution, you cannot enlarge them by law: you are as much restricted and bound by the constitution in legislating as in any other exercise of power. Shall we then pass a law to prescribe the mode of proceeding, and fix the punishment? If your law shall give to yourselves the right to proceed and punish the offender in a summary way, it is at once obnoxious to almost all the constitutional objections that have been urged against us now.

The subject has been before congress on several occasions, but the result has always been the same—to leave the power of the house, as well as the mode of proceeding, to the known and settled rights of similar bodies, without any legislative interference or legislation. What this power was, and how it can be exercised, were well known to the convention, and doubtless intended to be assumed by congress on the same principles, and used in the same manner as other legislative and judicial bodies had used and exercised them. The second point of the honourable gentleman from Virginia, I understand to be this, that the constitution expressly grants and defines the powers of this house, as such, but gives none such as is now claimed, and therefore it must be understood to be denied. It will be perceived that the argument of this point depends upon the same principle on which the gentleman supported his first point, to wit; that the express grant of powers upon any subject necessarily excludes all others: and of course this point also is disposed of by showing any cases, however inconsiderable, in which powers not enumerated are assumed by the house, and admitted without question. It is denied to us to look to what other similar bodies have done, or to draw any authority from such sources; because it is said all this was well known to the framers of our constitution, and would have been inserted if intended to be given. Nothing is to be presumed, nothing implied. But it has been well observed, that we daily do look to the conduct and course of proceeding of other legislative bodies, and take them for our rule and guide in the construction of the constitution; for instance, when it speaks of a "quorum to do business," how do you ascertain how many members shall make a quorum but by reference to the precedents and practice of other bodies? so also, when it speaks of a jury, &c.—It is answered, I acknowledge, ingeniously to this, that we may look to such authority for the use and explanation of terms; but not for the assumption of power. Be it so; and does not this house assume powers, and high and important powers on the same authority, and without any express grant of them in the constitution? Do you not take to yourselves, and even impart to your committees, the power of sending to the extreme limits of the union for persons and papers, whenever it is deemed necessary for the public good? What power can be more absolute, more inconvenient to the citizen, or a bolder intrusion upon his person and privacy? Yet we find it not in the constitution; and justify it only as an incidental power arising from necessity, and sanctioned by the usage of similar bodies. But might we not say, in the tone of the gentleman's argument, that as there is no express authority given to each house of congress to compel the attendance of absent members, it must be taken to be exclusive of any power to compel the attendance of any other person. The argument is in all respects the same with that urged against us, and the conclusion equally clear and irresistable in both cases, if the premises be admitted. So, sir, we appoint a sergeant at arms, in the usage of other legislative bodies, but no such officer is named in the constitution. It is

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an answer to this, that a power is given to the house to appoint its officers; very true, but still you do and must refer to practice and usage to determine what those officers are and ought to be; and, what is still more important, to ascertain the powers and duties of those officers, none of which are prescribed in the constitution. We find in the rules of the house the duties of the sergeant at arms prescribed in a very general way; and his fees or compensation for some of them fixed: among which it will be seen there are allowances for the arrest and custody of prisoners taken by order of the house, from which it would seem to have been expected that on some occasions and for some causes, the house has power both to arrest and keep the person of a citizen; unless it shall be confined solely to the case of absenting members, which construction the terms of the rule negative. I ask, sir, by what right, on the gentleman's argument of exclusion, do you pay the sergeant at arms, and the other officers of the house? An express power is given to fix our own compensation, and if this is to be taken to exclude every other power on the subject of compensation, we have no right to pay the attending officers of the house. But the right arises from the obvious principles of necessity and justice, which must form a part of the constitution, for without them it cannot be executed. By turning, sir, to other parts of the constitution, it will be seen that vastly greater powers than are now claimed, are exercised by construction and reference to known usage and principles; and that this doctrine of exclusion cannot be maintained. In the general powers of congress, authority is given to constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court; and in the second section of the third article, the judicial power is described in very general terms. But what has been done under these few lines of the constitution? A variety of courts has been created and organized, exercising most of their powers from known and established usage and precedents; provision has been made for the trial and punishment of offences; in short the whole machinery of the administration of justice, civil and criminal, has grown by implication out of two or three clauses in the constitution. In conclusion of my remarks upon this subject, I repeat that I dismiss the idea of punishment, legally speaking, for contempts to the house; and consider the power altogether as a protecting one; and the nature and extent of the power proves it to be so. We commit the offender to close custody, because that may be necessary to prevent a repetition of the offence; and we may continue him in custody as long as, in our discretion may be necessary for this prevention; but we cannot extend it beyond the sitting of congress, because beyond that period it is impossible the danger can exist or the guard be necessary. I leave the subject, sir, with a sentiment of chief justice M'Kean, in the case of Oswald, where, also, the power of the court was denied. If, said he, we have not a power to punish for contempts of our authority, we shall soon become so truly contemptible that no contempt can be committed against us.

We shall not stop to detail the various stratagems which were employed to defeat the great object in view. The dignity of the assembly was finally asserted, by a resolution that John Anderson had been guilty of a contempt and a violation of the privileges of the house. He was, accordingly, brought to the bar, where he was reprimanded by the speaker in terms of suitable severity. It would be unjust to the individual, not to mention that colonel R. M. Johnson, of the house, and other respectable witnesses, concurred in extolling the integrity, the gallantry, and the patriotism of col. Anderson. In the massacre committed at the River Raisin, by the

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Indians, he had rescued several of his fellow soldiers, at the risk of his own life; and as his perceptions do not appear to be very distinct, it is not unreasonable to conclude that in struggling for indemnification against the devastations of the British and their allies, he was seeking revenge on this lawless combination. That justice was on his side he was very conscious, and when he reflected, that by an immediate payment, he should only anticipate as much expense, in a different shape, and prevent the delay of many annual visits to Washington, it will not be surprising to those who justify the means by the end, that he should have adopted this unfortunate expedient to quicken the lazy steps of a committee of claims.

On the 16th Feb. Mr. *Hopkinson* brought forward a bill for establishing an uniform system of bankruptcy. Upon the first section being read he arose. He proposed, he said, to give a general view of the nature, object, and probable effects of the system proposed; to exhibit the existing evils which require to be redressed, and explain the efficacy of the remedies provided by this bill. Mr. H. called on those gentlemen, whose constituents might have no immediate interest in these remedies, not on that account to refuse them to others to whom they were, in the highest degree, essential. Mr. H. here gave a general historical view of the relation of creditor and debtor, under the Roman law, with the tyrannical and cruel power afforded to the former over the persons of the latter and his family; the melioration of the condition of the debtor under the milder influence of the Christian emperors, and gradual progress of the same principles in England, and other commercial countries, observing, that in proportion as the people of a country advanced in civilization and refinement, became commercial, and acquired a just knowledge of the interests of commerce, the condition of the debtor, when really honest and unfortunate, had improved, and the power of the creditor to gratify his malignant passions by wanton and malicious cruelty, had been restrained and abridged. In the origin of the bankrupt system of England, the bankrupt was considered a *criminal;* "but at present," says Blackstone, "the laws of bankruptcy are considered as laws calculated for the *benefit of trade;* and founded on the principles of humanity as well as justice." If such is the character of a bankrupt law, need it have any further recommendation to our attention and favour? We know the importance of trade, and we acknowledge the obligations of humanity and justice as fully as any people. The subject seems to have been considered in the same light by the framers of our constitution; who have, therefore, among the enumerated powers of congress, expressly granted the power "to establish uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies." Mr. H. said he considered this as a declaration of the will of the people, that congress should act on this subject, at least, so far as to establish a uniform rule. It binds us to no particular system, it is true, but it does enjoin upon us impressively, to provide some one which shall be uniform in its operation on the different states, giving a certain known rule, and preventing those numerous evils that must arise from various and conflicting systems in the different states, by which the relation between debtor and creditor, so interesting to all classes of our citizens, must for ever be changing, be imperfectly understood, and be daily producing inequality and injustice between the creditors and debtors residing in different states. Mr. H. contended it was the duty of congress to carry into effect the will of the people thus solemnly declared; not indeed, by an imperative, absolute command, but in a way that cannot be misunderstood, and ought not to be disregarded without the most clear and cogent reason. Mr. H. insisted that when

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the several states parted with this power, it was only to attain that uniformity of system, which could be established only by the general government; and that the states having surrendered the power for this purpose, had a fair claim on the general government not to disappoint this expectation; but to apply the power to the uses intended by the grant of it. Mr. H. here enlarged upon the general duty of congress to take up and organize all the ceded powers in the constitution; and explained the difficulties that have arisen with some of the states, only because congress have been relying upon the state courts for the execution of many of the laws, instead of organizing and bringing into action all the judicial power of the United States. Mr. H. therefore, in the first place, relied upon this constitutional obligation in support of the bill, or of some law upon this subject which shall produce uniformity in relation to it. In the next place, Mr. H. contended that the example and experience of every commercial nation known to us, was authority not to be disregarded. He then explained the reasons for such a system as applied to commercial men, rather than other citizens, arising from the nature and extent of their business; the hazards to which they were exposed from the enormous credits they were obliged to give in the course of their business; from their distant connexions and agents to whose fidelity and capacity they must trust so much; from the dangers of the elements; from the political changes in their own and foreign countries. Mr. H. contended that a business thus peculiarly exposed, required peculiar regulations and protections; without which, men would not embark in it. He thought this protection peculiarly necessary to this country; young, enterprising, and comparatively deficient in capital even for the business that, on commercial principles, may fairly be done. The country too wants all the labour, and industry, and energy of all its citizens, and cannot afford to have many thousands of them bound hand and foot, at the wantonness and will of their creditors, without the possibility of producing by this bondage the least reduction of the debt; while the debtor is subject to incalculable suffering, and the community to a most serious loss. It is delightful, said Mr. H. to anticipate what a mass of talent and industry will be set loose by the passage of this bill; and which is now daily diminishing and perishing in hopeless want and useless inactivity.

Mr. H. said that the country had grown rich and prosperous by commercial enterprizes which had been ruinous to the individuals engaged in them. That the public treasury had been filled with duties paid on goods, for which the merchant had never seen the first cost; that there had been instances of merchants failing who had, within a few years, paid millions into the general coffers. Have such men, said Mr. H. no claim upon the country? Shall we turn coldly from them in the hour of their misfortune, while we riot in the wealth produced by their exertions, and are made glad by the prosperity which has grown from their ruin? Shall we leave them to waste and perish, while no man living receives the least benefit from their sufferings; nor the least gratification either, unless it be that of a demon?

The third ground on which Mr. H. maintained the necessity of passing the bill, was the situation of the insolvent laws now existing in the different states, and the ruinous and disgraceful effects produced by them. Mr. H. here explained at large the nature of these insolvent provisions; their inequality, uncertainty, and injustice; threatening to destroy all credit and confidence in the country; to make the commercial intercourse between the states so unsafe, that its extent must be greatly abridged, and we shall become aliens to each other. He then considered the effect of the

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insolvent laws, as regards the debtor, the creditor, and the community. It was unjust, he said, as regards the debtor, because it makes no distinction between honest misfortune and criminal prodigality. The principles of the insolvent laws require only a full surrender of the property in the possession of the insolvent at the time of his application; but the manner in which he has lost the rest, whether by extravagance, waste, gambling, or the indulgence of any other folly or vice, cannot affect his right of discharge. Is it consistent with justice or sound policy, to deal out the same indulgence to such a man, as you give to one who, in the fair and usual prosecution of his business, without the impeachment of fraud, perhaps not even of imprudence, finds himself stripped of all his property, and unable to satisfy the demands of his creditors? The insolvent laws make no distinction in the cases, while the bill on your table puts it in the power of the creditors to make a discrimination so essential to justice and policy. In the case of the honest unfortunate debtor, the law is as much too rigorous as in the other case it is too mild. In what condition do you place him? He becomes the eternal slave of his creditors, without yielding to them the profits of a slave.—He is dead to every exertion; he is lost to all usefulness; he has no means to earn a farthing; no inducement to make the attempt. When embarrassments distract his efforts, and difficulties crowd upon him, he exhausts himself in unavailing struggles to the last, because he sees that whenever he ceases to do so, he must be forced to a gaol. This is the certain end of his career. He is put there to starve and perish within its walls, while his miserable wife and children starve and perish without. And why is this done?—Does not the voice of humanity cry out against it? Does not the policy of society condemn it? Is not every sound sentiment of justice outraged? Why will you permit a cruel and merciless man to imprison another at his will; to shut him from the fair light of Heaven; to deprive him of the sweet air we breathe; to palsy his limbs, and break his heart? For some dangerous crime? No, unless misfortune be a crime. For some loathsome vice? No, unless poverty be always a vice. To what use, for what good purpose, is this permitted and done, to the creditor or to the community? To the creditor, nothing; for gold is not found in the vaults of a gaol, and debts are not paid by sighs and groans. To the community, worse than nothing; lasting, serious injury; the loss of the labour, the industry, the talents, of many a useful citizen; often the charge of maintaining his family, made destitute and miserable. Mr. H. remarked that another unfortunate effect of the insolvent system was to put it entirely out of the power of the insolvent ever to retrieve his affairs. His friends are driven from him—knowing that, should he afterwards appear in business, even with their means and assistance, a suspicion of fraud, in which they might be implicated, would arise. It would be supposed the insolvent had secreted the funds with which he again appears, and that his charitable friends had lent themselves to his fraud. Besides, as whatever might be found in his possession would be liable to the grasp of his creditors, it is obvious there is no inducement to his friends to furnish him with their assistance and funds, nor for the insolvent to desire that they should. He therefore drags on, living partly on miserable, and often dishonest expedients, and the charity of those who do not become weary of his wants. If the insolvent laws, said Mr. H. are so pernicious in their effects upon the debtor, let us see how much better they are in relation to the rights of the creditor. They subject him to the grossest frauds in every shape, and from every quarter. They place him in a position with his debtor, which offers every temptation to the latter

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to cheat him, and furnishes him amply with the means of doing so. The first right of a creditor would seem to be a full and fair opportunity of inquiry into the affairs of the insolvent; of knowing how he became unable to pay his debts: what property remains to be applied to them; and what has become of the rest. This never is afforded, and never can be, under the administration of an insolvent law. The nature of the proceeding forbids it—the tribunal before which the examination takes place is not calculated for it, and the whole affair has become a mere mockery, which the vulgar attend for their amusement, and nobody looks to for any advantage. The notice given to creditors is such as cannot reach one half of them; the means of detecting fraud are so incompetent, that it is idle to resort to them; the discoveries to be made must depend so entirely on the examination of the insolvent himself, who has been taught, by the experience of thousands, how to pass the ordeal, the court considering this business as a sort of intrusion on their more important duties; in short, the whole proceeding, from its commencement to its termination, is a mockery so contemptible in its progress, and so inefficient to any one good result, that creditors submit to be defrauded rather than appear as parties in such a proceeding, with a full knowledge that their opposition will be effectual neither to discover the frauds of their debtor, nor prevent his discharge. What can be the amount or utility of the examinations which take place under these laws, when the court will appoint one or two days for one or two hundred cases, and will generally find the time amply sufficient for all the inquiry to be made? Mr. H. said he had known as many as one hundred insolvents discharged in one morning; had seen them sworn off by six and eight at a time; each struggling to get his hand upon the book; repeating the oath, or rather parts of it, altogether; and exhibiting a scene of confusion equally disgusting and iniquitous. But the monstrous evils of these insolvent systems are found not so much in what is wrongfully done under them, as in that which may be rightfully or rather lawfully done. And here, said Mr. H. we open upon that boundless field of fraud, corruption, and ruin, in which we see the various modes resorted to, to give preferences to particular creditors, to the utter exclusion of others equally meritorious and just; by which those funds which should be fairly distributed to alleviate the losses of all, are bestowed on a few, who may be preferred by caprice, by friendship, by blood, or by future expectations, held out to the debtor. The whole power and machinery of assignments, judgments, attachments, are brought into action to promote and secure a purpose so immoral and unjust; but at the same time so authorized by the law as to be placed beyond the reach of morality or justice. Nor does the mischief go no further than to secure an unjust preference between creditors of equal claims; but the means by which this may be done, furnish also a full opportunity to place property in the hands of friends and relations, to whom nothing is due, to come afterwards to the use of the insolvent himself. Mr. H. said, that, under the patronage of these insolvent laws, the merchants had now established a code of laws for the payment of their debts, which is at once destructive of all commercial credit, and of every principle of moral justice; they have, what they are pleased to call their debts of honour, and their debts of business; and the former are preferred to the exclusion of the latter. Endorsements are considered of the first class;—yes, the endorser, by whose aid he has been enabled to sustain his credit long after it ought to have sunk; by whose means he has been enabled to make purchases of goods from honest unsuspecting venders—this endorser finally carries off the property, per-

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haps, the very goods purchased on their immediate proceeds, and the sellers of them obtain not a farthing from the wreck. To say nothing of the moral injustice of such distinctions, observe the effect it has upon the commercial interest and prosperity of the country. The debts of the failing merchant may be 100,000 dollars—his property may amount to 50,000 dollars—of course, a fair distribution of his effects would afford to each creditor 50 per cent. of his debt, and the loss would then be ruinous to none. But if he is permitted to give the whole of his estate to his creditors of honour, they may receive the full amount of their debts, and the others, equally meritorious at least, obtain not a cent, perhaps to their entire ruin, A strong case of this sort, said Mr. H. was lately stated in a Philadelphia paper, and is but one of many which occur almost daily. A merchant, he continued, whose dealings have been very extensive, but who has lately failed, assured me that his destruction was owing entirely to this system of preference; for had he but got a fair proportion of the effects of his debtors who had previously failed, he would have been able to continue his business; but whenever such a failure occurred, he found all the property appropriated to a few favourites of the debtor. This shocking and destructive system, said Mr. H. can be broken up only by a general bankrupt law, by which the effects of an insolvent trader will be taken from his caprice as well as his fraud, and put into the hands of those who will distribute them in just proportions among those whose claims are equal. The honourable member made some further illustrations of the pernicious effects of these preferences, made entirely at the will of the debtor, at a time when in truth, all his control over his property ought to have ceased. But, said he, one of the best uses of a bankrupt law yet remains to be mentioned. It is the inducements it holds out to an embarrassed man, when he finds his affairs irretrievable, to surrender them into the hands of his creditors, before every thing is wasted in violent efforts to save himself. At present, seeing nothing before him but a gaol, to be followed by a perpetual bondage; and knowing that these consequences are precisely the same, whether he pays to his creditors one half of their debts, or not a cent, he plunges on in mere despair; postponing the catastrophe as long as possible; diminishing his property by desperate expedients; dragging into the vortex of his ruin every friend from whom he can obtain either credit or money; and, finally, falls, bringing down with him all who have trusted him, and spreading his misfortunes to every point within his reach and influence. If, such are the inconveniences and injuries to the creditor, the debtor, and the community, under the present insolvent systems, what advantages do they possess to counterbalance the evil? What has the creditor? Nothing but the chance, the valueless chance, of his obtaining his debt from the future acquisitions and earnings of his debtor; it is a right, it is true, but it is an empty, worthless, unproductive right; which may, indeed, be used to gratify malice, to satiate revenge, to oppress the afflicted, to tread on the fallen; but to obtain the debt, never. How is this property, which is to pay the debt, to be obtained? Can the insolvent earn it by his industry, when you place him in a situation in which industry will be useless? Can he earn it without capital? and you will not suffer him to have one that may not be torn from him in a moment. Can he even rely on the aid of his friends, when it would be idle in them to afford him the means of helping himself, knowing they could not place it at his disposal for an hour? It is an undeniable truth, that the very right the creditor has to the future earnings of the debtor, is destructive of itself, and renders it impossible

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that any such earnings can ever be obtained; the mere circumstance that he cannot hold or enjoy what he may acquire, will prevent the attempt, if not the desire, to acquire it. Mr. H. appealed to experience, and asserted, that of the many thousands of persons who have been discharged by insolvent laws, he had never heard of one who afterwards paid his debts; and concluded, that this right of the creditor was a mere fallacy and delusion, and ought not to weigh a feather against the great and manifest usefulness of a bankrupt law. He asserted, that you take from the debtor every stimulus to exertion, every hope of reinstating himself; that you make him a rogue from necessity; you compel him to live by stealth; to feed and clothe himself and his children by fraud; for, on this strict principle, that all he may afterwards have is the property of his creditors, it is evident that he supports life by that which does not belong to him; and exists, from day to day, by a sort of petty pilfering. How does this humble the spirit of a man; how does it degrade his character and corrupt his principles! When misfortune overtook him he may have been honest and honourable; but, if he continues so under the corrupting influence and merciless lash of an insolvent law, it will be miraculous. How different is the case if you put this man at large, his honour unimpaired, his self-respect not destroyed, to exercise his powers of mind and body, to use his friends and resume his usefulness in society, improved by experience, and chastened by misfortune! Again, said Mr. H. if there is no instance of an insolvent's afterwards paying his debts, how few are there, in which he has had any property, of any consideration, to surrender to his creditors. No property, real or personal, is the usual return—and for the reasons already mentioned; he has no inducement to stop until every farthing is gone; but every inducement to go on to the last extremity; and it is not in the power of the creditor to stop him, as he may under the bankrupt law.

The obvious recommendations of a bankrupt law, said Mr. H. are these: 1st. It furnishes ample time and means to the creditors to investigate the conduct of the debtor before his bankruptcy, to ascertain the cause of it, and inform themselves of the fulness and fairness of the surrender of his effects, and to grant or withhold his discharge, as they shall find him worthy of it, or otherwise, 2d. It puts the citizens of different states on a footing of equality in their mutual dealings; and gives a known and certain rule on the subject. 3d. It puts our citizens on a footing with foreigners in the relations of debtor and creditor. 4th. It overreaches all preferences and partial assignments; and fairly distributes the property among the creditors in proportion to their debts. 5th. It offers fair inducements to embarrassed men to make a surrender of their affairs, before they have squandered their property and involved their friends. 6th. It will restore to society a great mass of industry and talent, now lying useless, indeed burdensome, to the community; and lastly, it will pay a just respect to the rights of humanity, which are outraged by the power the creditor now possesses over the whole life of his debtor.

Mr. H. said, the most difficult question in relation to the bill, would be presented by the first section. It will be found to differ essentially from the English bankrupt law, as well as from that passed here in 1800. An attempt is now made to limit the extent of the operation of the law, and bring it back to what was, certainly, its original object and design. Although it was in the beginning intended for traders, and all the reasons and policy, urged in its behalf, apply to such men: yet it is well known that by a long course of judicial decisions, the

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provisions of the law had by degrees, been extended to every man who could bring himself within the terms "buying and selling," although clearly his principal occupation was of a different description. This construction is now so established in England, that, although the Judges constantly complain of it as a departure from the real object of the law, they do not feel themselves at liberty to unsettle it. As our law of 1800 followed the terms of the English statutes in this respect, we also adopted the construction that had been given to them; and, said Mr. H. I believe much of the evil and unpopularity of that law may be traced to this source. In framing the bill now proposed, all these judicial decisions had been carefully examined, and specially excepted, and some general words of description adopted, calculated to keep the law within its proper legitimate bounds; and excluding those persons "whose living is substantially gotten by mechanical labour, though with some mixture of buying and selling," a limitation taking from the recommendation of the Judges of the Court of King's Bench. In introducing this restriction, it is presumed, not only that the law is brought back to its first and proper objects, but that it will be more acceptable to the people of this country, who seem to have complained of the universality of the former system.

Mr. Tyler (of Virginia) followed, in a motion to strike out the first section. He contended that it was not imperative on congress to pass all such laws as were warranted by the constitution. The powers of that instrument were all addressed to the sound discretion of the house. He said that every class of citizens was equally well entitled to the privileges of the act, if such a law were necessary. They all contributed to the wealth and strength of the country, and their interests were indissolubly interwoven. Does the prudent trader, continued Mr. T. require its provisions? He never ventures upon any hazard to the whole amount of his capital; he is satisfied with a regular, slow, but certain profit. If visited by misfortune, arising from any unforeseen occurrence, he has, in the general, taken care to reserve a sufficiency to meet his engagements, and to act the part of an honest man. These are the men who constitute the pride and boast of your mercantile character. They require no legislative provision, operating as a receipt in full of all demands; and if such men should, against all reasonable calculations, be unfortunate, their creditors will understand their real interest, and indulge them on their contracts. Will not the creditor understand his own interest as well as the honourable member from Pennsylvania? Will they not also know that their debts will not be discharged by confining the body of their debtor in jail? Sir, a prison is no place in which the debtor can retrieve his ruined fortune, or comply with his engagements. I appeal, said Mr. T. to the experience of every member of this committee, if it be not a fact, that indulgences are almost in every case, in which an honest man has fallen into misfortune, extended to him by his creditors. I repeat, then, that the fair and prudent trader does not wish for this law. Upon whom, then, will it operate beneficially? Who will seek refuge under its provisions? The bold, dashing, and thoughtless adventurer. He commences life without capital; his first flight is made with paper wings; he goes into bank; obtains an accommodation—secures, as far as practicable, his endorser—runs in debt to the artist—purchases, on a credit, from the farmer and manufacturer, and puts to sea. If successful, he complies with his engagements, and is rich; if otherwise he takes a receipt in full under this bill—pays off thousands by an oath, and is in no worse condition than at

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first. He is then thrown back again upon society, not to pursue a more prudent course, but to react his former extravagancies. You have made him more adventurous by this bill; he even now deserts the insurance office; for by so doing, if successful, he secures to himself the amount of the insurance, and, if otherwise, he resorts again to the wholesome medicine of this law. Mark him still further—To-day he is insolvent—to-morrow he is free from debt. He again adventures. Let us imagine him successful. The winds have been more prosperous—the cloud no longer lowers: he is rich. What is his course then? Does he pay off his debts? No, sir: he dashes through your streets, said Mr. T., in all the pride of wealth, and laughs in the face of his, perhaps starving, creditors. Is this honourable? And yet is not this bill calculated to produce these effects? Can it be regarded dishonourable in him to pursue this course when your law points to it, and justifies him in it? Is it not to be presumed that your laws are based on honour, on justice? I charge gentlemen to beware, lest, in their exertions to ameliorate the condition of the debtor, they inculcate dishonourable and unworthy principles. Sir, said he, the member from Pennsylvania exposed to us on yesterday the evils arising under the existing state systems. In order to excite our sympathies in favour of this bill, he told us that at this time there were 70,000 insolvents in the United States. I did not understand whether merchants alone were taken into the estimate, or whether all classes were embraced. But, in order to have derived any weight from this view of the subject, ought not the gentleman to have contrasted our situation with the situation of some country in which this, his favourite scheme, is in operation? Look to England, the country from which we borrow this system.—There they enjoy the full benefit of this bankrupt law, and yet I will undertake to say, that in England alone, unconnected with Scotland and Ireland, and whose population does not, by many millions, exceed our own, the proportion of insolvents in that country and this, will at least be found to be in the ratio of a thousand to one.

Mr. Tyler then said, that in his judgment this law was calculated to introduce fraud to an extent certainly never witnessed in this country. Sir, said he, will not this bill, should it pass into a law, become here what it is on the other side of the water? What has been the course of things there? Has the embezzlement of effects been prevented there? The parliament has gone so far as to make the concealment of effects by the bankrupt, punishable with death; and yet how often is the crime committed? Every inducement is held out by the law to dishonesty—a starving wife and children implore bread and protection at the hands of the husband and father; your law tempts him to secure it for them by concealing his money or effects, by proclaiming to him, "be secret for some three or four months, until the present storm has subsided—until your creditors have given you a certificate of discharge, and then you may in safety enjoy the fruits of your dishonesty." But, sir, what more does it do? Why, it holds out the temptation in the one hand and the punishment in the other. Conscious of the difficulty of preventing fraud, in what way does this bill undertake to guard against it? You first put the man upon his oath; you then hold out inducements to informers; and even this is not all: no, sir, you then call upon the wife to give testimony in condemnation of her husband, thereby breaking up the marital bonds, and altering the established laws of society. The lovely, delicate, trembling female is rudely dragged before the tribunal created by this bill, and reduced to the condition of either swearing falsely, or of convicting her husband of perjury. Away,

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then, say, if with a system to be executed only by such means. Sir, said Mr. T., if you wish your citizens to be honest and virtuous, do not, by your legislation, hold out an invitation to a different state of things. A republican government can only be supported by virtue; and the end of all our legislation should be to encourage our fellow-citizens in its daily practice.

"Once a debt, always a debt," is a sound rule of policy. The honourable gentleman, (Mr. Hopkinson) asked if we would place the debtor at the mercy of the creditor. No, sir, said Mr. T. It does by no means follow from the rule I have laid down. Imprisonment is not necessary to enforce it. Let me refer you to the law of Virginia. We have adopted in that state the civil law rule. The execution is levied on the body; the debtor gives notice of his intention to the creditor, delivers in a schedule of his effects on oath, and is discharged from confinement; but the debt still exists; if at any future day he acquires property, he is still liable; nay, if he has sworn falsely, and he is not detected until his death, even then the creditor levies his execution and obtains his due. I contend then, said Mr. T., that the inducement to dishonesty is nothing in magnitude to what it is under this bill. But, sir, the honourable gentleman stated that the debtor had it in his power, under our state laws, to select the creditor who should be first paid—is it not so, also, under this bill? may he not, with a perfect knowledge of his situation, pay off a favourite creditor, before he commits any act of bankruptcy? The gentleman further says, that the debtor may convey his property to a friend, for his own benefit, with a view of defrauding his creditors. I know not what system of jurisprudence prevails in Pennsylvania, but in Virginia the whole transaction could be investigated in a court of equity, and the deeds rendered void. But, sir, said he, in order to give to this bill the support of this house, it is not only necessary to point out defects in existing systems. Gentlemen must prove that this scheme is as nearly perfect as can be expected. Its warmest friends cannot pronounce it perfect. Let me remark here, sir, said Mr. T., that nothing is more difficult to prevent than fraud—it works under cover, and hides itself from the eye of legislation. If you attempt to punish it, you only drive it to seek out paths more unfrequented, labyrinths the more inexplicable—I do not even ask, therefore, for absolute perfection; but the imperfections of this bill are obvious and palpable.

Sir, continued Mr. T., I have another strong objection to the bill. I regard it as the most fruitful possible source of litigation. Look again to England for experience. I submit to legal gentlemen to say if it has not produced there more litigation than any other subject whatever. The bench of the jurist groans under folios containing innumerable cases arising under the laws of bankruptcy in England—look to our own short experience of three years, when a similar law was in operation here; cases arising under it have not yet been settled, although fifteen years have passed by since its repeal. A bill has passed this house, at this session, appointing new commissioners in some case where almost all originally appointed have departed this life. The fact is, sir, that the commissioners and assignees are generally the only persons benefitted. They run away with the money, and leave the empty purse to the creditor. These then are some of the happy effects of this holy bill.

Mr. *Holmes* (of Mass.) made some general remarks on the subject of commerce, and adverted to the great labour which Mr. Hopkinson had incurred during the recess in preparing the bill. He maintained, with Mr. Tyler, that congress was not bound to act immediately on the

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powers delegated to that body; an absurd position which some speakers had endeavoured to impose upon Mr. *Hopkinson*. He said he had heard, till he was disgusted, the heretical, the exploded doctrine that it is the merchant who furnishes and pays the impost; and he contended against the bill as the fruitful mother of vice and immorality.

Pendall (of Virginia,) acknowledged that he had read the bill with all the knowledge of which he was capable, and yet he could not boast of any intimate knowledge of its practical details, by reason of a want of experience with regard to the objects of commerce, which it professes to regulate; and from this acknowledged ignorance he trusted that he was furnished with a new weapon of attack against the bill. This weapon he brandished, it must be confessed, with singular success, in an elaborate speech; for which we have not room for a further account.

Mr. Sergeant, (of Pennsylvania,) stated that his object in the first place, would be to show why the bill should be confined in its operation to the persons described in the first section, that is to those engaged in trade. And in this, said he, I have in view to meet an objection that I find has had a considerable influence upon the minds of members. Why, it is said, why not extend the provisions to all classes of the community; why confine them to a single class? The answer is a very plain one. The design of the constitution was to vest in the government of the United States such powers as were necessary for national purposes, and to leave to the states all other powers. Trade, commercial credit, and public or national credit, which is intimately allied to it, were deemed, and rightly deemed, to be national concerns of the highest importance. In the adjustment of our government, at once national and federal, they were intended to be confided, and were confided to the care of the public authority of the nation. It is too much the fashion every where to indulge in general censure of classes or professions. When merchants are the subject of discussion, we hear of speculators, and even worse; when protection is asked for manufactures, we are told that manufacturers are extortioners, and there is often danger that the great interests which are connected with their occupations may be lost sight of in the prejudices raised against the individuals engaged in them. But, whatever may be said of the merchants, it is nevertheless certain, that trade, *trade carried on by merchants*, and commercial credit, are favourable objects of the constitution. It is in fact to a regard for trade, to the obvious necessity of a system that should be adequate to its protection, to its regulation and support, that we are indebted for the constitution itself, and all the blessings we enjoy or promise ourselves from that instrument. The commissioners who met at Annapolis in September 1786, delegated by the states of New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Virginia, assembled in consequence of a resolution of the state of Virginia, "to take into consideration the trade of the United States; to examine the relative situation and trade of the said states, &c." Their report, grounded upon the suggestion, "that the power of regulating trade is of such comprehensive extent, and will enter so far into the general system of the federal government, that to give it efficacy, and to obviate questions and doubts concerning its precise nature and limits, may require a correspondent adjustment of other parts of the federal system, recommended the plan of a convention, with enlarged powers, to prepare such a system. The recommendation was adopted. The convention that formed the constitution was assembled. This constitution was the result—and "commerce with foreign nations

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and among the several states" was one of its chief concerns.

The power to "regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several states," would have been inadequate to its purpose without the concession to Congress of certain auxiliary powers. They were granted.—Among them, and I advert to it as having the nearest affinity to the power now more immediately under consideration, was the authority to establish a national judiciary, with jurisdiction over controversies between foreigners and citizens, and over those between citizens of different states. What was the view of the convention in giving to the foreigner, and to the citizens of other states in relation to the debtor, a forum such as this? To secure to him, as far as practicable, a fair and impartial administration of Justice, to place him above the reach of local feeling and local prejudice, beyond the sphere of those influences that may, by possibility, affect the state tribunals, in contests between their citizens and others. This was the immediate, but what was the ultimate object? To protect and encourage trade, to support and invigorate commercial credit, by the security offered.

The power "to establish uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies," is of the same character. For the construction of this power, I do not think it necessary to resort to verbal criticism. It does not appear to me that we need inquire, whether the term "bankruptcy" had a definite meaning, to which we are limited; nor whether we are bound to follow the model of the statutes in England, or any state bankrupt laws that may have existed here before the constitution was framed. For the present purpose, the general spirit and scope of the constitution furnish a sufficient guide. The design of that instrument was to occupy national ground, and leave the rest to the states. Who are the persons then, that, in the relation of debtor, stand connected with foreigners and with the citizens of other states? Who are the persons that in the same relation stand connected with domestic and foreign trade, and with the commercial and public credit of the country? The answer will be at once, they are the merchants, the traders, the dealers, by whatever name you may be pleased to call them, whose business it is to buy, and sell, and circulate what is produced at home or imported from abroad. Other persons may contract the same relation, but it is occasionally and by accident only. These, (merchants or traders I mean) do so habitually, constantly, and in the regular course of their business. Again, in what other class of citizens has the nation the same sort of interest? I wish, said Mr. S. not be misunderstood. The nation has an interest in the prosperity of all her citizens, and of every branch of industry. Agriculture, the essential basis of national strength and wealth, deserves to be cherished and supported.—For manufactures, every day becoming more and more interesting to this country, I trust that much will be done to afford protection and support. I declare myself willing to go as far in measures to support and protect them as may be necessary—a declaration which I am willing should be understood either literally or liberally, to give it the most positive meaning. But let it be considered for a moment what is the sort of interest the nation has in the trading part of the community, and it will immediately be seen how important is the power to control them. Take the whole amount of your imports, add to it the whole amount of your exports, and (if any one can estimate the value of it,) of your internal trade for consumption. The great aggregate circulates by means of the trader and is in his hands. When the farmer or planter carries his crop to market, he does not become the shipper,

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and enter into the mystery of invoices, and bills of lading, and policies of insurance: he sells it to the merchant. By the hands of the merchant, too, the government receives its revenue. With such a mass of public and national interest concentrated in the concerns of this class of society; with such a power, in the nature of their occupations, to influence trade, and credit, and revenue, I am satisfied that the controlling power of Congress was intended to reach them. We are on national ground, then, intended by the constitution to be occupied in making a bankrupt law for merchants and traders, and others immediately connected with trade. Can we go further? Without undertaking to say we cannot, under any circumstances, I am free to confess that I see no necessity for it, and there are objections of no inconsiderable magnitude. Beyond this limit, none occure to me as assignable short of an entire comprehension of all descriptions of persons. To say nothing of the impolicy of exerting the summary and sweeping authority of a commission of bankruptcy over farmers, and manufacturers, and mechanics, it would be a plain encroachment upon the rights of the states. Was it intended that Congress should regulate their internal concerns? This is left to the states themselves. Why then should we undertake unnecessarily to interfere? And we should interfere to a most enormous extent, if we should attempt, by any means, to regulate or to affect the relation of debtor and creditor within the states, upon the comprehensive plan suggested. The argument is, to my mind, decisive, and it brings us back to the ground originally taken, where we may safely stand, assured that we are within the limits of constitutional duty—from which we cannot depart, without the risk of doing what is at once unnecessary and inexpedient, perhaps unconstitutional. The discrimination which is thus indicated by the spirit of the constitution, and by the theory of our government, is conformable also to the *terms* used by the constitution. Bankrupt laws, as distinguished from insolvent laws, have a sufficiently appropriate signification, determined by experience and practice. Their most uniform feature, whatever other differences may have existed, has been that, in their principal operation, they were usually confined to the commercial class; to that class which is most extensively entrusted with the property of others—which is most engaged in hazardous adventure, and whose good or ill fortune, and, if you please, good or ill conduct, have the most extensive influences. I would not, however, be understood as meaning to give any positive limitation, in this respect, to the power. It is possible that circumstances may arise, that would render a more comprehensive description necessary; and then we should be called upon to say whether the constitution permitted such a construction. At present this is not the case; the broad line is sufficiently marked between the national ground which the national legislature ought to occupy, and those subjects of internal regulation which may be sufficiently provided for by the state legislatures.

It is certainly true, that the merchant or trader may be, and commonly is, indebted to persons residing in the same state with himself; and it is equally true, that the bankrupt law will operate upon debts of this description, as well as upon debts due in other states, and beyond the limits of the United States. The objection, however, has very little weight. If this operation were an evil, it would be only an incidental one, such as, in a greater or less degree, belongs to every human system. The work of legislation must be at an end, if it can never go on without the perfect assurance that it will produce pure, unmixed good—that it will precisely accomplish its

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object, without producing any consequences in themselves to be deprecated. I will not stop to illustrate, for every man will find the illustrations lying in every direction about him. But it is not an veil: it is a part of the object of the bankrupt law, and a part of the result contemplated by the constitution in conferring the power. The constitution looks to the mass of commercial dealing—to the character of commercial dealing—to the sum of the relations arising from it, and the sum of the effects produced by it—upon trade—upon credit—upon the nation, and upon society: It regards, also, the *entire* mass of commercial dealing, not the individuals engaged, as the object of national concern. Is any other discrimination practicable? Suppose you should attempt to exclude creditors residing within the same state with the debtor, one most unjust consequence would immediately follow. You exclude these creditors from a participation in the bankrupt's estate; that is, you divide it among one set of creditors to the exclusion of another, not less meritorious. Or, suppose you admit them to participate, but upon different terms—say upon the terms of not being barred by a certificate, this would be a discrimination in their favour, both unjust and impolitic, and tending directly to weaken and undermine the foundations of credit; it would be palpably repugnant not only to the policy, but to the very terms of the constitution, which give us authority to make uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcy. Still less force is there in that objection which would confine the operation of the law to cases between merchant and merchant, excluding all creditors who are not traders. If the exclusion should be entire; that is to say, if you were to distribute the estate of the bankrupt only among creditors who are traders, giving no part to the farmer, the manufacturer, the mechanic, or others, it would be unjust. If you give them a portion of the estate, without affecting them by the certificate, it is unjust as well as impolitic, for the reasons I have before stated. In either case, (and this remark applies to both the objections,) you lose sight of and defeat the very object of the power, which owes its existence in part to the extent and nature of the relations between the merchant and others.

The question which remains for the consideration of the house, is, shall this power now be exercised? I do not mean to contend that, because we find it in the constitution, therefore we are bound to keep it always in exercise. My hon. friend and colleague, (Mr. Hopkinson,) did not say so, and he has been misunderstood by those who have endeavoured to illustrate the extravagance of the position by reference to the power of making war. It is a power to be exercised by congress in their discretion, with this guide, however, to direct them, that the framers of the constitution thought it a power fit and proper to be exercised by congress, and not to be left to the states; they, therefore, supposed it not merely possible, (for a mere possibility would not have afforded a sufficient motive for its insertion,) but highly probable that a state of things would exist, rendering an uniform bankrupt system not only convenient, but absolutely necessary. Whatever arguments, therefore, are urged against such a system, simply as such, (and most of the arguments we have heard are of that description,) intended and tending to show that it is at all times, and under all circumstances, an evil; every argument, too, that is grounded upon the supposed adequacy of state legislation to accomplish the design of the constitution, is an argument that might, with propriety, have been addressed to those who framed, and to the states when deliberating upon the adoption of that instrument; it is, in truth an argument against the constitution itself, and ought to be applied, not to pre-

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vent the passage of a law, but to produce an amendment,

Can a state of things ever be supposed to exist, more imperiously calling upon congress for their interposition, with a view to the results which the power is considered as having been intended to produce? This question will be most satifactorily answered by considering in the first place, for a few moments, the general provisions of the bill, as they relate to the interests of the creditor.

The bill proposes, in the first section, that, upon the proof of certain facts, indicating unequivocally that a merchant's or trader's concerns are in a state of irretrievable embarrassment and disorder, and that he is rapidly approaching to a state of insolvency, or already arrived at it, a creditor may cause a commission of bankruptcy to be issued against him. The effect of the proceeding is, to take out of his hands all the property he may have in his possession, or may be entitled to, and place it in the custody of persons appointed by law for the purpose of equal distribution among all his creditors, without distinction, in proportion to the amount of their respective debts. Nothing can be fairer or more reasonable than this. The details of the bill, so far as they concern the creditors, are all directed to the object I have stated, to accomplish the honest surrender of property by the debtor, and the equal distribution among his creditors. Is not something of this kind required? Those members who represent commercial districts, are prepared to answer the question from experience; and those who have not had the same means of information, may notwithstanding, arrive at the conviction of the necessity by the simple process of reason.

The state insolvent laws (with, I believe, but one exception) proceed only upon the application of the debtor. They do not operate till he himself thinks proper to petition, and then they give him relief in such manner as they deem most advisable. Some, by general laws, commit the authority to judicial tribunals; some exercise it themselves by direct legislation upon existing cases; some have permanent regulations; others pass occasional laws; some few grant the most extended relief, discharging from the debt; the greater part, only the limited relief of immunity from imprisonment. Their views, in all these cases, are directed, as in other matters, by state, and not by national policy, and so they ought to be. This policy, is different in different states, but in all it is liable to be embarrassed by the very omission of congress to provide for the case which by the constitution, is committed to their care, inasmuch as it throws upon the states, individually, the almost invincible difficulty of endeavouring to conciliate and consolidate interests and views that can scarcely be made to harmonize. New York, being highly commercial, may be very much influenced by commercial feeling in her local legislation on this subject. Pennsylvania, not long ago passed a special insolvent law for the city and county of Philadelphia. This was an effort to describe commercial cases by local limits, and may be plainly traced to the same fruitful source of embarrassment—an embarrassment that would no longer have an existence if congress would exercise their authority, and, by withdrawing from state legislation the subject of commercial bankruptcy, leave the states free to pursue each its own appropriate policy upon other cases of insolvency—cases that, from their nature, are essentially dependent upon other and much less extensive considerations.

One great defect, however, of the state insolvent laws is the one I have mentioned. They wait until the insolvent debtor asks for relief. In the mean time he is consuming, or wasting, or mismanaging the property that ought to satisfy his debts,

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and, when he comes for relief, has nothing to surrender. The uncontrolled authority over his estate, too, occasions a resort to expedients, which, in a general view, ought not to be permitted—expedients that have become almost consecrated by practice, but are not, on that account, the less exceptionable. The failing merchant is influenced in the distribution of his property, not by any general considerations of justice, but sometimes by feelings of regard for particular creditors, often by regard only for himself and his future hopes. He pays one, and leaves nothing to pay another; why? because one is a friend or neighbour, the other is not; one has lent him money, or endorsed his paper, the other has only sold him goods; one importunes him, the other has not the opportunity; making thus certain arbitrary distinctions, natural enough, but not defensible upon any just general principles. Sometimes, and not seldom, his distribution has reference only to himself. Is he most intimately connected with domestic creditors? He may secure their good will and future aid by giving them a preference to his foreign creditors. Is he most nearly connected with foreign creditors? He preserves their confidence, and lays a ground to hope for their future assistance, by giving the preference to them; and among creditors of the same kind he may adopt a similar distinction. The object of the bill is to prevent all such doings, and to bring back the distribution to the only fair rule, the rule of impartial equality. I do not pretend to pursue the mischiefs that exist in all their details—suffering a failing debtor to make his own assignees, permitting him to extort terms of composition from his creditors, and the like. I refer to these things, briefly, to show that circumstances call for the incorporation of a bankrupt law into the code of the United States, for the *protection of the creditor, and the preservation of commercial integrity and commercial credit.*

It would be a sufficient answer to the argument which supposes that the states may do all that is necessary, to say, that the constitution does not permit us to think so, or why did it give the power to congress? The states cannot make *uniform* laws on the subject, nor laws that will operate beyond their own territory, much less that will have any foreign operation. The states, in their local legislation, must be chiefly governed by local views—this is the theory of the constitution—and by the clause in question, they have themselves, not only conceded the principle, but they have also conceded the fact, that the power in question is one of national, and not of local concern. How can this argument be urged with any thing like even a plausible appearance, by those who, in another instance, endeavour to deduce the principle, not from the express words of the constitution, but from the mere proof of the fact. You have upon your table a most important report upon the subject of internal improvement. Is there any express authority given to congress by the constitution, to legislate on this subject? The answer is plain: there is not. Whence is the authority derived? From the fact merely that national improvements, by roads and inland navigation, may be necessary for the common defence and general welfare. And cannot this be done by the states? The answer again is, no. The states, individually, are not competent to the care of the national concerns. They may and do make roads for themselves, and it may happen that these will be so made in reference to each other, as to produce, by their combination, what is desired—national thoroughfares, for national convenience and national defence. But it may happen otherwise. I warn those who argue thus—who derive the power itself from the necessity and conve-

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nience of its exercise—against sending back to the states a power, which the states themselves, upon similar reasoning, have expressly granted to congress.

The interest which the United States, as a creditor, have in this question, ought not to be overlooked. One of the communications made by the secretary of the treasury, during the present session (I cannot lay my hand upon it) states, that the preference intended to be secured to the United States, is defeated by partial assignments and dispositions of property made by the puplic debtors. The steady and regular collection of the public revenue, so important to the public service, is at all times, worthy the attention of congress; and it must, therefore, be considered as a powerful recommendation of a bankrupt law, that it would effectually remedy the evil complained of. The wisdom of the legislature may be able, perhaps, to devise other remedies; I know of none (and I do not say it without some reflection) that will be effectual, and not be liable to very great objections.

Upon the remaining part of the subject, that which relates to the condition of the debtor, I shall, at present, say but a very few words, not only because it has been fully and distinctly put before the committe by my honourable friend and colleague, (Mr. Hopkinson) but because it will be more proper to consider it when we arrive at that part of the bill which contains the provisions for his relief. The general design is to discharge him altogether provided two thirds of his creditors shall agree. The commissioners are bound to sign his certificate, if he has been guilty of no fraud; but that will not discharge him. Two thirds of his creditors must concur, and as they may either give or withold their assent, at their discretion, without assigning any reason, they will, of course, be determined in their decision, by a general and comprehensive view of the whole conduct of the debtor. Has he been unfortunate? They will agree to his discharge. Has he been unjust, has he been careless, extravagant? They may, at their pleasure, refuse it. Is there any thing unreasonable in this? If, by a summary process, you take all from the debtor, if he has fairly surrendered every thing to his creditors, satisfied a large majority of them that he has been the victim of misfortune, not of misconduct, ought he to be held in subjection to the merciless resentments, or the mercilesss avarice of a few, and be condemned, at their pleasure, to idleness and despair? And for what purpose? Society is deprived of the benefits of his exertions; he is himself deprived of the use of those faculties which have been given to him —and for what? Does the creditor gain by it? Has he a chance of obtaining more? I have the authority of experience for saying, that the chance is not worth estimating. Look at the operation of those laws, which grant only a partial discharge. Is the creditor in a better condition for the hold he has upon the future earnings of the debtor? One of two consequences inevitably follows; the debtor either sinks into a state of hopeless and helpless inaction, or conceals the fruits of his industry by various contrivances that are hurtful to his and to the public morals. Besides, we must never forget, that it is for misfortune that this provision is to be made; for misfortune, which no prudence can avert or prevent, but which is inseparably incident to the pursuits of those who are proposed to be comprehended in this law. But I forbear, at present, to press this part of the case.

I would beg leave to remark, however, that I confine myself to the exemption of the earnings of his industry. I have no objection to give to his creditors whatever he may afterwards acquire by gift, devise, descent, or any other means, in short, but his own exertions. Of

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these he should have the full benefit, not only for his own sake, but for the sake of society.

It was not my intention to notice the objections to particular parts of the bill, nor will I at this time notice them. There are two or three objections of a more general character, upon which I will ask the indulgence of the committee to say a very few words.

A system, it is said, must be a bad one, and contain in itself very strong tempations to fraud, which requires such bloody penalties as are to be found in the English statutes. The whole penal code of England is deeply stained with blood. When Blackstone composed his Commentaries, he mentioned with regret, that of the offences which a man may commit, no less than one hundred and forty were capital felonies, punishable with death. How many may have since been added by statute, to the catalogue, I do not know. The bankrupt laws of England are in the spirit of the rest of this code, and their penalties are no better evidence of the temptations offered by those laws, than are the penalties in the laws for securing life and property, that the security of life and property offers a great temptation to the perpetration of murder and robbery. You may trace it, if you please, to the state of society; you may trace it to the error of the legislature, or to a general want of humanity in their institutions, to extreme prodigality in the punishment of death, but not to the mere existence of laws for securing life and property.

Again; it is said, that a bankrupt law must be a source of endless litigation, and the evidence of it is a bill that passed some time ago for completing the execution of commissions under the former law. To make this argument available, it would be necessary to know how many cases were finished, and how many remain incomplete. It might be useful, then, to compare the proportion of each, with the cases of each kind under the state insolvent laws.—The comparison would be decidedly in favour of the bankrupt law, unless, indeed, the cases under the insolvent law are considered as terminating with the discharge of the debtor, for, in truth, very little more ever comes of them. It may be well, however, to remind the honorable member who thinks the want of a court of chancery of so great importance, that a system without it must be a wretched system; it may be well to remind him that one of the chief objections to a court of chancery, so commonly urged, is, that its proceedings are interminable.

General Smith, of Maryland, Messrs. Mills, Tucker, Stors, Williams, Mason, Colston, Whitman, Barbour, and others spoke on the question, and the debate was protracted through several days. At length the bill was indefinitely postponed: 82–70.

The committee on roads and canals made a report very early in the session. They adverted to the law of the last session which had been defeated by the *veto* of the president, on constitutional objections, and, in reference to that part of the message of the present session, in which a similar determination was expressed, by the successor of that magistrate; the committee contended that this difference of opinion between the executive and the legislative departments, should not deter either from the performance of the duties assigned to it. If on an intimation from the president that he would not approve of a particular law, congress should decline all legislation on that subject, a power would be given to the *veto* which never was contemplated, and the important privileges conferred on majorities, where they amount to two thirds, would lose their effect. The house would in time become a mere tool of the government as abject as the commons, under the reign

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of Elizabeth; and as ready to do and undo what authority might command.

The right now claimed had been conceded at former sessions, in the act of March, 1806, which was confirmed and enlarged by subsequent acts, in 1810, 11, and 15, respecting the Cumberland road. In these instances the assent of certain states was made necessary, and the expense was to be drawn from the public fund; but in March, 1817, a road wa authorized to be made from Tenessee to the Mississippi Territory, without any application to those states. This was to be paid by the publick treasury, and no provision was made for its reimbursement. Lest it might be said that the unconstitutionality of this principle had been discovered only since the passage of those laws, the committee added that subsequent to the last session, a road had been directed by the executive, to be made at the cost of the general government, and without the permission of New York, from Plattsburg to Sackett's harbour.

From the acquiescence in these acts, it was inferred that the power to make roads, *in some cases*, had been granted by the constitution. An enlargement of these powers is calculated to encrease the comfort of the people and to augment the resources of the government. This consideration justifies the most liberal construction. Without such a power, the authority "to establish post roads," could not be exercised to its full extent. The states might shut up old roads and refuse to open others for the use of the mail. But the grant of a power, implying a concession of whatever is necessary to the enjoyment of that power, it follows that the authority to *establish* is not to be confined to the mere designation of roads, but extends to the original construction of them. So far the constitution confers a *right of way;* but to avoid the consequences arising from an interference with the state jurisdiction, this *imperfect right* must be shown to be "necessary and proper," before the state can be required to allow her roads to be improved. That the U. S. are capable of receiving cessions of territory, is deduced from the purchase of Louisiana, the Georgia cession in 1802, and other acts, and from the principles upon which all independent governments are founded.

The opening of military roads with the assent of the states, during a state of hostilities, is essential to our political existence; and the wisdom of preparing for war in time of peace, will no longer be disputed. It is the duty of the general government to defend the union, and that obligation cannot be fulfilled without power to make preparations for any possible exigence. Some of these arguments apply to canals, which, it may be added, are necessary to the safety of our internal commerce. The embarrassments to which we were subjected during the last war, from the want of good roads and canals, are too recent to be forgotten. How much more money will be squandered on the publick edifices at Washington, before we can boast of a single suitable apartment for any one branch of the government, cannot be ascertained accurately. That it will equal the estimated cost of the canal navigation from Boston harbour to the mouth of St. Mary's Creek on the extreme southern frontier, according to Mr. Gallatin's report, has been, we think, safely predicted. Owing to the deplorable state of our roads, the farmer must pay, in some places, a third of the price of his labour in order to bring his commodity into the market; flower is sometimes twenty dollars a barrel in one section of the union, and less than a tenth of that sum in another, and in time of war it has been sold for as much as ninety dollars. The expense of transportation during the late war, would have built a fleet sufficient for the subjugation of upper Canada. Those who are so scrupulous in the interpretation of

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the constitution might be asked, where they found a right to purchase that lumber of "all such reading as never was read," the library of congress; who authorized congress to ornament their hall and the president's house, with paintings and splendid decorations, and how they can justify the liberal encouragement which has been so judiciously bestowed on the fisheries. All these operate as a tax on one class of people and a bounty on another. But no one questions the constitutionality of such appropriations, because congress has a discretionary power to provide for "the general welfare." It was no slight argument in favour of the resolution, that the improvements, which are absolutely necessary, from the nature of our confederacy, are too expensive to be undertaken by the state authorities. We are to become a great empire, and every means must be employed to facilitate the means of communication, that the body may be affected at the same moment in every artery. Can gentlemen, said Mr. *Tucker* in the debate on this question, really believe that the great scheme of internal seaboard navigation, extending from the harbor of Boston, by a chain of artificial and natural canals, to the mouth of the St Mary's, can ever be effected by state authority? Does not the connection of the different parts, forming one great whole, require that this noble plan should not be defeated by the want of exertion or of funds in any particular state, through which the works must be constructed? Shall the whole scheme fall through because the little state of Delaware, less interested than other portions of the union, finds the weight of that great work, the Delaware and Chesapeake canal, too much for her powers? Shall the same work be prevented by the jealousy of a particular city within the state of Maryland, lest her rapid growth should be impeded by the facilities which it will afford to the back country farmer and merchant in reaching the Philidelphia market? Shall the great Cumberland road which binds the east and the west be abandoned, because the central country in which it is made derives little advantage from its construction? Shall the Dismal Swamp Canal still linger for want of aid? Shall the navigation of coterminous rivers remain incomplete because the adjoining states cannot command the funds, or agree upon the terms of their improvement? or, finally, because the constitution of this union has forbidden them to contract, and they can do nothing without concert? In vain shall we have received from the hand of nature this most beautiful country;—more remarkable than any in the world for its great facilities for internal communication—if the aggregated powers of the nation are not to be devoted to the completion of what is more than half finished to our hands. We have before us too many instances of the inefficacy of state efforts, to permit ourselves to be deluded by the hope that these great works can be effected by state exertion. Look at the fine river which runs before your very doors, the navigation of which has been languishing for near thirty years, and which would have been within the last year completely obstructed for want of locks, but for a fortunate loan to the company of the funds for their completion. Look at your roads *within twenty miles of this metropolis;* in such a state that the representatives who travel here are in constant and imminent danger of breaking a limb or their necks. Look at these, and say whether we have reasonable ground of hope that the great and desirable object of public improvement is likely to be attained by the efforts of the states? The expectation is futile. Those who are most interested in any particular improvement, will not have the power of making it: those who have the power will want the means or inclination. The great canal of New York, important it is true to that state, is still more important to the western parts of Ohio and Indiana,

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and to the vast tracts of public land possessed by the United States, in those regions—Shall this work be left, then, to the unassisted efforts of the state of New York? The connection of the navigation of the Kanawha and James River, by a great road and other improvements —important indeed to Virginia is also extremely important to the Western states. Shall Virginia, alone contribute to perfect it? The canal at the falls of Louisville is a matter of deep interest to the states of Pennsylvania and Virginia, as well as to Kentucky and Ohio; and shall these be left unaided in the completion of a work, from which the others are to derive such great advantages, and which is in no small degree, indeed, a matter of national interest and concern? They have indeed, it appears, determined to attempt some concert for the attainment of this great object. But they can make no compact without the assent of this body, and there is little hope of their making any effectual arrangement. In short, the want of funds—the want of harmony—the want of unity of views, and the want of exertion, will continue to hang upon our efforts, and prevent the improvement of our country, unless what is national in its character be placed under national control.

The committee did not contemplate any interference with the territorial rights of the states, nor would they contend for the right of taking any measures, without their assent. They proposed the following resolution; viz. that in order to promote and give security to the internal commerce among the several states; to facilitate the safe and expeditious transportation of the mails by the improvement of post roads with the assent of the respective states; to render more easy and less expensive the means and provisions necessary for the common defence, by the construction of military roads, with the like assent of the respective states; and for such other internal improvements as may be within the constitutional powers of the general government, it is expedient that the sum be paid to the United States by the 20th section of the act to incorporate the subscribers to the Bank of the U. States, and the dividends which shall arise from their shares in its capital stock, be constituted as a fund for internal improvement.

This produced a long and able debate. The resolution was not adopted; but the question involved so great a variety of views of the subject, that no principle can be said to be decided.

Mr. Robertson of Louisiana renewed his proposition for a bill declarative of the right of expatriation. This is a question in which young sciolists at the bar and the flaming patriots who flourish in the columns of a newspaper, about the dignity of human nature, are fond of declaiming. By the patient investigations of men who consulted the economy of civil society, this question seems to be put at rest. The right of a community to the service of all its members is necessary to the existence of the nation, and in none but extreme cases, such as grievous want, intolerable oppression, or utter inability to give protection, can our natural allegiance be denied. The hon. member tried the house some years ago, and they rejected his motion in a pretty decided manner; but he expresses his determination to press it as long as he has a seat. On the present occasion, the history of his motion was thus briefly and truly set forth: at one time says the writer, the bill was tried in various forms and shapes—at one time its head was struck off, but still its tail wagged—and, the speaker having decided that having motion, which is a symptom of life, the measure was not dead—the friends and fathers of it attempted to mould into a sort of legislative *polypus*, expecting that a new head would grow out of the stump of the old one, and in that way if possible keep the breath of life in some part of it long enough

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to have it grow into something. But, sad to relate, although it met with little or no opposition, the movers of it could not carry it through—it was gathered to its fathers, and allegiance remains where it was found perpetual, or not, according to the measures of man's cosmopolitism.

One of the most interesting debates which occurred at this session arose from the motion of *Mr. Clay*, to provide an appropriation to the outfit and one year's salary for a minister to Buenos Ayres. The member commenced by declaring his aversion from war with Spain, or with any power. He would, he said, give no just cause of war to any power—not to Spain herself. He had seen enough of war, and of its calamities, when even successful. No country upon earth had more interest than this in cultivating peace, and avoiding war, as long as it was possible honourably to avoid it. Gaining additional strength every day; our numbers doubling in periods of twenty-five years; with an income outstripping all our estimates, and so great as, after a war in some respects disasterous, to furnish results which carry astonishment, if not dismay, into the bosom of states, jealous of our rising importance, we had every motive for the love of peace. He could not, however, approve, in all respects, of the manner in which our negotiation with Spain had been conducted. If ever a favorable time existed for the demand, on the part of an injured nation, of indemnity for past wrongs, from the aggressor, such was the present time. Impoverished and exhausted at home, by the wars which have desolated the Peninsula, with a foreign war, calling for infinitely more resources in men and money, than she can possibly command, this is the auspicious period for insisting upon justice at her hands, in a firm and decided tone. Time is precisely what Spain now most wants. Yet what were we told by the President, in his message, at the commencement of Congress? That Spain had procrastinated, and we acquiesced in her procrastination. The Secretary of State, in a late communication with Mr Onis, after ably vindicating all our rights, tells the Spanish minister, with a good deal of sang froid, that we had patiently waited thirteen years for a redress of our injuries, and that it required no great effort to wait longer! He would have abstained from thus exposing our intentions. Avoiding the use of the language of menace, he would have required, in temperate and decided terms, indemnity for all our wrongs; for the spoilations upon our commerce; for the interruption of the right of depot at New-Orleans, guaranteed by treaty; for the insults repeatedly offered to our flag; for the Indian hostilities which she was bound to prevent; for the belligerent use made of her ports and territories by our enemy, during the late war.—And the instantaneous liberation of the free citizen of the United States, now imprisoned in her jails. Contemporaneous with that demand, without waiting for her final answer, and with a view to the favorable operation of her councils, in regard to our own peculiar interest, as well as in justice to the cause itself, he would recognise any established government in Spanish America. He would have left Spain to draw her own inferences from these proceedings, as to the ultimate step which this country might adopt, if she longer withheld justice from us. And if she persevered in her iniquity, after we had conducted the negotiation in the manner he had endeavored to describe, he would then take up and decide the solemn question of peace or war, with the advantage of all the light shed upon it by subsequent events and the probable conduct of Europe.

Spain had undoubtedly given us abundant and just cause of war. But, it was not every cause of war that should lead to war. War was one of those dreadful scourges that so shakes the foundations of society;

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overturns or changes the character of governments; interrupts or destroys the pursuits of private happiness; brings, in short, misery and wretchedness in so many forms; and at last is, in its issue, so doubtful and hazardous; that nothing but dire necessity can justify an appeal to arms. If we were to have war with Spain, he had however no hesitation in saying that no mode of bringing it about could be less fortunate than that of seizing, at this time, upon her adjoining province. There was a time, under other circumstances, when we might have occupied East Florida, with safety: had we then taken it, our posture in the negotiation with Spain would have been totally different from what it is. But, we had permitted that time, not with his consent, to pass by unimproved. If we were now to seize upon Florida, after a great change in those circumstances, and after declaring our intention to acquiesce in the procrastination desired by Spain, in what light should we be viewed by foreign powers, particularly Great Britain? We have already been accused of inordinate ambition, and of seeking to aggrandize ourselves by an extension, on all sides, of our limits. Should we not, by such an act of violence, give colour to the accusation? No, Mr. Chairman, if we are to be involved in war with Spain, let us have the credit of disinterestedness; let us put her yet more in the wrong. Let us command the respect which is never withheld from those who act a noble and generous part. He hoped to communicate to the committee the conviction which he so strongly felt, that, adopting the amendment which he intended to propose, would not hazard in the slightest degree, the peace of the country. But if that peace were to be endangered, he would infinitely rather it should be for our exerting the right, appertaining to every state, of acknowledging the independence of another state. than for the seizure of a province which sooner or later we must certainly acquire.

Mr. Clay proceeded. In contemplating the great struggle in which Spanish America is now engaged, our attention is first fixed by the immensity and character of the country which Spain seeks again to subjugate. Stretching on the Pacific Ocean from about the 40th deg. of north latitude, to about the 55th deg. of south latitude, and extending from the mouth of the Rio del Norde (exclusive of East Florida) around the Gulf of Mexico and along the South Atlantic to near Cape Horn, it is about 5000 miles in length, and in some places near three thousand in breadth. Within this vast region, we behold the most sublime and interesting objects of creation; the loftiest mountains; the most majestic rivers in the world; the richest mines of the precious metals; and the choicest productions of the earth. We behold there a spectacle still more interesting and sublime—the glorious spectacle of eighteen millions of people, struggling to burst their chains and to be free. When we take a little nearer and more detailed view, we perceive that nature has, as it were ordained that this people and this country shall ultimately constitute several different nations. Leaving the United States on the north, we come to New Spain, or the Vice-royalty of Mexico on the South; passing by Goatamela, we reach the Vice-royalty of New Grenada, the late captain generalship of Venezuela, and Guyana lying on the east side of the Andes. Stepping over the Brazils we arrive at the United Provinces of La Plata, and crossing the Andes, we find Chili on the west side, and further north, the Vice-royalty of Lima or Peru. Each of these several parts is sufficient in itself, in point of limits, to constitute a powerful state, and, in point of population, that which has the smallest contains enough to make it respectable. Throughout all the extent of that great portion of the world, which he had attempted thus hastily to describe, the spirit of re-

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volt against the dominion of Spain had manifested itself. The revolution had been attended with various degrees of success in the several parts of Spanish America. In some it had been already crowned, as he would endeavor to show, with complete success, and in all he was persuaded that independence had struck such deep root as that the power of Spain could never eradicate it. What were the causes of this great movement?

Three hundred years ago, upon the ruins of the thrones of Montezuma and the Incas of Peru, Spain erected the most stupendous system of colonial despotism that the world has ever seen—the most rigorous, the most exclusive. The great principle and object of this system has been to render one of the largest portions of the world exclusively subservient, in all its faculties, to the interests of an inconsiderable spot in Europe. To effectuate this aim of her policy, she locked Spanish America up from all the rest of the world, and prohibited, under the severest penalties, any foreigner from entering any part of it. To keep the natives themselves ignorant of each other, and of the strength and resources and several parts of her American possessions, she next prohibited the inhabitants of one Vice-royalty or Government from visiting those of another; so, that the inhabitants of Mexico, for example, were not allowed to enter the Vice-royalty of New Grenada. The agriculture of those vast regions was so regulated and restrained as to prevent all collision with the interests of the agriculture of the Peninsula. Where nature, by the character and composition of the soil, had commanded, the abominable system of Spain has forbidden, the growth of several articles. Thus, the olive and the vine, to which Spanish America is so well adapted, are prohibited wherever their culture could interfere with the olive and the vine of the Peninsula. The commerce of the country, in the direction and objects of the exports and imports is also subjected to the narrow and selfish views of Spain—and fettered by the odious spirit of monopoly existing in Cadiz. She has sought, by scattering discord among the several casts of her American population, and by a debasing course of education, to perpetuate her oppression. Whatever concerns public law, or the science of government, all writers upon political economy, or that tend to give vigour, and freedom, and expansion to the intellect, are prohibited. Gentlemen would be astonished by the long list of distinguished authors, whom she proscribes, to be found in Depon's and other works. A main feature in her policy is that which constantly elevates the European and depresses the American character. Out of upwards of 750 Viceroys and Captains General, whom she has appointed since the conquest of America, about eighteen only have been from the body of the American population. On all occasions she seeks to raise and promote her European subjects, and to degrade and humiliate the Creoles. Wherever in America her sway extends, every thing seems to pine and whither beneath its baneful influence. The richest regions of the earth; man, his happiness and his education; all the fine faculties of his soul, are regulated and modified and moulded to suit the execrable purposes of an inexorable despotism.

Such is a brief and imperfect picture of the state of things in Spanish America in 1808, when the famous transactions of Bayonne occurred. The King of Spain and the Indies (for Spanish America had always constituted an integral part of the Spanish Empire) abdicated his throne and became a voluntary captive. Even at this day, one does not know whether he should most condemn the baseness and perfidy of the one party, or despise the meanness and imbecility of the other. If the obligation of obedi-

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ence and allegiance existed on the part of the Colonies to the King of Spain, it was founded on the duty of protection which he owed them. By disqualifying himself from the performance of this duty, they became released from that obligation. The monarchy was dissolved; and each integral part had a right to seek its own happiness, by the institution of any new government adapted to its wants. Joseph Bonaparte, the successor de facto of Ferdinand, recognised this right on the part of the colonies, and recommended them to establish their independence. Thus upon the ground of strict right; upon the footing of a mere legal question, governed by forensic rules, the colonies, being absolved by the acts of the parent country from the duty of subjection to it, had an indisputable right to set up for themselves. But, Mr. Clay took a broader and bolder position. He maintained, that an oppressed people were authorized, whenever they could, to rise and break their fetters. This was the great principle of the English revolution. It was the great principle of our own. Vattel, if authority were wanting, expressly supports this right. We must pass sentence of condemnation upon the founders of our liberty—say that they were rebels—traitors, and that we are at this moment legislating without competent powers, before we could condemn the cause of Spanish America. Our revolution was mainly directed against the mere theory of tyranny. We had suffered comparatively but little; we had, in some respects, been kindly treated; but our intrepid and intelligent fathers saw in the usurpation of the power to levy an inconsiderable tax, the long train of oppressive acts that was to follow. They rose; they breasted the storm; they conquered our freedom. Spanish America for centuries has been doomed to the practical effects of an odious tyranny. If we were justified, she is more than justified.

Mr. Clay said he was no propagandist. He would not seek to force upon other nations our principles and our liberty, if they did not want them. He would not disturb the repose even of a detestable despotism. But, if an abused and oppressed people willed their freedom; if they sought to establish it; if in truth, they had established it, we had a right, as a sovereign power, to notice the fact, and to act as circumstances and our interest required. He would say, in the language of a venerated father of his country, 'Born in a land of liberty, my anxious recollections, my sympathetic feelings, and my best wishes, are irresistibly excited, whensoever, in any country, I see an oppressed nation unfurl the banners of freedom.' For his own part, Mr. C. said, that whenever he thought of Spanish America, the image irresistibly forced itself upon his mind of an elder brother, whose education had been neglected, whose person had been abused and maltreated, and who had been disinherited by the unkindness of an unnatural parent And when he contemplated the glorious struggle which that country was now making, he thought he beheld that brother rising, by the power and energy of his fine native genius, to the manly rank which nature's God, intended for him.

If Spanish America were entitled to success from the justness of her cause, we had no less reason to wish that success from the horrible character which the royal arms have given to the war. More atrocities than those which had been perpetrated during its existence, were not to be found even in the annals of Spain herself. And history, reserving some of its blackest pages for the name of Morillo, is prepared to place him along side of his great prototype, the infamous desolator of the Netherlands. He who has looked into the history of the conduct of this war, is constantly shocked at the revolting scenes which it portrays; at the refusal, on the

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part of the commanders of the royal forces, to treat, on any terms, with the other side; at the denial of quarters; at the butchery, in cold blood of prisoners; at the violation of flags in some ceremonies; at the instigation of slaves to rise against their owners; and at acts of wanton and useless barbarity. In the establishment of the independence of Spanish America, the United States had the deepest interest. He had no hesitation in asserting his firm belief, that there was no question in the foreign policy of this country, which had ever arisen, or which he could conceive as ever occurring, in the decision of which we had so much at stake. This interest concerned our politics, our commerce, our navigation. There could not be a doubt that Spanish America once independent, whatever might be the form of the governments established in its several parts, those governments would be animated by an American policy. They would obey the laws of the system of the New World, of which they would compose a part, in contradistinction to that of Europe. Without the influence of that vortex in Europe, the balance of power between its several parts, the preservation of which had so often drenched Europe in blood, America is sufficiently remote to contemplate the new wars which are to afflict that quarter of the globe, as a calm, if not a cold and indifferent spectator. In relation to those wars, the several parts of America will generally stand neutral. And as, during the period when they rage, it will be important that a liberal system of neutrality should be adopted and observed, all America will be interested in maintaining and enforcing such a system. The independence then of Spanish America was the interest of primary consideration. Next to that, and highly important in itself, was the consideration of the nature of their governments. That was a question, however, for themselves. They would, no doubt, adopt those kinds of governments which were best suited to their condition, best calculated for their happiness. Anxious as he was that they should be free governments, we had no right to prescribe for them. They were, and ought to be, the sole judges for themselves. He was strongly inclined to believe that they would in most, if not all, parts of their country, establish free governments. We were their great example. Of us they constantly spoke as of brothers, having a similar origin. They adopted our principles, copied our institutions, and, in many instances, employed the very language and sentiments of our revolutionary papers. But, it is sometimes said that they are too ignorant and too superstitious to admit of the existence of a free government. This charge of ignorance is often urged by persons themselves actually ignorant of the real condition of that people. He denied the alleged fact of ignorance; he denied the inference from that fact, if it were true, that they wanted capacity for free government; and he refused his assent to the further conclusion, if the fact were true and the inference just, that we were indifferent to their fate. All the writers of the most established authority, Depons, Humboldt, and others, concur in assigning to the people of Spanish America, great quickness, genius, and particular aptitude for the acquisition o the exact sciences, and others which they have been allowed to cultivate. In astronomy, geology, mineralogy, chemistry, botany, &c. they are allowed to make distinguished proficiency. They justly boast of their Alzate, Velasquez, and Gama, and other illustrious contributors to science. They have nine Universities, and in the city of Mexico, it is affirmed by Humboldt, that there are more solid scientific establishments than in any city even of North America. He would refer to the message of the Supreme Director of La Plata, which he would hereafter

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have occasion to use for another purpose, as a model of fine composition of a state paper, challenging a comparison with any, the most celebrated that ever issued from the pens of Jefferson or Madison. Gentlemen would egregiously err if they formed their opinions of the present moral condition of Spanish America, from what it was under the debasing system of Spain. The eight years' revolution in which it has been engaged, has already produced a powerful effect. Education had been attended to, and genius developed. The fact was not therefore true, that the imputed ignorance existed; but, if it did, he repeated that he disputed the inference.

With regard to their superstition, he said, they worshipped the same God with us. Their prayers were offered up in their temples to the same Redeemer, whose intercession we expected to save us. Nor was there any thing in the Catholic religion unfavorable to freedom. All religions, united with government, were more or less inimical to liberty. All, separated from government were compatible with liberty. If the people of Spanish America had not already gone as far, in religious toleration, as we had, the difference in their condition from ours should not be forgotten. Every thing was progressive. And, in time he hoped to see them imitating, in this respect, our example. But, grant that the people of Spanish America are ignorant and incompetent for free government, to whom is that ignorance to be ascribed? Is it not to the execrable system of Spain, which she seeks again to establish and to perpetuate? So far from chilling our hearts, it ought to increase our solicitude for our unfortunate brethren. It ought to animate us to desire the redemption of the minds and the bodies of unborn millions from the brutifying effects of a system whose tendency is to stifle the faculties of the soul, and to degrade man to the level of beasts. He would invoke the spirits of our departed fathers. Was it for yourselves only, that you nobly fought? No, no. It was the chains that were forging for your posterity that made you fly to arms, and scattering the elements of these chains to the winds, you transmitted to us the rich inheritance of liberty.

The exports of Spanish America (exclusive of those of the Islands) are estimated in the valuable little work of M. Torres, deserving to be better known, at about eighty-one millions of dollars. Of these more than three fourths consist of the precious metals. The residue are cocoa, coffee, cochineal, sugar, and some other articles. No nation ever offered richer commodities in exchange. It was of no material consequence that we produced but little that Spanish America wanted. Commerce, as it actually exists, in the hands of maritime states, was no longer confined to a mere barter, between any two states, of their respective productions. It rendered tributary to its interests the commodities of all quarters of the world. So that a rich American cargo, or the contents of a rich American commercial warehouse, presented you with whatever was rare or valuable in every part of the globe. Commerce was not to be judged by its results in transactions with one nation only. Unfavourable balances existing with one state are made up by contrary balances with other states. And its true value should be tested by the totality of its operations. Our greatest trade —that with Great Britain, judged by the amount of what we sold for her consumption, and what we bought of her for ours, would be pronounced ruinous. But the unfavorable balance was covered by the profits of trade with other nations. We may safely trust to the daring enterprize of our merchants. The precious metals are in South America, and they will command the articles wanted in South America, which will purchase them. Our

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navigation will be benefited by the transportation, and our country will realize the mercantile profits. Already the item in our exports of American manufactures is respectable. They go chiefly to the West Indies and to Spanish America. This item is constantly augmenting. And he would again, as he had on another occasion, ask gentlemen to elevate themselves to the actual importance and greatness of our republic; to reflect like true American statesmen, that we were not legislating for the present day only; and to contemplate this country in its march to true greatness, when millions and millions will be added to our population, and when the increased productive industry will furnish an indefinite variety of fabrics for foreign consumption in order to supply our own wants. The distribution of the precious metals has hitherto been principally made through the circuitous channel of Cadiz. No one can foresee all the effects which will result from a direct distribution of them from the mines which produce them. One of these effects will probably be to give us the entire command of the India trade. The advantage we have on the map of the world over Europe, in that respect is prodigious. Again, if England, persisting in her colonial monopoly, continued to occlude her ports in the West Indies to us, and we should, as he contended we ought, meet her system by a countervailing measure, Venezuela, New Grenada, and other parts of Spanish America, would afford us all that we get from the British West Indies. He confessed, that he despaired, for the present, of our adopting that salutary measure. It was proposed at the last session, and postponed. It was during the present session again proposed, and, he feared, would be again postponed. He saw, and he owned it with infinite regret, a tone and a feeling in the councils of the country infinitely below that which belonged to the country. It was perhaps the moral consequence of the exertions of the late war. We are alarmed at dangers, we know not what; by spectres conjured up by our own vivid imagination.

The West India bill is brought up. We shrug our shoulders, talk of restrictions, non-intercourse. embargo, commercial warfare, make long faces, and—postpone the bill. The time will however come—must come, when this country will not submit to a commerce with the British Colonies upon the terms which England alone proscribes. And, he repeated, that, when it arrived, Spanish America would afford us an ample substitute. Then, as to our navigation; gentlemen should recollect that, if reasoning from past experience were safe, for the future our great commercial rival will be in war a greater number of years than she will be in peace. Whenever she shall be at war and we are in peace, our navigation, being free from the risks and insurance incident to war, we shall engross almost the whole transportation of the Spanish American commerce. For he did not believe that that country would ever have a considerable marine. Mexico, the most populous part of it, had but two ports, La Vera Cruz and Acapulco, and neither of them very good. Spanish America had not the elements to construct a marine. It wanted, and must always want hardy seamen. He did not believe that, in the present improved state of navigation, any nations so far south would ever make a figure as maritime powers. If Carthage and Rome, in ancient times, and some other states of a later period, occasionally made great exertions on the water, it must be recollected, that they were principally on a small theatre, and in a totally different state of the art of navigation, or when there was no competition from northern states.

He was aware that, in opposition to the interest, which he had been endeavouring to manifest, that this

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country had in the independence of Spanish America, it was contended, that we should find that country a great rival in agricultural productions. There was something so narrow and selfish and grovelling in this argument, if founded in fact, something so unworthy the magnanimity of a great and a generous people, that he confessed he had scarcely patience to notice it. But it was not true to any extent. Of the eighty odd millions of exports, only about one million and a half consisted of an article which might come into competition with us, and that was cotton. The tobacco which Spain derived from her colonies was chiefly produced in her Islands. Bread stuffs could no where be raised and brought to market in any amount materially affecting us. The table lands of Mexico, owing to their elevation, were, it was true, well adapted to the culture of grain; but the expense and difficulty of getting it to the gulf of Mexico, and the action of the intense heat at La Vera Cruz, the only port of exportation, must always prevent Mexico from being an alarming competitor. Spanish America was capable of producing articles so much more valuable than those which we raised, that it was not probable they would abandon a more profitable for a less advantageous culture, to come into competition with us. The West India Islands were well adapted to the raising cotton; and yet the more valuable culture of coffee and sugar was constantly preferred. Again; providence had so ordered it, that with regard to countries producing articles apparently similar, there was some peculiarity, resulting from climate, from soil, or from some other cause, that gave to each an appropriate place in the general wants and consumption of mankind. The southern part of the continent, La Plata and Chili, was too remote to rival us.

The immense country, watered by the Mississippi, and its branches, had a peculiar interest, which he trusted he should be excused for noticing. Having but the single vent of New-Orleans, for all the surplus produce of their industry, it was quite evident that they would have a greater security for enjoying the advantages of that outlet, if the independence of Mexico upon any European power were effected. Such a power owning at the same time Cuba, the great key of the gulf of Mexico, and all the shores of that gulf, with the exception of the portion between the Perdido and the Rio del Nord, must have a powerful command over our interests. Spain, it was true, was not a dangerous neighbour at present, but, in the vicissitudes of states, her power might, be again resuscitated.

Mr. C. continued. Having shown that the cause of the Patriots was just, and that we had a great interest in its successful issue, he would next inquire what course of policy it became us to adopt. He had already declared that to be one of strict and impartial neutrality. It was not necessary for their interests, it was not expedient for our own, that we should take part in the war. All they demanded of us was a just neutrality It was compatible with this pacific policy—it was required by it, that we should recognise any established government, if there were any established government in Spanish America. Recognition alone, without aid, was no just cause of war. With aid it was, not because of the recognition, but because of the aid, as aid without recognition was the cause of war. The truth of these propositions he would maintain upon principle, by the practice of other states, and by the usage of our own. There was no common tribunal, among the nations, to pronounce upon the fact of the sovereignty of a new state. Each power must and does judge for itself. It was an attribute of sovereingty so to judge. A nation, in exerting this incontestible right—in pronouncing upon the independence

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in fact of a new state, takes no part in the war. It gives neither men, nor ships, nor money. It merely pronounces that in so far as it may be necessary to institute any relations or to support any intercourse, with the new power, that power is capable of maintaining those relations and authorizing that intercourse.—Martens and other publicists lay down these principles.

But what had been our own uniform practice? We had constantly proceeded on the principle, that the government de facto was that which we could alone notice. Whatever form of government any society of people adopts, whoever they acknowledge as their sovereign, we consider that government or that sovereign as the one to be acknowledged by us. We have invariably abstained from assuming a right to decide in favour of the sovereign de jure and against the sovereign de facto. That is a question for the nation in which it arises to determine. And, so far as we are concerned, the sovereign de facto is the sovereign de jure. Our own revolution stands on the basis of the right of a people to change their rulers. He did not maintain that every immature revolution—every usurper, before his power was consolidated, was to be acknowledged by us; but that as soon as stability and order were maintained, no matter by whom, we always had considered and ought to consider the actual as the true government. General Washington, Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Madison, had all, whilst they were respectively Presidents, acted on these principles.

In the case of the French republic, General Washington did not wait until some of the crowned heads of Europe should set him the example of acknowledging it, but accredited a minister at once. And it is remarkable that he was received before the government of the republic was considered as established. It will be found, in Marshal's Life of Washington, that, when it was understood that a minister from the French Republic was about to present himself, President Washington submitted a number of questions to his cabinet for their consideration and advice, one of which was, whether, upon the reception of the minister, he should be notified that America would suspend the execution of the treaties between the two countries until France had an *established* government. General Washington did not stop to inquire whether the decendants of St. Louis were to be considered as the legitimate sovereigns of France, and if the revolution was to be regarded as unauthorized resistance to their sway. He saw France, in fact, under the government of those who had subverted the throne of the Bourbons and he acknowledged the actual government. During Mr. Jefferson's and Mr. Madison's administrations, when the Cortes of Spain and Joseph Bonaparte respectively contended for the crown, those enlightened statesmen said, we will receive a minister from neither party, settle the question between yourselves, and we will acknowledge the party that prevails. We have nothing to do with your feuds; whoever all Spain acknowledges as her sovereign, is the only sovereign with whom we can maintain any relations. Mr. Jefferson, it is understood, considered whether he should not receive a minister from both parties, and finally decided against it because of the inconveniencies, to this country, which might result from the double representation of another power. As soon as the French armies were expelled from the Peninsula, Mr. Madison, still acting on the principle of the government de facto, received the present minister from Spain. During all the phases of the French government, Republic, Directory, Consuls, Consul for life, Emperor, King, Emperor again,

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King, our government has uniformly received the minister.

If, then, there be an established government in Spanish America, deserving to rank among the nations, we were morally and politically bound to acknowledge it unless we renounced all the principles which ought to guide, and which hitherto hath guided, our councils. Mr. C. then undertook to show, that the united provinces of the Rio de la Plata was such a government. Its limits, he said, extending from the South Atlantic ocean to the Pacific, embraced a territory equal to that of the United States, certainly equal to it, exclusive of Louisiana. Its population was about three millions, more than equal to ours at the commencement of our revolution. That population was a hardy, enterprizing and gallant population. The establishments of Monte Video and Buenos Ayres had, during different periods of their history, been attacked by the French, Dutch, Danes, Portuguese, English, and Spanish; and such was the martial character of the people, that in every instance the attack had been repulsed. In 1807, General Whitlocke, commanding a powerful English army, was admitted, under the guise of a friend, into Buenos Ayres, and, as soon as he was supposed to have demonstrated inimical designs, he was driven by the native and unaided force of Buenos Ayres from the country. Buenos Ayres had, during now nearly eight years, been in point of fact in the enjoyment of self-government. The capital, containing more than sixty thousand inhabitants, has never been once lost. As early as 1811, the regency of Old Spain made war upon Buenos Ayres, and the consequence subsequently was, the capture of a Spanish army in Monte Video, equal to that of Burgoyne. This government has now, in excellent discipline, three well appointed armies, with the most abundant *material* of war: the army of Chili—the army of Peru—and the army of Buenos Ayres. The first, under San Martin, has conquered Chili; the second is penetrating in a northwestern direction from Buenos Ayres into the vice-royalty of Peru; and, according to the last accounts, had reduced the ancient seat of empire of the Incas. The third remains at Buenos Ayres to oppose any force which Spain may send against it. To show the condition of the country in July last, Mr. C. again called the attention of the committee to the message of the Supreme Director, delivered to the Congress of the United Provinces. It was a paper of the same authentic character with the speech of the king of England on opening his parliament, or the message of the president of the United States, at the commencement of congress. There was a spirit of bold confidence running through this fine state paper, which nothing but conscious strength could communicate. Their armies, their magazines, their finances, were on the most solid and respectable footing. And, amidst all the cares of war, and those incident to the consolidation of their new institutions, leisure was found to promote the interests of science, and the education of the rising generation. It was true, that the first part of the message pourtrayed scenes of difficulty and commotion, the usual attendants upon revolution. The very avowal of their troubles manifested, however, that they were subdued. And what state, passing through the agitations of a great revolution, was free from them? We had our tories, our intrigues, our factions. More than once were the affections of the country, and the confidence of our councils, attempted to be shaken in the great father of our liberties. Not a Spanish bayonet remains within the immense extent of the territories of La Plata to contest the authority of the actual government. It is free—it is independent—it is

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sovereign. It manages the interests of the society that submits to its sway. It is capable of maintaining the relations between that society and other nations.

Mr. C. next proceeded to inquire into the consequences of a recognition of the new republic. Will it involve us in war with Spain? He had shown, he trusted, successfully shown, that it was no just cause of war to Spain. Being no cause of war, we had no right to expect that war would ensue. If Spain, without cause, would make war, she may make it whether we do or do not acknowledge the republic. But she would not, because she could not, make war against us. He called the attention of the committee to a report of the minister of the Hacienda to the king of Spain, presented about eight months ago. A more beggarly account of empty boxes, Mr. C. said, was never rendered. The picture of Mr. Dallas, sketched in his celebrated report during the late war, may be contemplated without emotion after surveying that of Mr. Gary. The expenses of the current year required 830,267,829 of reals, and the deficit of the income is represented as 233,140,932 of reals. This, besides an immense mass of unliquidated debt, which the minister acknowledges the utter inability of the country to pay, although bound in honour to redeem it. He states, that the vassals of the king are totally unable to submit to any new taxes, and the country is without credit, so as to render anticipation by loans wholly impracticable. Mr. Gary appears to be a virtuous man, who exhibits frankly the naked truth; and yet such a minister acknowledges, that the decorum due to one single family, that of the monarch, does not admit, in this critical condition of his country, any reduction of the enormous sum of upwards of 56,000,000 of reals, set apart to defray the expenses of that family!—He states, that a foreign war would be the greatest of all calamities, and one which, being unable to provide for it, they ought to employ every possible means to avert.

It had been now about four years since the restoration of Ferdinand; and if during that period, the whole energies of the monarchy had been directed unsuccessfully against the weakest and most vulnerable of all the American possessions, Venezuela, how was it possible for Spain to encounter the difficulties of a new war with this country? Morillo had been sent out with one of the finest armies that had ever left the shores of Europe—consisting of ten thousand men, chosen from all the veterans who had fought in the peninsula. It had subsequently been reinforced with about three thousand more. And yet, during the last summer, it was reduced, by the sword and the climate, to about four thousand effective men. And Venezuela, containing a population of only about one million, of which near two-thirds were persons of colour, remained unsubdued. The little island of Margaritta, whose population was less than twenty thousand inhabitants—a population fighting for liberty with more than Roman valour—had compelled that army to retire upon the main. Spain, by the late accounts, appeared to be deliberating upon the necessity of resorting to that measure of conscription, for which Bonaparte had been so much abused. The effect of a war with this country would be to ensure success beyond all doubt, to the cause of American independence. Those parts even, over which Spain has some prospect of maintaining her dominion, would probably be put in jeopardy. Such a war would be attended with the immediate and certain loss of Florida. Commanding the Gulf of Mexico, as we should be enabled to do by our navy, blockading the port of Havana, the port of La Vera Cruz, and the coast

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of Terra Firma, and throwing munitions of war into Mexico, Cuba would be menaced—Mexico emancipated—and Morillo's army deprived of supplies, now drawn principally from this country through the Havana, compelled to surrender. The war, he verily believed, would be terminated in less than two years, supposing no other power to interpose.

Will the allies interfere? If, by the exertion of an unquestionable attribute of a sovereign power, we should give no just cause of war to Spain herself, how could it be pretended, that we should furnish even a specious pretext to the allies for making war upon us? On what ground could they attempt to justify a rupture with us for the exercise of a right which we hold in common with them, and with every other independent state? But we have a surer guarantee against their hostility, in their interests. That all the allies, who have any foreign commerce, have an interest in the independence of Spanish America, was perfectly evident. On what ground, he again asked, was it likely, then, that they would support Spain, in opposition to their own decided interest? To crush the spirit of revolt, and prevent the progress of free principles? Nations, like individuals, do not sensibly feel, and seldom act upon dangers, which are remote either in time or place. Of Spanish America but little is known by the great body of the population of Europe. Even of this country, the most astonishing ignorance prevails there. Those European statesmen who were acquainted with the country, would reflect, that, tossed by a great revolution, it would most probably constitute four or five several nations, and that the ultimate modification of all their various governments was by no means absolutely certain. But, Mr. C. said, he entertained no doubt that the principle of cohesion among the allies was gone. It was annihilated in the memorable battle of Waterloo. When the question was, whether one should engross all, a common danger united all. How long was it, even with a clear perception of that danger, before an effective coalition could be formed? How often did one power stand by unmoved and indifferent to the fate of its neighbour, although the destruction of that neighbour removed the only barrier to an attack upon itself? No; the consummation of the cause of the allies was, and all history and all experience would prove it, the destruction of the alliance. The principle was totally changed. It was no longer a common struggle against the colossal power of Bonaparte, but it became a common scramble for the spoils of his empire.

But the question of the interposition of the allies, in the event of our recognizing the new republic, resolved itself into a question whether England, in such event, would make war upon us. If it could be shown that England would not, it resulted either that the other allies would not, or that, if they should, in which case England would most probably support the cause of America, it would be a war without the maritime ability to maintain it. He contended that England was alike restrained by her honour and by her interest from waging war against us, and consequently against Spanish America, also for an acknowledgement of the independence of the new state. England has encouraged and fomented the revolt of the colonies as early as June 1797. Sir Thomas Picton, governor of Trinidad, in virtue of orders from the British minister of foreign affairs, issued a proclamation, in which he expressly assures the inhabitants of Terra Firma, that the British government will aid in establishing their independence. In prosecution of the same object Great Britain defrayed the expenses of

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the famous expedition of Miranda. England in 1811, when she was in the most intimate relations with Spain, then struggling against the French power, assumed the attitude of a mediator between the colonies and the Peninsula. The terms on which she conceived her mediation could alone be effectual were rejected by the Cortes, at the lowest state of the Spanish power. Among these terms, England required for the colonies a perfect freedom of commerce, allowing only some degree of preference to Spain; that the appointment of viceroys and governors should be made indiscriminately from Spanish Americans and Spaniards; and that the interior government and every branch of public administration should be intrusted to the Cabildo or municipalities, &c. If Spain, when Spain was almost reduced to the island of St. Leon, then rejected those conditions, would she now consent to them, amounting, as they do, substantially to the independence of Spanish America? If England, devoted as she was at that time to the cause of the peninsula, even then thought those terms due to the colonies, would she now, when no particular motive existed for cherishing the Spanish power, and after the ingratitude with which Spain has treated her, think that the colonies ought to submit to less favourable conditions? And would not England stand disgraced in the eyes of the whole world, if, after having abetted and excited a revolution, she should now attempt to reduce the colonies to unconditional submission, or should make war upon us for acknowledging that independence which she has herself sought to establish?

No guarantee for the conduct of nations or individuals ought to be stronger than that which honour imposes; but for those who would put no confidence in its obligations, he had an argument to urge of more conclusive force. It was founded upon the interest of England. Excluded almost as she is from the continent, the commerce of America, south and north, is worth more to her than the commerce of the residue of the world. That, to all Spanish America, had been alone estimated at fifteen millions sterling. Its aggregate value to Spanish America and the United States, might be fairly stated at upwards of one hundred millions of dollars. The effect of a war with the two countries would be to divest England of this great interest, at a moment when she is anxiously engaged in repairing the ravages of the European war. Looking to the present moment only, and merely to the interests of commerce, England is concerned more even than this country in the success of the cause of independence in Spanish America. The reduction of the Spanish power in America has been the constant and favourite aim of her policy for two centuries—she must blot out her whole history; reverse the maxims of all her illustrious statesmen; extinguish the spirit of commerce which animates, directs and controlls all her movements, before she can render herself accessary to the subjugation of Spanish America. No commercial advantages which Spain might offer her by treaty, could possess the security for her trade, which independence would communicate. The one would be most probably of limited duration, and liable to violation from policy, from interest or from caprice. The other would be as permanent as independence. That he did not mistake the views of the British cabinet, the recent proclamation of the Prince Regent he thought proved. The committee would remark that that document did not describe the patriots as rebels or insurgents, but, using a term which he had no doubt had been well weighed—it declared the existence of a "state of warfare." And with regard to English subjects, who

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were in the armies of Spain, although they had entered the service without restriction as to their military duties, it required that they should not take part against the colonies. The subjects of England freely supplied the patriots with arms and ammunition, and an honourable friend of his (Col. Johnson) had just received a letter from one of the W. India islands, stating the arrival there from England of the skeletons of three regiments, with many of the men to fill them, destined to aid the patriots. In the Quarterly Review, of November last, a journal devoted to the ministry, and a work of the highest authority, as it respects their views—the policy of neutrality is declared and supported as the true policy of England; and that, even if the United States were to take part in the war; and Spain is expressly notified that she cannot and must not expect aid from England. In the case of the struggle between Spain and her colonies, England, for once at least, had manifested a degree of wisdom highly deserving our imitation, but unfortunately the very reverse of her course had been pursued by us. She had so conducted, by operating upon the hopes of the two parties, as to keep on the best terms with both; to enjoy all the advantages of rich commerce with both. We had, by a neutrality bill containing unprecedented features; and still more by a late executive measure, to say the least of it, of doubtful constitutional character, contrived to dissatisfy both parties. We had the confidence of neither Spain nor the colonies.

Mr. C. said, it remained for him to defend the proposition which he meant to submit, from an objection, which he had heard intimated, that it interfered with the duties assigned to the executive branch. On this subject he felt the greatest solicitude; for no man more than himself, respected the preservation of the independence of the several departments of government, in the constitutional orbits which were prescribed to them. It was his favourite maxim, that each, acting within its proper sphere, should move with its constitutional independence, and under its constitutional responsibility, without influence from any other. He was perfectly aware, that the constitution of the United States, and he admitted the proposition in its broadest sense, confided to the executive the reception and the deputation of ministers. But, in relation to the latter operation, congress had a concurrent will, in the power of providing for the payment of their salaries. The instrument no where said, or implied, that the executive act of sending a minister to a foreign country should precede the legislative act which shall provide for the payment of his salary. And, in point of fact, our statutory code was full of examples of legislative action prior to executive action, both in relation to the deputation of agents abroad, and to the subject matter of treaties. Perhaps the act of sending a minister abroad, and the act providing for the allowance of his salary ought to be simultaneous; but if, in the order of precedence, there were more reason on the one side than on the other, he thought it was in favour of the priority of the legislative act, as the safer depository of power. When a minister is sent abroad, although the legislature may be disposed to think his mission useless—although, if previously consulted, they would have said they would not consent to pay such a minister, the duty is delicate and painful to refuse to pay the salary promised to him whom the executive has even unnecessarily sent abroad. Mr. C. illustrated his ideas by the existing missions to Sweden and to the Netherlands. He had no hesitation in saying, that if we had not ministers of the first grade there, and if the legislature were asked, prior to

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sending them, whether it would consent to pay ministers of that grade, that he would not, and he believed congress would not, consent to pay them.

If it be urged that, by avowing our willingness, in a legislative act, to pay a minister not yet sent, and whom the President may think it improper to send abroad, we operate upon the President by all the force of our opinion; it may be retorted that when we are called upon to pay any minister, sent under similar circumstances, we are operated upon by all the force of the President's opinion. The true theory of our government, at least supposes that each of the two departments, acting on its proper constitutional responsibility, will decide according to its best judgment, under all the circumstances of the case. If we make the previous appropriation, we act upon our constitutional responsibility, and the President afterwards will proceed upon his. And, so if he make the previous appointment. We have a right, after a minister is sent abroad, and we are called upon to pay him, and we ought to deliberate upon the propriety of his mission—we may and ought to grant or withhold his salary. If this power of deliberation is conceded subsequent to the deputation of the minister, it must exist prior to that deputation Whenever we so deliberate, we deliberate under our constitutional responsibility. Pass the amendment he proposed, and it would be passed under that responsibility. Then the President, when he deliberated on the propriety of the mission would act under his constitutional responsibility. Each branch of government, moving in its proper sphere, would act with as much freedom from the influence of the other as was practicably attainable.

There was great reason, Mr. C. contended, from the peculiar character of the American government, in there being a perfect understanding between the legislative and executive branches, in relation to the acknowledgment of a new power. Every where else the power of declaring war resided with the executive. Here it was deposited with the legislature. If, contrary to his opinion, there were even a risk that the acknowledgment of a new state might lead to war, it was advisable that the step should not be taken, without a previous knowledge of the will of the war-making branch. He was disposed to give to the President all the confidence which he must derive from the unequivocal expression of our will. This expression he knew might be given in the form of an abstract resolution, declaratory of that will; but he preferred, at this time, proposing an act of practical legislation. And if he had been so fortunate as to communicate to the committee, in any thing like that degree of strength in which he entertained them, the convictions, that the cause of the patriots was just; that the character of the war, as waged by Spain, should induce us to wish them success; that we had a great interest in that success; that this interest, as well as our neutral attitude, required us to acknowledge any established government in Spanish America; that the united provinces of the river Plate was such a government; that we might safely acknowledge its independence, without danger of war from Spain, from the allies, or from England; and that, without unconstitutional interference with the executive power, with peculiar fitness, we might express, in an act of appropriation, our sentiments, leaving him to the exercise of a just and responsible discretion, he hoped the committee would adopt the proposition which he now had the honour of presenting to them, after a respectful tender of his acknowledgments for their attention and kindness, during, he feared, the tedious

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period he had been so unprofitably trespassing upon their patience

Mr. Forsyth said, all the facts stated by the Speaker might be admitted, the arguments founded upon them might be considered as conclusive, still the amendment proposed ought not to be adopted. How obvious then must be the propriety of rejecting it, when the facts were disputable and the reasoning inconclusive. Admitting the independence of La Plata to be established, that it was the right and the duty of the United States to recognize that independence; that war with Spain or any other power, would not follow; that our interest and our honour required this step to be taken; still the amendment ought to be rejected. If recognition is made, it is to be done in the United States. We are to acknowledge their independence; to send a minister to La Plata is to ask them to acknowledge ours. A minister must be sent to, and accredited by this government. It had not as yet appeared that the government of La Plata desired or expected us to make such an acknowledgment, at least no one with requisite authority was known to have been sent to this country for the purpose of asking such a favor. Another objection not less obvious, was presented by the constitutional division of the powers of the government. Heretofore the President and Senate were left to the exclusive management of the foreign intercourse of the United States. Ministers were received from other powers and sent from this country to other governments, with whom political or commercial interest required us to negotiate, and the house of representatives contented itself with its constitutional check upon the exercise of this authority; satisfied that they could at all times prevent its improvident exertion by withholding appropriations from those missions, the public interest did not require.

Mr. F. could not but remark an apparent contradiction in the address of the Speaker on this subject of the declaration, made a few days since in a discussion of the bill reported by the committee of foreign relations. He had censured with much asperity the patience discovered by the government in its correspondence with the Spanish minister, and thanked his God that he did not possess that Job-like attribute. In the address of yesterday we were told that he was opposed to war with Spain—would do no act which would give her just cause of war—would not violently seize any of her possessions. It would seem that impatient as the honourable Speaker may be at the situation of the dispute with Spain, he is not disposed to do any act calculated to bring it to an immediate determination. The difference between the administration and himself, is, that they would wait with patience, and he impatiently, the change in the Spanish counsels. The honourable gentleman would pardon the notice of a species of inconsistency in the course he wished to pursue. He believed that Spain ought to be pressed; that the moment was peculiarly fortunate, and ought not to be lost. How was this pressing to be made? By argument? That had been tried in vain. Certainly not. By threats never intended to be executed? The character of the Speaker forbids such a supposition. Not by war; that had been disclaimed. Not by any means that would give Spain justifiable cause of war. These also had been rejected. It was difficult to imagine how the object was to be accomplished, unless a subsequent suggestion furnished a key to the mystery. He would take the step in relation to the Spanish colonies, we might rightfully take, and leave Spain to do as she thought proper. If she continued to refuse to do us justice, the important question of peace or war was then to be decided.

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If Mr. *Forsyth* understood the policy recommended, it was to do rightfully all we could to tempt Spain to declare war against us; and if we failed in all these, then we would declare war against Spain. Thus while disclaiming all idea of war, the Speaker looked constantly to that issue. The sources of temptation were in the dispute with her colonies; we were first to recognize them; what follows is easily foreseen. The motive for this abandonment of our own quarrel, to engage in war on account of the Spanish American governments, was the apprehension, if we moved in our own case, we should be justly charged with a thirst of aggrandizement—excite the jealousy, perhaps the hostility, of some other power, and enjoy the sympathy of none. If an interference with Spanish affairs is the ground of dispute, we shall have the sympathies of the world on our side, and excite neither jealousy nor hostility in any of the nations of Europe. Mr. F. believed, with the Speaker, that the present was an auspicious moment for a settlement of the Spanish controversy; that it ought not to be suffered to escape. He was not for war, but for such a movement in our own dispute, as would place the means of indemnity in our possession, as should enable the government to do justice to its injured citizens, whatever might be the future condition of the Spanish monarchy. It was war if Spain chose to consider it so; it was short of war if she desired to remain at peace. The jealousy or hostility of foreign powers could not be reasonably excited by such a course. Sympathy was out of the question. No European government felt it for the United States: they do not fear our power, but they dread our example; they do not apprehend danger from our physical strength, but tremble at the moral influence of our institutions. The course of the Speaker was the one best calculated to excite all their jealousies and hostilities: to confirm an idea, Spain had been at all times exerting herself to enforce, that we were the cause of the disturbances in her possessions, the aiders and abettors of her revolting subjects, and on all occasions ready to sow discord among the subjects of princes, and to threaten the safety of the colonial dependencies of European powers.

The amendment was advocated as a recognition of the independence of La Plata. Where was the motive for this step? What consequences will flow from it to La Plata or the United States? What benefits, commercial or political, will accrue? The commerce between the people of this governmant and that of revolutionary La Plata, was unrestrained. Our citizens enjoyed all that they asked in the ports of Buenos Ayres, and the people of La Plata were admitted to the rights and hospitalities that are shown to any foreigners in the waters of the United States. Arms, ammunitions, all the products of our agriculture and industry, that their wants may require, are freely purchased and transported without molestation.—Their vessels, armed and equipped for war, are admitted into our ports and treated with a kindness they have but too frequently abused. Are there any important results to proceed from this step to either party? To us there certainly are none; to them the only possible advantage would be the probability that our example would be followed by the rest of the world. Mr. F. spoke on the supposition that no war with Spain was produced by this act.—Our recognition was better calculated to excite the jealousy and the prejudice of despotic governments against this new power, than to produce a similar recognition of their claims to a place in the family of nations; better calculated to produce a combination of despotic power, to their ruin, than a friendly aid in the accomplishment of their independence. It was said, that we ought to be the first to acknowledge a sister republic. If we did not, who

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w uld? With more than ordinary diligence Mr. F. had endeavoured to find the freedom and liberality in the frame and institutions of this new government, which would entitle it to this name. There was a Congress and a Supreme Director; a Congress, the Speaker had said, chosen *somewhat like our own*. Mr. F. would have rejoiced to learn in what this resemblance consisted. If the Congress were chosen by the people, he had been deceived by the Outline of the Revolution in Spanish America; a work to which he referred on the recommendation of the Speaker. The sole resemblance was in name. The government of La Plata was a military despotism, like the republic of France in the days of the Consulate, but destitute of its order, strength, and stability.

In tracing the origin of the revolution, the Speaker had carried us back to the first invasion of Mexico and Peru, to the days of Cortez and Pizarro, of Montezuma and Atabalepa. From that period he had given a faint outline of the cruel, selfish, monopolizing, and debasing policy of Spain to her American dependencies; foreign and intercolonial intercourse forbidden to her subjects in these magnificent and fertile regions of the earth; the pursuits of agriculture directed by the narrow policy of an unjust government; the soul itself debased to the purposes of oppression, by municipal regulation. It was a gloomy picture of a sad reality; a faithful representation of nature, drawn by a master's hand.—The policy was but too truly characterised, and its success was as complete as its character was atrocious. It had been pursued with undeviating steadiness, until the horrible contrast was exhibited of a people the most debased, in the midst of the fairest regions of the globe; man, the master work of creation, with intellect enervated by despotism, and soul withered by superstition, surrounded by the most sublime and stupendous monuments of inanimated nature. Was the origin of the revolution to be found in this systematic oppression? It would be looked for here in vain.—To use the language of the Speaker, Spain would have succeeded in continuing this system, but for the transactions of Bayonne. Was the glorious opportunity of breaking their chains, seized with avidity? They were stunned by this unexpected occurrence; stupified by the dreadful alternative of self-government, or submission to French rule. This fortunate event was considered a national calamity, to which there was no alleviation, but the opportunity it afforded to discover their unshaken loyalty and blind devotion to the cause of their adored king. Their resources were devoted to his service. The sole difficulty was to find, during his imprisonment, a substitute for the royal authority. The laws, and customs, and frame of government, in other respects, remained without change; the municipalities, haciendas, audiences, &c. all the subordinate machinery, continued in its accustomed place, and performed its accustomed operations; and, although the necessity of additional exertion produced a greater vigor of character and boldness of thought in the heads of the government, the great mass remained unaltered in habits, opinions, and desires. England, covering the peninsula of Spain and Portugal with her armies, and the enemy of France, procured, without difficulty, the great object of her long continued solicitude—a free commerce with Spanish America. Juntas were established upon the same principles as the Juntas of Spain, and war with the Junta of Spain was occasioned by the refusal of Spanish America to acknowledge that they were the legitimate repository of the royal power in both hemispheres. The unhappy land was rent by internal factions, in which the people were the instruments of designing ambition. The leading men disputed for the honor of being the royal substitute, none

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for the glory of establishing a free government, founded upon the principles of justice and equality, whose basis was the power, whose object was the happiness of the people. The most bold, and successful and honorable exertion for the formation of a liberal government, was made in Venezuela. But this new government was overturned *by an earthquake* in 1812. The misguided people were induced to believe that this awful visitation was the immediate consequence of their conduct, the just judgment of an angry God upon the revolution, and those who promoted or favored its success.

It might be imagined, that the principles of political, civil and religious freedom had been developed in the progress of the revolution; the present state of it would discover how far the people of Spanish America had improved in the knowledge of their personal rights, and their determination to maintain them. In Mexico the contest was at an end; at all times of a doubtful issue, the last ray of hope was extinguished by the death of the gallant and unfortunate Mina. This disastrous termination of the struggle was not produced by the successful exertion of the power of Old Spain; it was effected by the efforts of a people who formed a large portion of the eighteen millions of men, who were represented as contending in the glorious cause of freedom. In Caraccas, a sanguinary and dreadful, and, at best, a doubtful, contest was maintained with the modern Alva, by the imitator of his cruelty, Bolivar. La Plata and Chili had better prospects of success; and all our sanguine hopes are fixed upon them. Thus, of the eighteen millions of people, for whom our sympathy is demanded, more than thirteen millions are the contented slaves of the Spanish authority; and it was the madness or stupidity of Ferdinand, that prevented the voluntary return of all to their ancient thraldom. A decree of oblivion for the past, would have reinstated the Spanish power, if it had been promulgated by Ferdinand on his restoration to the throne. Mr. F. rested this opinion upon the authority of a work to which he had before referred, the Outline of the Revolution in South America. In the conclusion of that work it is said, "The return of Ferdinand might have brought with it the return of peace. The people were tired of war; the leaders of the revolution disappointed in their views; a large body of the people in a state of apathy or indifference; and, what was still more important, the veneration attached to the name of Ferdinand still existed, though in some degree, diminished." This veneration was converted into a dread of his resentment, by the mission of Morillo and his sanguinary suite. Mr. F. trusted in Heaven that this act of royal madness would meet with its appropriate punishment, in the total subversion of his western empire; that thus compelled to continue a resistance to the Spanish yoke, the people would acquire, what experience and suffering had not yet taught them, the knowledge of their strength, and the means of using it to the establishment of a government similar to ours. Such were his ardent wishes, not his confident expectations. That the independence of all, or portions of the southern continent would, at no distant day, be achieved, could not be doubted; to what extent civil liberty would be established, was matter of speculation. Opinions, more or less favorable, would be formed, according to the sanguine or cautious temper of the judge. In the origin and progress of the revolution, there was no inducement to an act of doubtful policy. But our sympathy was demanded for this great cause, in character so like that of our revolution. Sympathy for the people of the south was universally felt, and might be indulged, without scruple, in wishes and in hopes; but, when it was made the foundation of an attempt to precipitate the adoption of a favorite measure, it was necessary to exam-

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ine how far it was justly inspired. That the cause of the colonies was just, and that they were entitled to the good wishes of all mankind in their contest with Spain, was unquestionable; but we are expected to feel and indulge a deeper sympathy, arising from the alleged similarity of their situation and that of the United States in 1776, from a congeniality of feeling, opinions and pursuits, between the Spanish Americans and our predecessors. The honorable member from Kentucky had solemnly invoked the departed spirits of our ancestors to give him strength and ability to vindicate a people, contending in a cause as glorious as that in which they had been engaged. An invocation to those illustrious shades to pardon a profanation of their ashes, by this odious comparison, would have better become him; and if the inhabitants of the other world are permitted to interest themselves in the transactions of this life, they would, no doubt, find in the purity of his intentions, the motive for this forgiveness. Was not the comparison odious? In what consisted this boasted resemblance? They are colonies, contending to be independent of the parent country—*so were we;* here the resemblance ceases. In the motives of the contests, in the causes which produced them, in their means, and in their ends, there is contrast, not resemblance. We asserted, vindicated, maintained and improved our rights, political, civil and religious. We saw oppression as it approached us; remonstrated with firmness against injustice; discussed with calmness, the extent of our obligations, and the nature of our rights. With a perfect knowledge of the doubtful issue of a contest with our powerful, proud and ambitious step-mother, we encountered its perils and pursued it with virtuous steadiness, until our triumph was as signal as our moderation had been conspicuous. They were oppressed and contented, manacled and reconciled to their chains, until accident compelled them to involuntary exertions. Political independence was cast upon them, and is now the sole object of continued resistance. If human rights are secured bysuccess, it is an unlooked for and unexpected consequence: an unknown good, a result not desired by those who were to derive its benefits. Political independence was, with us, the means for the accomplishment of our object. With us it was emphatically a war of the people. The government organized to conduct it, was established by them. In the numerous changes of the persons in power, it was the immediate and regular expression of their will, that elevated or depressed the candidates for their confidence. The confederation, a rope of sand, had tenacity and strength enough to bind them together, while union was necessary to success. During the contest, the military was completely subordinate to the civil power. With them, the first and the last movements in the contest were made without consulting the will of the people, and no means have yet been afforded by which it can be effectually expressed. They have neither agency in the management of, nor control over, the acts of the government, created for them. Revolution has succeeded revolution. Every change of rulers has been produced by a change in the form of substitution for the royal authority. The civil has been at all times subordinate to the military power. There was an equally striking dissimilarity in the manner in which the wars were conducted.—With us, with the exception of some personal intestine and bloody feuds between whig and tory, it was carried on with the strictest regard to the laws of honorable and civilized warfare; no instance occurred of the death of the unresisting, by the command of any officer in the public service. It must not be forgotten, that ample justification was given by the British armies for a contrary system. The massacre of Paoli and the murder of Hayne were still fresh in the recollection of all. But, while

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burning with resentment for these atrocious deeds, we did not forget what was due to our character, and dishonor our reputation by following a horrible example. The cold-blooded massacre nerved the arms, and steeled the hearts of our soldiers in the hour of conflict, but the cry of mercy never was raised in vain by a vanquished foe. When the gallant Hayne was barbarously executed by a British officer, whose present rank and subsequent achievements could not remove the stain of this sanguinary act from his character, the deep indignation of the nation was excited. A gallant officer was selected to pay with his life for the cruelty of his country. But the sacrifice was never made, and the gallant and generous officer was reserved to perish in defending the reputation of that people, by whose forbearance his life, forfeited by the injustice of his country, was spared. Mr. Forsyth would not be understood to call in question the justice of the retaliatory system of extermination adopted by the Spanish Americans. He believed that the dreadful example was set by the royalists, and the resort to it was justifiable, and perhaps essential to security and success. All he proposed by this examination was to show, what was highly honorable to his own countrymen, that a resort to such a system was not made by them under the strongest temptations, and under circumstances which would have fully justified it. The comparison was made to show the exalted character of our own contest, not excite prejudice against that of neighboring nations.

If the sanguine temper of the Speaker had deluded him into a belief so derogatory to the character of his own country, it was not surprising, that he should have erred in estimating the commercial and political interests of the U. States, in the S. American struggle. That we have a deep interest in the fate of Spanish America could not be denied; but it was a moral interest —the interest which man felt for the condition of man in all quarters of the world. Whatever may be the changes that may take place, from the Rio Bravo to Cape Horn, no essentially favourable alteration can be produced in the extent of our commerce, in the purity or stability of our political institutions. Spanish America would afford to us but a trifling portion of her eighty-one millions of exports. With the exception of her mineral productions, her exports were of the same kind with the exports of this country—the great staples were, cotton, tobacco, rice, bread-stuffs, hemp, &c. her imports, European manufactures. Mr. F. would not use, as an argument, the agricultural rivalry that might ensue, under a different state of things, to induce a wish, that the present condition of Spanish America might continue; but he would use it to demonstrate the fallacy of the opinion, that our commercial prosperity would be greatly increased by the expected change in her political condition. On this point, he would ask the attention of the committee to a few sentences from a work just published, whose author relied upon the statements of Humboldt, a man whose opportunities to procure, and ability to select the most valuable and accurate information, was universally known. After giving a most appalling account of the present state of the imports to Mexico from the United States, as compared with those of Great Britain, he says:

"But if the imports, according to the report, are by no means promising, as it respects the demand for our productions, some items of the exports are also of a nature to excite serious reflections in the minds of those who are concerned in agricultural pursuits. Among the exports to the other colonies, we find the article of 26,371 bales or sacks of flour, and 3,207 arrobas (of 25lb. each) of cotton." Speaking of the Mexican flour, Humboldt says, "it enters into competition at the

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Havana market with that of the United States. When the road which is constructing from the table land of Perote to Vera Cruz, shall be completely finished, the grain of New Spain will be exported for Bordeaux, Hamburg, and Bremen. The Mexicans will then possess a double advantage over the inhabitants of the United States, that of a greater fertility of the territory, and that of a lower price of labour." And on the article of tobacco he observes, that "the cultivation of Mexican tobacco might become a branch of agriculture of the very highest importance, if the trade in it were free. At Vera Cruz the quantity of tobacco produced in the districts of Dizaba and Cordova, is estimated at 1,600,000lbs. to 2,000,000lbs." The indefinite increase of the growth of tobacco is prevented by the royal monopoly, which not only prescribes the quantity, but the very districts, in which only it can be cultivated. He also observes, on the subject of the cotton of Mexico, that "New Spain supplies Europe annually with six hundred and twenty-five thousand lbs. of cotton. This quantity, though in itself very inconsiderable, is, however, six times greater than that exported by the United States, of their own growth, in 1791:—And in twelve years the produce of cotton has become in the United States 377 times greater. When we consider the physical positions of the United States and Mexico, we can hardly entertain a doubt, that these two countries will one day be enabled to produce all the cotton employed in the manufactures of Europe. The great staples of the United States are, grain, flour, tobacco, rice, cotton, and the products of our fisheries, and lumber. The bulky character of these articles requires, and actually employs so much shipping for this transportation, that in point of mercantile tonnage, we are already superior to any nation in Europe, Great Britain excepted. Considering, therefore, the importance of these staples, in their tendency to our internal wealth, and their influence on our maritime strength, we cannot contemplate, without feelings of great concern, any contingency, however remote, which may operate unfavourably to either."

Mr. F. would not fatigue the committee by following the author, in his investigation of this subject through the whole extent of Spanish America, but would content himself with quoting that portion of the work which related to the provinces of La Plata, the immediate object of their present inquiry.

"The climate and soil of Buenos Ayres are singularly favourable to the growth of wheat and barley: and whenever this country shall have acquired a competent population, the extent of its produce in both will be equal to any demand, however great. During the late war in Spain, considerable quantities were shipped, under contract with the British government, to the ports of Spain and Portugal. Under these circumstances it is to be expected, that in any event our commercial intercourse with this country will not be an object of national importance.

"Our observations respecting Buenos Ayres, apply with still more force to Chili; because the latter is still more remote, being situated on the Pacific ocean, in nearly the same latitude with Buenos Ayres, and corresponding with it in its productions."

It must be sufficiently obvious from these extracts, that the hope of commercial gain must be founded upon our ability to be the carriers of Spanish America, in her commerce with the world; or in our ability to compete with other nations in the supply of such manufactured articles as are consumed by her inhabitants.—In the direct commerce from Europe to South America, we cannot hope to participate. Every nation wisely regu-

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lates this subject, like ourselves. Competition is confined to their own vessels, and those of the nation with whom it has direct intercourse. We must be able to perform circuitous voyages with greater facility, and at a smaller expense, than direct voyages are performed by other nations; a contest hopeless, unless war rages among all the other maritime powers of the earth. Even in this extraordinary state of the world, we should have to contend with the naval enterprise of the newly created empires. This is considered as of but little consequence by the Speaker.—He supposes that Spanish America can never become a great maritime power: And for what reason? A strange one indeed. They are too near the sun. The climate is too warm and relaxing; the inhabitants cannot contend on the ocean with the hardy and enterprising children of the bleak and bracing regions of a northern sky. All history condemns this strange theory. Ask your naval heroes if they have not found that the sailors of the southern are equal in strength, activity, courage, and hardihood to their northern brethren? If they would not prefer the sailors of Louisiana to the natives of the frozen and barren regions of Labrador? If the improvement of our South American brethren keeps pace with the anticipation of the gentleman of Kentucky, their emancipation will create for us formidable rivals in agriculture, and powerful competitors for maritime superiority; a rivalry and competition Mr. F. would most cheerfully contribute to produce, if it was to be succeeded by the establishment of civil, political, and religious freedom in that unhappy land. We were, however, required to elevate our views to futurity; to consider that we were legislating for posterity; while it was admitted that at present we could not successfully vie in the markets of this new world with the manufacturers of Europe, the time was approaching when we should undersell the European manufacturers. Mr. F. did not believe this time would arrive during the present century; he hoped it never would arrive. He should deeply deplore the arrival of that period at which manufacturing establishments would be more profitable than the pursuits of agriculture. He wished the articles of first necessity to be fabricated here; beyond this his wishes did not extend.

Splendid political consequences were anticipated from the expected change: The freedom of the commerce of the Mississippi—the safe navigation of the gulf of Mexico—the power and effect we should derive from being the head of a confederation of republics. In case of necessity, the new world of republics was to be arrayed against the old world of despotisms. In the event of European wars, we shall have powerful auxiliaries in the assertion of neutral rights. And was it really apprehended we should ever want aid to maintain the free commerce of the Mississippi or the gulf of Mexico? these might be safely trusted to our gallant tars and the people of the west. Suppose this great change to have taken place. Overleap in imagination the progress of centuries, and see the United States connected with republican governments to the southern extremity of the new world; the first, if you please in wealth and power; overcoming the disadvantages of situation and climate, by her superior skill and superior industry. What superior advantages will the people enjoy that are not possessed by ourselves? Will they be more free, more happy, more virtuous, and less exposed to the danger of internal commotion and external violence? The power of the government to destroy other nations would be increased; the power of the government to promote the welfare of the people, the object for which it exists, would remain the same. Connected with people, active, intelligent, and jea-

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lous as ourselves, our rivals in commerce, in agriculture, in science, and in the freedom of their institutions; will these elements of strife be composed to harmony by the tender names of sister republics? Men do not change their nature with their governments. Brooding avarice, malignant revenge, daring ambition—will find their place under all forms of government, in all ages, and in every clime. There was one remedy for these dangers; instead of many, but two republics should be created of the North and South Americas. M. F. was not yet prepared to risk the happiness and the security of the people of the United States, by such a sublime but hazardous extension of their political system. Nations, like individuals, were, under God, the fabricators of their own fortunes. Of this nation this was undeniably true. We want no power which we cannot acquire, since we desire none but for our own protection.—We ask no aid, since we will not invade the rights of others; to defend ours, our own strength is amply sufficient. We are free, independent, and happy, so long as the people are true to themselves. United, combined Europe would be arrayed against them in vain. No man need look beyond our own borders for the means of securing and perpetuating all that is valuable in life and liberty. That the United States had a right to acknowledge any government, was a political axiom. That it was our duty to recognize the government of La Plata, remains to be proved. If our interest and our honour require it; if it is demanded by our obligations to that government, it was a duty. What interest have we in this independence, which should induce us, first among the nations of the earth, to welcome this stranger. Was it commercial? The fact that we had not more than twenty vessels in the commerce of La Plata, and that number diminishing, while the English had more than two hundred, was a proof of the extent of our commercial interest in this region of the world. Separated at a distance so remote, where was the political consideration to demand it from us? There was none. We are asked to do what France did for us. Mr. F. said the United States has already done more, openly for La Plata, than France ever did for the United States, prior to her determination to go to war with England. The United States were now in advance of all the nations of the earth, except the government of Brazil, in kindness to Buenos Ayres. France, prior to the capture of Burgoyne, forbade her subjects to supply us with arms and munitions of war; would not suffer our vessels of war to enter her ports, but according to the provisions of the treaty of Utrecht, when driven in by stress of weather, and their stay was limited to the duration of the danger. We openly permit the exportation of every necessary for the use of the people of La Plata. Their vessels enjoy every privilege enjoyed by Spanish vessels, or the armed vessels of any other nation, in our harbours. We wish them success: they know it well: we do not conceal, or affect to conceal it from Spain. These privileges are denied them by all the powers of Europe, or if granted, are yielded to them in secret by England.

At what risk, may be asked, will this recognition be made? At the hazard of a war with Spain. The gentleman from Kentucky says it is not justifiable cause of war. Does he mean in the eye of reason, or in the opinion of nations? In the opinion of nations it certainly is justifiable cause of war; and it is not to be doubted, that were situations reversed, such a recognition of the independence of one of these states of the union, Louisiana, for example, by Spain, would be instantly followed by war. The Speaker seemed, indeed, to doubt the soundness of this position, as he pressed principally the want of ability in Spain to make war, not the deficiency of

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just motive for declaring it. That war would follow with England, should Spain venture upon a contest with us, Mr. F. did not believe. She would have the most powerful motives for neutrality. The glorious opportunity of ruining our commerce would be afforded, and would be seized with avidity. The increased expenses of shipments in American vessels, would throw the whole of our trade into British bottoms, and our flag would be driven from the ocean, except where it floated over our public or private armed ships. Mr. F. would encounter this danger of a war with Spain, with all its consequences, for an adequate motive; but he would not, by hurrying to do an act useless at best, and which might hereafter be performed without hazarding any thing. At all events, he was unwilling to encounter it until La Plata had shown, by indisputable testimony, that she was independent, and had the power and the will to maintain it.

Was there a free government in La Plata, for whose existence we ought to encounter any hazard? Was there a government independent of Spain, and which could not be compelled by the power, or seduced by the cajolements of Spain, to its former vassalage? The character of the government might be read in the history of its formation—in the changes which preceded it, and in acts since it was established.

[Here Mr. F. gave a brief account of the numerous governments which had been formed since the call of the junta in May 1810, to the elevation of Puerrydon, in 1817.]

Mr. F. continued—In this hasty sketch of the events which led to the establishment of the government as it now existed, it must have occurred to the members of the committee that there was no agency of the people in its organization, except the commotions in the city of Buenos Ayres; they seem to have been the idle spectators of the movements of the constituted authorities and the military. For aught that appeared, the ancient institutions below the head of the government, remained as formerly. Mr. F. would not detail the accusations, trials, executions, and banishments, which were the consequences of these changes. That the people were not deeply interested in the successive changes, and did not appear to have derived essential benefits from them, was sufficiently obvious, and all he desired to establish. The conduct of Puerrydon to Carrera, since this declaration of independence, may serve further to illustrate the character of this new power. Carrera was a Chilian, the author of the revolution; there, in the decline of his fortune, he came to the United States, and after procuring resources for renewed efforts, returned to La Plata to execute his designs; he carried with him the hopes and good wishes of all the friends of freedom in the United States. Unfortunately, he expected assistance from La Plata, and sailed with confidence into her ports. An expedition having been prepared in La Plata, against Chili, instead of receiving aid from Carrera, in the deliverance of his country from slavery and oppression, the ostensible motive for this expedition, he was seized, imprisoned, and finally banished; the only satisfaction he received is to be found in that part of Puerrydon's expose, in which he deplores the rudeness which he has been compelled to show, so contrary to the politeness and urbanity of his own nature and that of his government. The motives for this course may be collected from the recent accounts from Chili. A letter of the 7th of October says, "more than eighty persons of the first distinction have been seized and thrown into dungeons by the military, on the ground of attachment to general Carrera, and the treasures of Chili were exhausted by contributions to Buenos Ayres, and the people of Chili are experiencing the benefits of that kind of deliverance from the

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royal Spaniards, by O'Higgins and the army of Buenos Ayres, that France has experienced under the Bourbons, supported by the armies of Wellington and Alexander." The power of Spain had not been exerted against this new government—not a Spanish soldier, or bayonet, had been sent from Old Spain since the restoration of Ferdinand. Was the new government possessed of the physical and moral strength to resist her efforts when they should be made? Gentlemen should not deceive themselves. Spain, inert and powerless, as she was, was a formidable power to Spanish America, by the nature of the government and the superstition of its inhabitants. She had ample resources for the purchase of assistance, should she be driven to this resort. The time had not arrived when the Spanish monarch asked himself the important question—What part of my dominions will I surrender for the preservation of the rest? When he is willing to make great sacrifices, he can procure ample assistance.—Those who sold him ships for money, will sell him men for territory. His European territories may tempt Russia—his possessions in the West Indies, England—to assist him in the subjugation of his rebellious subjects. He may sell La Plata to Portugal, and the parties to the holy league may guarantee their respective cessions to each other. Shall we find in La Plata the unanimity, energy and virtue, to resist such arrangements, where province is arrayed against province, under Puerrydon and Artegas, viewing each other with a hostility more deadly than the proverbially mutual hatred of Spaniard and Portuguese. A still more fatal course may be pursued. The king of Spain may choose to try persuasion, giving to England the promise of free commerce with the Spanish Maine; may he not easily procure another mediation, the condition of which shall be the conditional return of La Plata to her dependant state? England knew well how to make such a mediation effectual. Let it not be said her honour forbid it, or her interest. Her interest is promoted by the commercial monopoly such an arrangement will give her. Her honour always bows obedient to the dictates of her commercial interest. If she should feel some qualms of conscience, the Island of Cuba will calm her scruples. But has she ever promised more than to secure the commercial independence of Spanish America? What a contemptible figure should we make in the eyes of all mankind—how degraded in our opinions—if we should recognize La Plata, and the government should shortly after voluntarily return to the Spanish yoke.—That the committee might not be deceived by the supposed attachment felt by the new government for the United States—by the profession of an anxious desire to follow our example, and imitate our virtue, Mr. F. would mention a few facts, at once illustrating the ardour of their attachment to the United States, and the justice and honour of the government in its dealings with individuals. The American brig Savage, of Baltimore, sailed to Buenos Ayres with a cargo of military stores; they there sold them to government, to be delivered in Chili. The voyage was performed—four months elapsed, under various pretences, before the cargo was received, and after this delay the payment was made, not according to contract, *but at the discretion of the government.* The owner was thus plundered of his property, and injured by this delay of his plunderers. The ship Enterprize, of Philadelphia, captain Coffin, was employed, by contract, to carry three hundred exiles from Juan Fernandez to Valparaiso, from whence they had been formerly banished by the royal party. He was to have received 7,500 dollars. He performed his contract—restored the exiles to their country and their homes. After a detention of two

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months, he was paid 2,500 dollars—St. Martin, the Washington of America, as he is called, alledging that this was enough.

In the armies of La Plata, English and French officers are employed without scruple. Americans seldom, if ever. Our countrymen do not suit their manners, opinions, or government. Juett, formerly of the army of the United States, and Kennedy, formerly of the marine corps, sought in Valparaiso in 1817, commissions in the army of St. Martin. He suspected them of attachment to the Carreras, and threw them into a dungeon, from whence they were not released until the captain of a vessel, who procured their liberation, entered into an engagement to take them immediately from a soil they were deemed unworthy to tread. To judge of the character of the nation, from the cruelty and harshness, or injustice, of an individual, was not reasonable; but when that indiuidual was the theme of universal admiration in his own country, it could not be considered as improper to make him the standard by which to estimate the opinions and character of his countrymen.

Every arrival from this land of promise brings us the history of the oppressions of the existing government, and the fearful forebodings of our countrymen, that the people, for whom our anxious wishes are hourly expressed, will derive no benefits from the change of their governors—that the Spanish power will be restored in all its rigour—or that the new authorities will ever be exercised with the same contempt of the principles of justice and of freedom, that distinguished the ancient tyranny. It might be urged, that this was newspaper information, derived from persons of doubtful authority. This objection was of the same force, in its application, to all the information possessed of that country. It was of such materials its history was composed.

Mr. F. concluded by observing that he would no further tresspas on the patience of the house.

Speech of the Hon. Rufus King, on the American Navigation Act, delivered in the Senate of the United States at the last session of Congress.

Agriculture, manufactures, and foreign commerce are the true source of the wealth and power of nations. Agriculture is the chief and well rewarded occupation of our people, and yields, in addition to what we want for our own use, a great surplus for exportation. Manufactures are making a sure and steady progress; and, with the abundance of food and of raw materials, which the country affords, will, at no distant day, be sufficient, in the principal branches, for our own consumption, and furnish a valuable addition to our exports. But, without shipping and seamen, the surplusses of agriculture and of manufactures would depreciate on our hands: the cotton, tobacco, bread stuffs, provisions and manufactures would turn out to be of little worth, unless we have ships and mariners to carry them abroad, and to distribute them in the foreign markets.

Nations have adopted different theories, as respects the assistance to be derived from navigation; some have been content with a passive foreign commerce—owning no ships themselves, but depending on foreigners and foreign vessels to bring them their supplies, and to purchase of them their surplusses; while others, and almost every modern nation that borders upon the ocean, have preferred an active foreign trade, carried on, as far as consistent with the reciprocal rights of others, by national ships and seamen.

A dependance upon foreign navigation subjects those who are so dependant, to the known disadvantages from foreign wars, and to the expense and risk of the navigation of belligerent nations—the policy of

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employing a national shipping is, therefore, almost universally approved and adopted: it affords not only a more certain means of prosecuting foreign commerce, but the freight, as well as the profits of trade, are added to the stock of the nation. The value and importance of national shipping and seamen, have created among the great maritime powers, and particularly in England, a strong desire to acquire, by restrictions and exclusions, a disproportionate share of the general commerce of the world. As all nations have equal rights, and each may claim equal advantages in its intercourse with others, the true theory of international commerce is one of equality, and of reciprocal benefits: this theory gives to enterprise, to skill and to capital, their just and natural advantages, any other scheme is artificial; and so far as it aims at disadvantages over those who adhere to the open system, it aims at profit at the expense of natural justice.

The colonial system being founded in this vicious theory, has, therefore, proved to be the fruitful source of dissatisfaction, insecurity and war. According to this system the colonies were depressed below the rank of their fellow subjects, and the fruits of their industry and their intercourse with foreign countries, placed under different regulations from those of the inhabitants of the mother country. It was the denial to Americans of the rights enjoyed by Englishmen, that produced the American revolution—and the same cause, greatly aggravated, is producing the same effect in South America.

Among the navigators and discoverers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Dutch became highly distinguished, and, by enterprise, economy and perseverance, made themselves the carriers of other nations, and their country the entrepot of Europe—and it was not until the middle of the last mentioned century, that England passed her navigation act, which had for its object, to curtail the navigation of the Dutch and to extend her own.

According to this act, the whole trade and intercourse between England, Asia, Africa, and America, were confined to the shipping and mariners of England; and the intercourse between England and the rest of Europe was placed under regulations which, in a great measure, confined the same to English ships and English seamen. This act was strenuously opposed by the Dutch, and proved the occasion of the obstinate naval wars that afterwards followed. England was victorious; persisted in her navigation act, and, in the end, broke down the monopoly in trade which the Dutch had, until then, possessed.

That in vindication of her equal right to navigate the ocean, England should have resisted the monopoly of the Dutch, and freely expended her blood and treasure to obtain her just share of the general commerce, deserved the approbation of all impartial men. But, having accomplished this object, that she should herself aim at, and in the end establish, the same exclusive system, and on a more extended scale, is neither consistent with her own laudable principles, nor compatible with the rights of others; who, relatively to her monopoly now, are in the like situation towards England, as England was towards the Dutch, when she asserted and made good her rights against them.

By the English act of navigation, the trade of her colonies is restrained to the dominions of the mother country; and none but English ships "whereof the master and three-fourths of her mariners are English" are allowed to engage in it.

So long as colonies are within such limits as leaves to other nations a convenient resort to foreign markets for the exchange of the goods which they have to sell, for those they want to buy, so long this system is tolerable; but if the power

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of a state enables it to increase the number of its colonies and dependant territories, so that it becomes the mistress of the great military and commercial stations throughout the globe, this extension of dominion, and the consequent monopoly of commerce, seem to be incompatible with, and necessarily to abridge the equal rights of other states.

In the late debates of the English parliament, the minister, in the house of lords, stated, "that instead of seventeen thousand men, employed abroad in 1791, forty-one thousand were then (1816) required, exclusive of those that were serving in France and in India. That England now has forty-three principal colonies, in all of which troops are necessary; that sixteen of these principal colonies were acquired since 1791, and six of them had grown into that rank from mere colonial dependencies." And, in the house of commons, the minister, alluding to the acquisitions made during the late war with France, said, "that England had acquired what, in former days, would have been thought a romance—she had acquired the keys of every great military station."

Thus, the commercial aggrandizement of England has become such, as that the men who protested against monopoly, and devised the navigation act to break it down, could never have anticipated. And, it may, ere long, concern other nations to inquire whether laws and principles, applicable to the narrow limits of English dominion and commerce, at the date of the navigation act, when colonies and commerce, and even navigation itself, were comparatively in their infancy; laws and principles aimed against monopoly, and adopted to secure to England her just share in the general commerce and navigation, ought to be used by England to perpetuate in her own hands a system equally as exclusive, and far more comprehensive, than that which she was the chief agent to abolish.

Our commercial system is an open one—our ports and commerce are free to all. We neither possess, nor desire to possess colonies; nor do we object that others should possess them, subject to the ordinary rules and regulations of the colonial system, unless thereby the general commerce of the world be so abridged, that we are restrained in our intercourse with foreign countries wanting our supplies, and furnishing, in return, those which we stand in need of.

It is not, however, to the colonial system, but to a new principle, which, in modern times, has been incorporated with those of the navigation act, that we now object. According to this act, no direct trade or intercourse can be carried on between a colony and a foreign country; but yet, by the free-port bill, passed in the present reign, the English contraband trade, which had been long pursued, in violation of Spanish laws, between the English and Spanish colonies, was sanctioned and regulated by an English act of parliament; and, since the independence of the United States, England has passed laws, opening an intercourse and trade between her West India colonies and the United States, and excluding the shipping and seamen of the United States, has confined the same to English ships and seamen; thus departing, not only from the principles of the navigation act, which she was at liberty to do, by opening a direct intercourse between the colonies and a foreign country, but controlling, which she had no authority to do, the reciprocal rights of the United States to employ their own vessels to carry it on.

Colonies being parts of the nation,* are subject to its regulations,

* England alone excludes our vessels and seamen from the trade opened between her West India colonies and the United States:—In the same trade between the United States and the colonies of France,

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and, according to the practice of Europe, they have been considered as a monopoly of the mother country—but, as has been stated in former discussions of this subject, when an intercourse and trade are once opened between colonies and a foreign country, the foreign country becomes a party, and thereby has a reciprocal claim to employ its own vessels and seamen equally in the intercourse and trade with such colonies, as with any other part of the nation to which they belong.

Governments owe it to the trust confided to them, carefully to watch over, and by all suitable means to promote, the general welfare; and while, on account of a small or doubtful inconvenience, they will not disturb a beneficial intercourse between their own people and a foreign country, they ought not to omit the interposition of their corrective authority, whenever an important public interest is invaded, or the national reputation affected. "It is good not to try experiments in states, unless the necessity be urgent, or the utility evident: and it is well to beware, that it be the reformation that draweth on the change, and not the desire of change that pretendeth the reformation." In this case the importance of the reformation is seen and acknowledged by every one, and the delay that has occurred in the making of it may call for explanation.

We are unable to state with accuracy the tonnage and seamen employed before the revolution, in the trade between the territories of the United States and the other English colonies; but it is known to have been a principal branch of the American navigation. The colonies that England has since acquired from France, Spain, and Holland, together with the increased population of the old colonies, require more ships and seamen to be employed in the trade now, than were engaged in it before the independence of the United States. Without reference to the tonnage and trade between the United States and the English West India colonies, during the late wars between England and France, which, by reason of the suspension of the English navigation act, and the neutrality of the United States, will not afford a correct standard by which the tonnage and trade in time of peace can be ascertained:—our custom-house returns are the best documents that we can consult upon this subject. According to a late report from the department of the treasury, the tonnage employed in this trade during the year 1816, which may be taken as a pretty fair average, amounted to one hundred and two thousand tons, requiring upwards of five thousand seamen. There may be some error in this return, though we are not able to detect it:—the magnitude and importance of the shipping and seamen engaged in this trade, will be more readily understood by comparison than otherwise. The tonnage thus employed exceeds the whole tonnage employed by the English East India Company in its trade with Asia; is nearly a moiety of the American and English tonnage employed between the United States and England, and her possessions in Europe—is equal to the American tonnage employed between the United States and England, and is almost an eighth part of the whole registered tonnage of the United States.

To the loss of profits which would accrue from an equal participation in this trade, may be added the loss of an equal share of the freights made by the vessels engaged in it—the aggregate amount whereof must be equal to two millions of dollars, annually. Other advantages are enjoyed by England in the possession of the exclusive navigation between the United States and her colonies, and between them and

Spain, Holland, Denmark, and Sweden, our vessels and seamen are alike employed, as those of the parent countries respectively.

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England. Freights are made by English vessels between England and the United States; between them and the English colonies, as well as between these colonies and England. English voyages are thus made on the three sides of the triangle, while those of the United States are confined to one side of it; that between the United States and England.

But the money value of this great portion of our navigation, claimed and hitherto enjoyed by England, although an object that deserves the public protection, is not the most important view in which the same should be considered by the senate. We must learn wisdom from past times; and while the experience of the father is too often lost on the son, this ought not to be the case in the affairs of nations, which, living from age to age, and profiting by long experience, should become wiser as they grow older. The present condition of nations, and especially that of the inhabitants of our own continent, merit our watchful attention, and admonish us to cherish our national resources, and seasonably to devise, and perseveringly to build up, those establishments that our present safety demands, and which may be commensurate with our future destiny.

Justice and moderation, which, we confidently hope, may preside over, and guide our public counsels, have not been found to be a sufficient armour for the defence of nations. "Wisdom, in the ancient mythology, was represented as armed, because experience had proved, that good examples and noble precepts fail of their efficacy, unaccompanied by a power to enforce them." To defend ourselves, our houses, our harbours, and our commerce, from foreign aggression and violence, a navy is acknowledged to be necessary. From the land side we are safe; against dangers from the ocean, a navy will prove to be our cheap, our sure, and most efficient defence. Although a subject of doubt heretofore, this truth is now so well understood, and so universally admitted, that it would be to mispend the time of the senate to enter into its development.

An efficient navy never has existed, and cannot exist, without a commercial marine, and the maritime history of Europe, which abounds with instruction on this subject, demonstrates this political truth, that the naval power of every nation is in proportion to its ships and seamen. Money may build ships, but the navigation of the great ocean only can make seamen, and it is in connexion with this view of the subject, that the exclusion of our shipping and seamen from the navigation between the United States and the colonies of England, derives its chief importance.

The prosperity and safety of nations are promoted and established, by institutions early and wisely adapted to these ends. A navy, being such an institution, and our experience having proved its importance, it has become the duty of congress to adopt and enforce those regulations that are necessary to its efficient establishment. In addition to the protection of the fisheries, none more efficacious can be devised, than such as shall secure to our own shipping and seamen a full participation in the national navigation, thereby shutting out any foreign power from the exclusive enjoyment of a principal branch thereof; a branch that now educates and holds ready for service in the navy of England, and which would educate and hold ready for service in our own navy, were the United States, instead of England, in the possession thereof, a body of several thousand seamen.

But, by passing this act, shall we not cut ourselves off from those foreign supplies, which our habits have rendered indispensable as well as desirable? Will not the English colonial markets for supplies hitherto purchased and exported among

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us, be lost to them. And shall we increase our navigation by adopting the law?

The documents that have been communicated to the senate by the chairman of the committee of foreign relations, (Mr. Barbour) satisfactorily prove, that we are independent of the English colonies for a supply of sugar and coffee, for our own consumption; our annual re-exportation of these articles exceeding the quantity of them annually imported from the English colonies: and, in respect to rum, the other article imported from these colonies, its exclusion will be the loss to England of its best, if not only market; and its place will be readily supplied by other foreign rum and by brandy: or, which is more probable, as well as more desirable, by domestic spirits distilled from grain.

The exports from the United States to the English West India colonies have been estimated at four millions of dollars annually. The problem has been disputed ever since the independence of the United States, and still remains to be solved, whether these colonies could obtain from any other quarter the supplies received from the United States. To make this experiment effectually, further restrictions and regulations may become necessary, which it is now deemed expedient to propose. If the question be decided in the negative, the supplies will be continued from the United States, and our shipping will be benefitted. If the articles heretofore supplied from this country can be obtained elsewhere, we must find out other markets for our exports, or the labour employed in preparing them must be applied to some other branch of industry. We have the power, and hereafter it may become our policy, as it is that of other countries, to resort to measures, the effect of which would go far to balance any disadvantage arising from the loss of the English colonial markets. We import annually upwards of six million gallons of West India rum, more than half of which comes from the English colonies; we also import every year nearly seven million gallons of molasses; and as every gallon of molasses yields, by distillation, a gallon of rum, the rum imported, added to that distilled from molasses, is probably equal to twelve million gallons; which enormous quantity is chiefly consumed by citizens of the United States. If the importation of rum and molasses, for distillation be prohibited, it would require, at least, four million bushels of grain for distillation to supply an equal quantity of ardent spirits; and in this way, our agriculture would be indemnified for any loss it might suffer by an exclusion from the English colonial markets.

As respects the timber and lumber trade, including staves and woods, in all the forms in which we prepare them for exportation, should no foreign markets be found to supply those, which, by the imposition of high duties in England, and those, which, by the passing of this bill, we may lose in the colonies, those who are engaged in this precarious, and, generally, ill paid and unprofitable business, will hereafter confine their supplies to our domestic wants, which are constantly increasing, and to the foreign markets, that are neither affected by English duties, nor the bill before us.

The timber of the country is becoming scarce, and more and more an object of public concern. The forests upon the frontier of the ocean, and on the great rivers leading to it, are nearly destroyed. In other countries, and even in Russia, the improvident waste of their timber, especially in the neighbourhood of their great iron works, has become a subject of national solicitude. Masts, spars, pine, and oak timber fit for naval purposes, and for the other numerous uses for which timber and wood are wanted, were far more abundant, and of

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better quality formerly, and within the memory of men now living, than they are at the present day; and a little more care and economy in the use of our timber, even now, would confer an important benefit on posterity. The probability, however, is, that as respects our valuable timber, we shall not want foreign markets for all we ought to spare.

As a general rule, it is correct, that every person should be free to follow the business he may prefer, since, by the freedom, sagacity, and enterprise of individuals, the general welfare is commonly promoted. There are, however, exceptions to this principle; and, as general rules affect unequally individual concerns, and measures adopted for the common welfare, may, from the nature and end of society, sometimes interfere with private pursuits, the latter must give way for, and yield to, the former; and, in this case, the general welfare, and the interest that all have, in the encouragement and protection of the shipping and seamen of the country, take precedence over the private and individual interests of persons, whose occupations may thereby be somewhat affected.

As to the last point, whether we shall increase our own navigation and seamen, by passing the bill, it may be observed: if England meets us in the temper that we hope she may, and enters into a reciprocally beneficial arrangement, concerning the navigation of the two countries, our shipping will acquire thereby a portion of the carrying trade, now exclusively possessed by her; if she persist in her exclusive system, and thus compels us to meet restriction with restriction, we shall not be losers by this course, but shall ultimately be gainers.

According to the English navigation act, as well as the act of parliament, that departs from it, and opens an intercourse between the English colonies and the United States, we are excluded from any share in the navigation between these colonies and the United States. No notice is taken of the occasional relaxation of the latter act, because, by the double competition created by the Americans themselves, as sellers and buyers in the English colonies, the intercourse is probably disadvantageous, rather than beneficial to us. According to the permanent law, English shipping only brings to us her West India supplies, and takes in return the articles wanted in these colonies. If English shipping be no longer employed in this service, and the articles formerly sent to these colonies are exported to other markets, or the supplies received from them are sought for, and imported into the United States from other places, the vessels of the United States will be employed in this service, and so the navigation and mariners of the country will be encouraged and increased.

It will doubtless be found, as it has been heretofore, that new markets will be discovered, as well for our surplusses, as for our wants, should those be lost with which we have formerly had intercourse.

But, why has a measure of this importance been so long deferred? The explanation which this question requires, cannot be made without some reference to the history of our communications with England since the peace of 1783, as well as to the views and policy of men and parties, that have in succession influenced our public affairs.

As, according to the laws of England, notwithstanding the acknowledgment of our independence, neither trade nor intercourse could be carried on between the U. States and her dominions, it became necessary after the treaty of peace to pass some act whereby this trade and intercourse might be opened; a bill for this purpose was therefore introduced into the House of Commons by the administration which concluded the treaty of peace

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with the United States. The general scope and provisions of the bill correspond with the liberal principles which were manifested in that treaty, plainly show that the authors of this bill understood that the true basis of trade and intercourse between nations, is reciprocity of benefit; a foundation on which, alone, the friendly intercourse between men and nations can be permanently established.—The preamble of this bill declares "that it was highly expedient that the intercourse between Great Britain and the United States should be established on the most enlarged principles of reciprocal benefit to both countries," and as, from the distance between them, it would be a considerable time before a treaty of commerce placing their trade and intercourse on a permanent foundation, could be concluded, the bill, for the purpose of a temporary regulation thereof, provided, that American vessels should be admitted into the ports of Great Britain, as those of other independent states, and that their cargoes should be liable to the same duties only as the same merchandise would be subject to, if the same were property of British subjects, and imported in British vessels—and, further, that the vessels of the United States, should be admitted into the English plantations, and the colonies, in America, with *any articles* the growth or manufacture of the United States, and, with liberty to export from such colonies and plantations to the United States any merchandise whatsoever, subject to the same duties only, as if the property of British subjects, and imported or exported in British vessels; allowing, also, the same bounties, drawbacks, and exemptions, on goods exported from Great Britain, to the United States, in American vessels, as on the like exportations in British vessels to the English colonies and plantations. The persons benefitted by the English exclusive system of trade and navigation, became alarmed by the provisions of this bill and earnestly opposed it, and which, after a variety of discussion, was postponed or rejected. About this period, Mr. Pitt, who had supported this bill in the House of Commons, resigned his office of chancellor of the exchequer, as his colleagues in lord Shelburne's administration, had before done. The coalition administration that succeeded, introduced, in lieu thereof, a new bill, which became a law, vesting in the king and council authority to make such temporary regulations of the American navigation and trade, as should be deemed expedient.

Sundry orders in council were accordingly made, whereby a trade and intercourse in American and English vessels, between the United States and Great Britain, were allowed, and, with the exception of fish-oil, and one or two other articles, the produce of the United States, imported into Great Britain, was admitted free, or subject only to the duties payable on the like articles imported in English vessels from the American colonies.

An intercourse, and a trade, in enumerated articles, were also opened, between the United States and the English West India colonies, but, with a proviso, (the principle of which is still maintained against us,) whereby American vessels were excluded, and the whole trade confined to English vessels.

After a periodical renewal of these orders, for several years, the regulations that they contained were adopted by, and became an act of parliament. This act was afterwards modified, and rendered conformable to the provisions of Mr. Jay's treaty, the commercial articles which expired in the year 1803;—not long after which date England passed a new act of parliament concerning the American navigation and trade. This act maintains the exclusion of American vessels from the intercourse between the United States and the

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English colonies, and confines the same, as former acts and orders in council had done, to English vessels; it repeals the settlement of duties pursuant to Mr. Jay's treaty; and, giving up the policy of the enlarged and liberal system of intercourse which had been proposed in Mr. Pitt's bill, it also repeals such parts of all former acts and orders as admitted the productions of the United States, either free, or on paying the same duties only as were payable on the like articles imported from the English colonies and plantations; and places all articles, the produce of the United States, imported in American vessels, on the same footing as the like articles imported in foreign ships from other foreign countries. This new footing of our trade with England, the importance whereof is well understood by those who are engaged in supplying her markets with masts, spars, timber, naval stores, and pot and pearl ashes, may be regarded as decisive evidence of a complete change of policy concerning the American trade and intercourse; which, however, unsatisfactory, as respected the colonial trade, has become more so, by the provisions of this act of parliament.

The policy that manifested itself in the treaty of our independence, and which is seen in the bill to regulate the trade and intercourse between England and the United States, prepared by the administration that made the treaty of peace, was, by the establishment of trade and intercourse on the solid basis of reciprocal benefit, to unite in a firm bond of friendship, a people politically separate, living under different governments, but having a common origin, a common language, a common law, and kindred blood; circumstances so peculiar, as not to be found between any other nations. Instead of this policy, one of a different sort is preferred;—one, however, that England has a right to prefer; and, against the many evils of which, we must protect ourselves as well as we are able to do. The intricate, countervailing, and perplexing code of commercial intercourse, founded in jealousy, and the rival establishments and pursuits of the powers of Europe bordering upon, and constantly interfering with, each other, has been adopted and applied to the United States—a people agricultural more than manufacturing or commercial; placed in another quarter of the globe; cultivating, and proposing to others an open system of trade and intercourse; and herein, as in many other important discriminations, differing from the nations of Europe, and therefore not fit subjects for these restrictive and jealous regulations. Our policy is, and ever has been, a different one. We desire peace with all nations; and the wars of maritime Europe have taught us, that a free system of trade and intercourse would be the best means of preserving it.

With these principles as our guide, at the negotiation of the treaty of peace in 1783, our ministers were authorized to conclude a treaty of commerce with England on this basis; but no treaty was concluded. Afterwards, and when a temporary trade and intercourse were opened by England, looking, as we supposed, to a treaty of commerce, congress instructed Messrs. Adams, Franklin, and Jefferson, to renew the overture of a treaty of commerce, which was done by them through the English ambassador at Paris, in the year 1784; but no correspondent disposition being shown by England, this second overture failed.

The interest and prejudice of those who were benefitted by the monopolies, and the exclusive system of England, were opposed to any treaty with this country, on the principle of reciprocal advantage. The political writers of that day, under the influence of these partial views, or not sufficiently appreciating the true theory of commerce,

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contended that it would be folly to enter into engagements by which England might not wish to be bound in future; that such engagements would be gratuitous, as, according to their interpretation, congress possessed no power, under the confederation, to enforce any stipulation into which they might enter; that no treaty that could be made would suit all the states; that if any were necessary, they should be made with the states separately; but that none was necessary; and those who talked of liberality and reciprocity in commercial affairs, were either without argument or knowledge; that the object of England was, not reciprocity and liberality, but to raise as many sailors and as much shipping as possible.*

This unequal footing of our foreign commerce, and the language made use of by England at this juncture, served still more to increase the public discontent; especially as it was plainly avowed that England ought to render the trade with us as exclusively advantageous to herself, as her power and the defects of the old confederation would enable her to do. Congress having no authority, under the confederation, to impose countervailing and other corrective regulations of trade, the states separately attempted to establish regulations upon this subject. But, as a part only of the states joined in this measure, and as the laws passed for this purpose differed from each other, the experiment completely failed.

In this condition of our navigation and trade, subject to foreign restrictions and exclusion, without a power at home to countervail and check the same, congress resolved to make another effort to conclude a commercial treaty with England. For this purpose Mr. Adams, since president of the United States, was appointed, and went to England in 1785, where he resided for several years; but found and left the government unchanged, and equally as before disinclined to make with us a treaty of commerce, although, during his residence, England concluded her famous commercial treaty with France.

This further disappointment, with the depreciating condition of our navigation and trade, joined to the embarrassment of the public finances, produced what no inferior pressure could have done; it produced the general convention of 1787, that formed the constitution of the United States. Had England entered into a liberal treaty of commerce with the United States, this convention would not, perhaps, have been assembled. Without so intending it, the adherence of England to her unequal and exclusive system of trade and navigation, gave to this country a constitution; and the countervailing and equalizing bill now before the senate, arising from the same cause, may assist us in establishing and extending those great branches of national wealth and power, which we have such constant and urgent motives to encourage.

The establishment of the constitution of the United States was coeval with the commencement of the French revolution. The sessions of the general convention at Philadelphia, and the sessions of the assembly of notables at Paris, were held in the same year.

Laws were passed by the first congress assembled under the new constitution, partially to correct the inequality of our navigation and trade with foreign nations; and a small discrimination in duties of impost and of tonnage was made for this purpose. Afterwards, in the year 1794, a number of resolutions on the subject of navigation and trade, were moved in the house of representatives, by a distinguished member of that body. These resolutions had a special reference to the refusal of England to enter into an equal commercial treaty with

* Sheffield, Chalmers, and Knox.

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us, and aimed at countervailing her exclusive system. Other and more direct resolutions, bearing on England, were also proposed by other members, and referred to the inexecution of the treaty of peace, and to the recent captures of American vessels by English cruisers, in the American seas. The policy of these resolutions, in the actual circumstances of the times, was denied; were therefore strenuously opposed, and the mission of Mr. Jay, as envoy extraordinary to England, suspended their further discussion. The French revolution had by this time become the object of universal attention. War had broken out between France and England: the avowed policy of our own government to avoid war, and to adhere to a strict system of neutrality, was much questioned; and for a time it was matter of great uncertainty whether the country would support the neutrality recommended by the president.

The universal dissatisfaction on account of the commercial system of England; the inexecution on her part of the articles of peace; the numerous captures, by orders of the English government, of our vessels employed in a trade strictly neutral, combined with our friendly recollections of the services of France, and our good wishes in favour of the effort she professed to be making to establish a free constitution, constituted a crisis most difficult and important. It was in these circumstances, that president Washington nominated Mr. Jay as envoy to England.

England seems never to have duly appreciated the true character and importance of this extraordinary measure. France well understood and resented it. Mr. Jay was received with civility, and concluded a treaty with England on the chief points of his instructions.—When published, the treaty met with great opposition. The article respecting the West India trade, having been excluded by the senate, on account of the inadmissible condition or proviso that was coupled with it;—with this exception, it was finally ratified by the president.

Although the treaty did not come up to the expectation of all, yet, in addition to satisfactory arrangements concerning English debts, the unlawful capture and condemnation of our vessels, and the delivery of the posts, points of very great importance, it contained articles regulating the trade, navigation, and maritime rights of the two countries. No treaty which could at that time have been made with England, would, in the highly excited temper of the people, have satisfied the country. But, to those whose object it was to prevent the United States from taking part in the war between France and England, and to prevail upon them to adhere to a system of impartial neutrality; and who, moreover, believed, that the safety and even liberties of the country were concerned in the adoption of this course, the treaty proved a welcome auxiliary.

It suspended the further agitation of difficult and angry topics of controversy with England; it enabled the government to persist in, and to maintain, the system of neutrality which had been recommended by the father of his country;—a policy, the correctness and benefit of which, whatever may have been the disagreement of opinion among the public men of those times, will now scarcely be doubted by any one.

During the continuance of this treaty, further, though ineffectual, attempts were made to establish a satisfactory intercourse with the English colonies in the West Indies, and, likewise, to place the subject of impressment on a mutually safe and equitable footing The commercial articles of this treaty expired in 1803, no proposals having been made to renew them. A subsequent negotiation took place in 1806, and a treaty was made, but

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not ratified by the United States. The peace of Amiens was of short duration. Another war took place between France and England; no maritime treaty then existed between the United States and the latter; and the manner in which she exercised her power on the ocean; the great interruption of the navigation and trade of neutral nations; the numerous captures of their ships and cargoes under the retaliatory decrees and orders of these two powers, with other vexations occurrences, revived the former angry feelings towards England, and greatly contributed to the late war with that nation. This war was closed by the treaty of Ghent, not long after the conclusion of the general peace in Europe, and was followed by a meager commercial convention, made at London, and limited, in its duration, to a few years only. Neither the spirit of the negotiation, nor the scope of the articles of this convention, afford any evidence that England is inclined to treat with this country on the only principle on which a commercial treaty with her can be desirable. Her decision on this point can hardly be doubted; as our latest communications inform us, that her ancient system will not be changed; and in case we are dissatisfied with its operation, that England has no objection to our taking any such measures concerning the same, as we may deem expedient—an intimation that seems to put an end to further overtures on our part.

Such is the explanation why the measure now proposed has been so long deferred.

During the confederation, congress were without power to adopt it.

The treaty concluded by Mr. Jay, in 1794, and the relaxation of the navigation and colonial laws, during the war between France and England, rendered the measure inexpedient during this period.

And the expectation entertained, that a more enlarged and equal treaty of commerce and navigation, applicable, in its provisions, to peace as well as war, would be substituted in place of the present commercial convention, has hitherto suspended the interference of congress. This expectation, we fear, must be given up. England has apprized us of her determination to adhere to her ancient and exclusive system of trade and navigation, and the only alternative before us is, to submit to her regulation of our own navigation, or to interpose the authority of the constitution to counteract the same. There can be no hesitation in our choice.

The bill before the senate, is in nothing unfriendly towards England;—it is merely a commercial regulation, to which we are even invited; a measure strictly of self-defence, and intended to protect the legitimate resources of our own country from being any longer made use of, not as they should be, for our benefit, but to increase and strengthen the resources and power of a foreign nation. The time is propitious. Causes that formerly prevented the union of opinions in favour of this measure no longer exist; the old world is at peace, and every nation is busily employed in repairing the waste of war, by cultivating the arts, and extending the blessings of peace;—England has come out of the most portentous war that Europe has ever suffered, not only unbroken, but with increased power. Her agriculture, manufactures, and commerce were cherished; were without interruption, and increased, while those of neighbouring nations were suspended, interrupted, or destroyed. Her colonies and dependent territories have been greatly enlarged, at the expense of her enemies; and regions, with which we and others once had trade and intercourse, having fallen under her power, are now closed against us. We have no other questions depending with her, ex-

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cept those concerning impressment* and the fisheries,† and their settlement can, in no manner, be affected by the passing of this act.

England is a great and illustrious nation, having attained to this pre-eminent by generous and successful efforts, in breaking down the civil and religious bondage of former ages. Her patriots, her scholars, and her statesmen have adorned her history, and offer models for the imitation of others. We are the powerful descendants of England, desiring perpetual friendship, and the uninterrupted interchange of kind offices, and reciprocal benefits with her. We have demonstrated, in circumstances the most critical, constant and persevering evidence of this disposition. We still desire the impartial adjustment of our mutual intercourse, and the establishment of some equitable regulations, by which our personal and maritime rights may be secure from arbitrary violation: A settlement that, instead of endless collision and dispute, may be productive of concord, good humour, and friendship: and, it depends on her whether such is to be the relation between us.

If this bill becomes a law, it must be followed by ulterior provisions, if requisite, to give it complete effect. Either the intercourse must be reciprocally beneficial, or a sound policy and a due regard to the highest interests of our country demand that it should not be suffered to exist.

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* With the English laws of allegiance and impressment, we have no other concern, than to exempt our citizens from their application: we do not desire the service of her seamen, and she should be the last to seize our citizens and force them into her service. She disclaims this purpose; but, in her attempts to discover and impress her own seamen, she persists in a practice, that, unavoidably, subjects ours to her violence. Whatever her rights may be, they should be so used, as not to injure ours. This is a precept of universal obligation—A regulation, however, may be devised, that if not perfect in every case, would be so generally correct, that, considering the difficulty of the subject, it ought to be satisfactory.

† As regards the fisheries, those of the ocean, not within the territorial limits of any nation, are free to all men who have not renounced their rights: those on the coasts and bays of the provinces, conquered in America, from France, were acquired by the common sword, and mingled blood, of Americans and Englishmen:—members of the same empire, we, with them, had a common right to these fisheries; and, in the division of the empire, England confirmed our title without condition or limitation—a title equally irrevocable with those of our boundaries, or of our independence itself.

———*Littusque rogamus.*
Innocuum, et cunctis undamque,
auramque patentem.

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THE PORT FOLIO.

EMBELLISHMENTS OF THE SIXTH VOLUME.

July——The Kalmia Latifolia, *coloured.*
August——Monument to General Montgomery.
September—Fort Ticonderoga.
October——Anthony Benezet's House.
November—Fac-simile of Dr. Johnson's writing.
December—View of the Falls at Gill, on Connecticut River.

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